

POL 435: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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Course Materials

- Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst (2010), *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, 2nd ed. (Lynne Rienner Publishers)
- Martha Finnemore (2004), *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Cornell University Press)
- Daniele Archibugi (2015), *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Princeton University Press)
- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford)

Student Learning Outcomes

When we talk about governance at the international level we tend to think in terms of extremes: an anarchic environment where every state is only out for itself *or* the creation of a single World Government (complete with black helicopters and the Antichrist). But, as is often the case, a real examination of the world falls somewhere in between – *governance*, rather than *anarchy* or *government*.

Technology, globalization, and changing ideas about “humanity” have meant that many of the issues on the international governance agenda reach more deeply into what were previously exclusive domestic domains – human rights being a prime example. Other issues involve effects from which no society can exclude itself – like climate change or polio eradication. And increasingly nation-states are not the only actors with power – for example transnational corporations and the United Nations. These developments signal a gradual shift from an “international” to a “global” governance agenda. But the shift has also triggered political resistance from groups that feel threatened by these changes.

Governance implies a system of rule – but this begs a lot of questions: who makes the rules, who enforces the rules, are the rules fair, do the rules work, etc. In democracies, for example, many of these are answered by the phrase “the will of the people” and their chosen institutions of government. But, at the global level, there aren’t clear mechanisms to measure the will of the “people” and there is a lack of strong government-like institutions. So, is “global governance” even possible? The answer is yes, but we have to know what we’re looking for.

The learning outcomes of the class are that we will (1) understand the key issues and actors in global governance, (2) examine some of the current global problems and consider what potential solutions will be effective and why, and (3) wrestle with ideas such as “justice,” “peace,” “freedom,” “responsibility,” and others to gain a deeper understanding of what the world could, should, and does look like. Finally, I would hope that a central outcome would be that each of us realizes the things in the world that we care about and gains a greater insight into how we can each make a difference in the world.

Program Learning Outcomes – Political Science

PLO #2: You will be able to evaluate, design, and apply social science research with regard to political phenomena

- Project

PLO #3: You will be able to understand and critically assess the processes, theories, and outcomes of political institutions and political behavior

- Exams

PLO #6: You will be able to demonstrate oral communication abilities, particularly to convey complex ideas, recognize diverse viewpoints, and offer empirical evidence of an argument

- Project presentation

Program Learning Outcomes – International Studies

PLO #2: You will be able to critically analyze issues of global significance using knowledge and techniques from more than one academic discipline

- Exams
- Reading assignments

PLO #3: You will be able to make informed, reasoned, and ethical judgments in matters relating to issues of international public action

- Project and project presentation

Course Grading

The following is the breakdown of how the final grade will be determined:

20%	Exam #1
20%	Exam #2
20%	Exam #3
25%	Project and Presentation
5%	Reading Assignments
10%	Attendance and Participation

Project and Presentation

Each student will be asked to do a project in order to apply the information learned in this course. More information on the project and the subsequent presentation of your findings in class will be discussed in class. On Canvas you can find a list of potential topics for the project. This list is not exhaustive, but if you want to do a topic not on the list, you'll need to clear it with the professor. Students are encouraged to work together with other students on these projects for the best result, though each student must do his or her own topic.

Sep. 14: turn in topic of your project/presentation

Nov. 11: exchange rough draft of your project/presentation (bring hard copy to class)

Dec. 9: final papers will be turned in (last day of class)

Reading Assignments

In order to ensure that everyone is keeping up with the reading, there will be frequent assignments due the following class period. They will not be particularly difficult, but they will ask you to respond to the reading. These assignments must be typed and turned in on Canvas before the start of the next class period.

Attendance and Participation

Attendance is very important in an upper-division course since this is the forum in which we discuss all these ideas more in depth. Attendance is 5% of the total grade and will be calculated in the following manner:

# of classes missed	Attendance grade
0-1	5
2-3	4
4	3
5	2
6	1
7	0
8	dropped from course

Participation is a subjective measure of the how involved in class discussions a student is. Quantity does not impress as much as quality. However, everyone should participate and 5% of the total grade will be a subjective judgment of how well you added to class discussions.

Final Examination Policy

Successful completion of this class requires taking the final examination **on its scheduled day**. No requests for early examinations or alternative days will be approved.

PLNU Copyright Policy

Point Loma Nazarene University, as a non-profit educational institution, is entitled by law to use materials protected by the US Copyright Act for classroom education. Any use of those materials outside the class may violate the law.

PLNU Academic Honesty Policy

Students should demonstrate academic honesty by doing original work and by giving appropriate credit to the ideas of others. Academic dishonesty is the act of presenting information, ideas, and/or concepts as one's own when in reality they are the results of another person's creativity and effort. A faculty member who believes a situation involving academic dishonesty has been detected may assign a failing grade for that assignment or examination, or, depending on the seriousness of the offense, for the course. Faculty should follow and students may appeal using the procedure in the University Catalog. See Academic Policies for definitions of academic dishonesty and for further policy information.

PLNU Academic Accommodations Policy

If you have a diagnosed disability, please contact PLNU's Disability Resource Center (DRC) within the first two weeks of class to demonstrate need and to register for accommodation by phone at 619-849-2486 or by e-mail at DRC@pointloma.edu. See Disability Resource Center for additional information.

PLNU Attendance and Participation Policy

Regular and punctual attendance at all classes is considered essential to optimum academic achievement. If the student is absent from more than 10 percent of class meetings, the faculty member can file a written report which may result in de-enrollment. If the absences exceed 20 percent, the student may be de-enrolled without notice until the university drop date or, after that date, receive the appropriate grade for their work and participation. See Academic Policies in the Undergraduate Academic Catalog.

PLNU Mission To Teach – To Shape – To Send

Point Loma Nazarene University exists to provide higher education in a vital Christian community where minds are engaged and challenged, character is modelled and formed, and service is an expression of faith. Being of Wesleyan heritage, we strive to be a learning community where grace is foundational, truth is pursued, and holiness is a way of life.

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE – schedule of lectures and readings (these may change over the course of the semester)

PART I: THE STRUCTURE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Section A: What Is Global Governance?

8/30 Course Introduction

8/31 Global Governance, not International Relations KM 3-14

- Manuel Castells (2005), “Global Governance and Global Politics,” *PS, Political Science and Politics* 38(1): 9-16.
- James Traub (1/3/2009), “Shaking Up the Boardroom at World Government, Inc.,” *New York Times*

9/2 The Parts of GG KM 14-33

- Anne-Marie Slaughter (2009), “America’s Edge: Power in a Networked Century,” *Foreign Affairs* 88(1): 94-113
- Planet Money Podcast, “G-Zero”
- Beth V Yarbrough and Robert M Yarbrough (1992), “Trade Liberalization as Cooperation under Anarchy,” in *Cooperation and Governance in International Trade* (Princeton University Press): 3-19

9/7 Constructivism and Other Theories of GG KM 35-60

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 1-21.

9/9 Global Governance Historical Development KM 63-92

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 22-41.

Section B: The Primary Institutions and Actors of Global Governance

9/12 What Role Does the United Nations Play? KM 95-131

9/14 Does the UN “Work”? KM 131-143

- “Why the Security Council Failed,” Michael Glennon (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(3).
- “Stayin’ Alive,” Edward C Luck, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Ian Hurd (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(4).

9/16 The European Union and Regional Organizations KM 145-178, 214-16

- “David Mitrany and Functionalism”

9/19 Globalization

- Is the States System Withering or Weathering amidst Current Global Change?”
- Saskia Sassen (2004), “Denationalized State Agendas and Privatized Norm-Making,” in *Territory, Authority, Rights*: 222-24, 230-36, 242-47, 264-71

9/21 Nation-States and Non-state Actors KM 219-253

- “Global Civil Society vs. Australia,” in Jeremy Rabkin (1999), “International Law vs. the American Constitution,” *National Interest* 55: 35-38.
- “The World Speaks on Iraq,” Richard Falk (2005), *The Nation* 281(4): 8-9.

Section C: International Law: The Language of Global Governance

9/23 What is International Law?

- “Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 38(1)”
- “The European Development of the Concept of a Law of Nations,” in Peter Stein (1999), *Roman Law in European History*.
- “The Truce of God and the Peace of God in the Middle Ages”
- “On the Existence of a Law of Nations,” in Hugo Grotius (1646), “Prolegomena,” *On the Law of War and Peace*.
- “The Kellogg-Briand Pact”
- “The Definition of International Law,” in Barry E Carter and Phillip R Trimble (1995), *International Law*: 1-2.
- “Is International Law Really Law?” in Louis Henkin (1979), *How Nations Behave*: 13-27
- Harold Hongju Koh (1997), “Why Do Nations Obey International Law?” *Yale Law Review* 106

9/26 What’s Your Law Got To Do With Me?

- Harold Hongju Koh (1998), “Bringing International Law Home,” *Houston Law Review* 35
- “The Paquete Habana” (1900), US Supreme Court
- “Lawrence v Texas” (2003), US Supreme Court
- “Roper v Simmons” (2005), US Supreme Court
- Eyal Benvenisti (2008), “Reclaiming Democracy: The Strategic Uses of Foreign and International Law by National Courts,” *American Journal of International Law* 102(2): 241, 268-74
- “US Law and the Alien Tort Claims Act (1789)”
- “Rethinking the Persistent Objective Doctrine in International Human Rights Law,” Holning Lau (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 6(1): 495-510.
- “Words of War: An Interview with Michael Walzer,” *Harvard International Review* 26(1): 36-38.
- “Legality to Legitimacy,” Richard Falk, *Harvard International Review* 26(1): 40-44.
- “The Slippery Slope to Preventative War,” Neta C Crawford (2003), *Ethics and International Affairs* 17(1): 30-38.

PART II: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Section A: Human Rights

9/28 The Development of the Concept of “Human Rights” KM 447-484

9/30 Human Rights Issues in Action KM 484-494

- “AIDS,” Tina Rosenberg (2005), *Foreign Policy* 147: 22-26.
- “No End in Sight,” Rebecca Buckwalter (2005), *Harvard International Review* 27(1).
- “Multinational Corporations and Global Responsibility,” Mahmood Monshipouri, Claude E Welch, Jr, and Evan T Kennedy (2003), *Human Rights Quarterly* 25: 965-989.
- “Some International Instruments on Human Rights”
- “The Cultural Context of Human Rights,” in R Vincent (1986), *Human Rights and International Relations*.
- “The Attack on Human Rights,” Michael Ignatieff (2001), *Foreign Affairs*: 102-116.

Section B: The Global Economy

10/3 The Development of the International Economy KM 387-405

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 42-58.
- “The Coase Theorem and Transaction Costs”
- Beth V Yarbrough and Robert M Yarbrough (1992), “Free Trade versus Protectionism,” in *Cooperation and Governance in International Trade* (Princeton University Press)
- United Nations Development Program website

10/5 International Economic Institutions KM 405-437

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 85-98.
- “Regional Free Trade Agreements”
- The Economist (Jun 18, 2005), “The CAFTA Conundrum”
- Christina R Sevilla (2003/04), “The WTO’s North-South Conflict: A Dangerous New (Old) International Economic Order?” *National Interest* 74: 121-25
- “The Advent of Microcredit,” in Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development* (Verso): 63-66.

10/7 The Anti-globalization Movement KM 437-445

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 99-121.
- OPTIONAL: “Development is Political,” in Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*: 111-140.

10/10 EXAM #1

PART III: PEACE AND SECURITY

Section A: Collective Security

- 10/12 War and Collective Security** **KM 289-323**
- 10/14 Peacekeeping and Beyond** **KM 323-355**
- Dominick Donald (2002), "Neutrality, Impartiality and UN Peacekeeping at the Beginning of the 21st Century," *International Peacekeeping* 9(4): 21-38.
 - "UN Forces Toughen Up," Michael J Jordan (June 15, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.

Section B: Constructivism at Work: The Evolution of Use of Force Norms and Law

- 10/17 Legal Norms on the Use of Force** **Finnemore Ch. 1**
- 10/19 The Development of International Humanitarian Law** **Finnemore Ch. 3**
- 10/21 FALL BREAK (No Class)**
- 10/24 Changes in the Use of Force Historically** **Finnemore Ch. 4**
- 10/26 General Ideas about Change in GG** **Finnemore Ch. 5**

Section C: Evolving Global Mechanisms to Reduce Violence

- 10/28 War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity**
- "The Nuremberg Charter and Trials"
 - "Universal Jurisdiction and War Crimes," in Malcolm N Shaw (2003), *International Law*: 592-597.
 - "Pinochet's Revenge," in Jeremy Rabkin (1999), "International Law vs. the American Constitution," *National Interest* 55: 32-35.
 - "Moral Rigor Mortis," John Bolton (1999), *Foreign Affairs* 78(1): 157-64.
 - "Global Law Claims New Turf in Sudan," Peter Ford and Abraham McLaughlin (June 10, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.
 - "Sierra Leone: The Proving Ground for Prosecuting Rape as a War Crime," Shana Eaton (2004), *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 35(4): 873.
- 10/31 Arms Control** **KM 355-366**
- "Interpreting Treaties: Arms Control," in Barry E Carter and Phillip R Trimble (1995), *International Law*.
 - "The Bush Administration's Forward Strategy for Nonproliferation," John R Bolton (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 5(2): 395-404.
 - "Preemptive Attacks on Nuclear Facilities," David Sloss (2003), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 4(1).
 - "Debating the Ban on Small Nuclear Weapons," Michael Levi (2004), *Scientific American* 291(2): 73.
 - "Arming Genocide in Rwanda," Stephen D Goose and Frank Smyth (1994), *Foreign Affairs*: 86-96.
- 11/2 Counter-Terrorism** **KM 366-383**
- "Terrorism and the Laws of War," Eric A Posner (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 5(2): 423-434.
 - "Terrorism: The Persistent Dilemma of Legitimacy," M Cherif Bassiouni (2004), *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 36(2/3): 299-306.
 - "Human Rights and Terrorism," Paul Hoffman (2004), *Human Rights Quarterly* 26(4): 932-955.
 - "The Use of Force against Terrorism," in Christine Gray (2000), *International Law and the Use of Force*: 115-19.

11/4 International Crime Prevention

- “Saving the Youngest Workers,” Corey Rennell (2004), *Harvard International Review* 26(3): 30-33.
- “Global Trafficking in Human Beings,” LeRoy G Potts, Jr. (2003), *The George Washington International Law Review* 35(1): 227.
- “Crime and Corruption in the Digital Age,” Louise I Shelley (1998), *Journal of International Affairs* 51(2): 605-620.
- “Meet the World’s Top Cop,” Moises Naim (2001), *Foreign Policy* 122: 31-40.

11/7 EXAM #2

PART IV: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Section A: The Foundations of International Law on the Global Environment

- 11/9 **Tossing Trash Out the Car Window** **KM 497-511**
- “The Problem of the Commons”
 - “Stockholm Declaration, UN Conference on the Human Environment, June 1972”
- 11/11 **International Environmental Law** **KM 511-22**
- “International Environmental Law,” in Malcolm N Shaw (2003), *International Law*.
 - “Hot Enough for You?” Jerry Taylor (2005), *National Review* 57(13): 20-21.
 - “What Future for the Oceans?” John Temple Swing (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(5): 139-152.
 - “Document: US Wants Climate Statement ‘Watered Down,’” Tom Regan (June 20, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.
 - “Ivory, Conservation, and Environmental Transnational Coalitions,” Thomas Princen (1995) in *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In*, Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed. (Cambridge University Press): 227-253.

Section B: Applying International Environmental Laws and Norms

- 11/14 **Deforestation and Global Warming** **KM 522-33**
- “Seeing the Forest: Conservation on a Continental Scale,” Eugene Linden, Thomas Lovejoy, and J Daniel Phillips (2004), *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): 8-13.
 - “Tropical Deforestation,” in Todd Sandler (1997), *Global Challenges: An Approach to Environmental, Political, and Economic Problems* (Cambridge University Press): 91-99.
 - “Beyond Kyoto,” Lord John Browne (2004), *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): 20-32.
- 11/16 **Sustainable Development**
- “Sustainable Development,” Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*: 90-110.

PART V: WHAT SHOULD GLOBAL GOVERNANCE LOOK LIKE?

- 11/18 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 1-25**
- 11/21 **Discussion on the Archibugi Book** **Archibugi, 25-52**
- 11/23 **THANKSGIVING BREAK (No Class)**
- 11/25 **THANKSGIVING BREAK (No Class)**
- 11/28 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 53-84**
- 11/30 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 85-122**
- 12/3 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 123-49**
- 12/5 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 206-25**
- 12/7 **Presentations** **Archibugi, 274-88**
- 12/9 **Presentations and So What** **KM 537-52**

Final: Friday, December 16, 1:30-4:00 pm

Course Outline

I. The Structure of Global Governance

- A. What Is Global Governance?
 - 1. Global Governance, not International Relations
 - 2. The Parts of Global Governance
 - 3. Constructivism and Other Theories
 - 4. Historical Development
- B. The Primary Institutions and Actors
 - 1. The United Nations
 - a. What Role Does It Play?
 - b. Does the UN “Work?”
 - 2. Regional Organizations
 - 3. Globalization
 - 4. Nation-States and Non-State Actors
- C. International Law: The Language of Global Governance
 - 1. What Is International Law?
 - 2. Is International Law Really “Law?”
 - 3. What’s Your Law Got to Do with Me?

II. Human Development

- A. Human Rights
 - 1. The Development of the Concept of “Human Rights”
 - 2. Human Rights Issues in Action
- B. The Global Economy
 - 1. The Development of the International Economy
 - 2. International Economic Institutions
 - 3. The Anti-Globalization Movement

III. Peace and Security

- A. Collective Security
 - 1. War and Collective Security
 - 2. Peacekeeping and Beyond
- B. Constructivism at Work
 - 1. Legal Norms on the Use of Force
 - 2. The Development of International Humanitarian Law
 - 3. Changes in the Use of Force Historically
 - 4. General Ideas about Change
- C. Evolving Global Mechanisms to Reduce Violence
 - 1. War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity
 - 2. Arms Control
 - 3. Counter-Terrorism
 - 4. Transnational Crime Prevention

IV. Environmental Issues

- A. The Foundations of International Law on the Global Environment
 - 1. Throwing Trash Out the Car Window
 - 2. International Environmental Law
- B. Applying International Environmental Laws and Norms
 - 1. Deforestation and Global Warming
 - 2. Sustainable Development

V. What *Should* Global Governance Look Like?