

General Course Information: CGTH G6020.001 GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

T 04:10P-06:00P

W & J WARREN 417

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Course Objectives

There is broad consensus both that we are living in an age of globalization, involving networks of interdependence that span the continents. Globalization raises classical governance issues, namely who exercises the authority to govern, and the relation between that authority and “the governed”, i.e. those directly or indirectly affected by governance measures they take.

Globalization, like past forms of interdependence, requires governance intervention to correct for undesirable governance structures that emerge spontaneously and to limit the negative fallout from unregulated interdependence. Despite the emerging consensus on the problems, there is a wide divergence of approaches in the social sciences, humanities, law and business in framing governance problems in the global age and seeking possible solutions to them.

In this seminar we will review how these various literatures identify the critical issues of governance in a highly interdependent world and formulate policy responses to them. We will then apply these various approaches to selected case studies that raise critical global governance issues: Climate Change; Failed States; International Trade and Investment; and Democratic Accountability. Climate Change is the paradigmatic case for what economists term “externality”, thus raising the need for coordination, if not governmental actions at the global, or supra-national level. Failed States represent serious governance failures that not only affect the population living within their borders as well as adjacent populations, but may have spill-over effects for people far away. They also raise fundamental concerns about justice and morality. International trade and investment are widely seen as fostering economic growth and development. Yet the benefits are often unevenly distributed within states. Moreover, free trade and capital flows have allowed companies to evade governance structures imposed on them by their home countries, raising crucial questions regarding accountability and the proper locus of authority. Finally, as global governance slowly emerges piecemeal, publics are beginning to demand participation in governance of various issues and accountability for the problems and proposed solutions that reshape their lives.

PART I: Literature Review

Week 1: Introduction to Global Governance (January 22, 2008)

Walzer, Michael. 2000. Governing the Globe? What is the Best We Can Do? *Dissent* 47:4, pp. 44-52

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2004. *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction. 1-35

Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, Jonathan Perraton.[Held et al] 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Section 1.3 to end of Chapter 1; pp.62-86)

Matthews, Jessica T. 1997. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs* 76: 50-66.

Week 2: Core elements of governance: Authority, Community, Compliance (January 29, 2008)

Andersen, Benedict. 2006 (latest edition, earlier editions are fine too). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Read the first chapter: 1-15. [14]

Habermas, Jürgen. . The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. Excerpts: pp. 1-5; 27-31; 51-56. [13]

Falk, Richard. 2002. "Revisiting Westphalia, Discovering Post-Westphalia." *Journal of Ethics* 6(4): 311-352. [16]

Rosenau, James N. 2002. "Governance in a New Global Order." In David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 70-86. [11]

Supplementary Readings:

Krasner, Stephen D. 1996. "Compromising Westphalia." *International Security* 20(3): 115-151 [23]

Philpott, Daniel. 1999. "Westphalia, Authority, and International Society." *Political Studies* XLVII: 566-589. [14]

Scholte, J.A. 2000. *Globalization*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and London: McMillan Press. Chapter 6 ("Globalization and Governance"). [16]

Week 3: Community, Compliance, and Accountability in the Global Age (February 5, 2008)

Appiah, Kwame A. 2007. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. Norton. Introduction: xi-xxi.

Ruggie, John G. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." *International Organization* 36(2): 379-415.

Cerny, Philip. 1995. "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action." *International Organization* 49(4): 595-625. [18]

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye. 2001 [1977]. *Power and Interdependence*. Third Edition. New York: Longman. (2001 edition) Chapter 1: 3-19.

Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane. 2005. "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 1-15.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2004. "Is There a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis." *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 336-364. [12]

Woods, Ngaire and Domenico Lombardi. 2006. "Uneven Patterns of Governance: How Developing Countries are Represented in the IMF", *Review of International Political Economic* 13:3: 480-515. [19]

Supplementary Readings:

Ruggie, John G. 2004. "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain – Issues, Actors, and Practices." *European Journal of International Relations* 10(4): 499-531. [17]

Doyle, Michael. 2007. "The Liberal Peace, Democratic Accountability, and the Challenge of Globalization." In David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds) *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies*. Cambridge: Polity: 190-206 [16]

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. 2001. "Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August): 2-6.

Chayes, Abram and Antonia. 1993. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47 (Spring): 175-205. [11]

Saskia, Sassen. 2007. "Globalisation, the state, and the democratic deficit." http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/globalisation_liberal_state_democratic_defici (5 pages) [4]

Scholte, Jan Aart. 2004. "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Governance." *Government and Opposition*, vol. 39(2): 211-33. [17]

Week 4: Global Governance as New Governance beyond the Nation State (February 12, 2008)

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Introduction: 1-38.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2004. *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 5.

Haas, Peter. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* 46 (Winter 1992): 1-35.

Supplementary Readings:

UN Charter, plus Univ. Dec. of Human Rights, <http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

Alvarez, Jose. 2006. "International Organizations: Then and Now." *American Journal of International Law* 100(2): 324-347.

Fraser, Nancy. 2005. "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere." In M. Pinsky, ed. *Globalizing Critical Theory*. Oxford University Press. pp. 37-47.

Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 87-104.

Pierson, Paul. 1998. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." In *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 27-58.

Session 2

Tuesday - February 19, 2008

Topic:

Climate Change

Class Plan:

Weeks 5-7: Climate Change (February 19, 26, and March 4, 2008)

Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Economics of the Public Sector*, 3rd edition, Chapter 9 ("Externalities and the Environment") pp. 214-240.

Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, What is the Economics of Climate Change, Discussion Paper, 31 January 2006, available at www.sternreview.org.uk. Executive Summary: ii-xxvii.

Stiglitz, Joseph E.. 2006. *Making Globalization Work*. New York, London: W.W. Norton. Chapter 6 ("Saving the Planet"): 161-186.

Browne, John. 2004. "Beyond Kyoto." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August): 20-32.

Sands, Philippe and Jan Linehan. "Compliance with Multilateral Environmental Agreements: The Climate Change Regime." In Edward C. Luck and Michael W. Doyle, eds, *International Law and Organization: Closing the Compliance Gap*. Rowman & Littlefield: pp. 103-119.

Spinz, Detlef and Tapani Vaahtoranta. 1994. "The Interest-based Explanation of International Environmental Policy." in O. Hathway and H. Koh (eds) *Foundations of International Law and Politics* 2005 Foundation Press.

"Who Bears the Load? Bali leaves big concessions needed on climate change, *Financial Times*, 18 December 2007, p. 7.

Websites of relevance:

For background on the Kyoto Protocol, including the text of the Protocol and emission targets, visit:

<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/kyoto.htm>

http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/emission/citl_en.htm (includes the EU Emission Trading Scheme)

http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php

<http://www.earthinstitute.columbia.edu/grocc/about.html>

<http://www.ipcc.ch/about/about.htm>

<http://www.epa.gov/climatechange/>

<http://www.unep.org/themes/climatechange/>

Session 3

Tuesday - March 11, 2008

Topic:

Failed States

Class Plan:

Suggested order of reading for March 11:

Jackson, Robert H.. 1991. *Quasi States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge: Press Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: 13-31.

"Failed States Index" *Foreign Policy* July/August 2007: 55-63.

Derrida, J. 2005. "(No) More Rogue States" in *Rogues* Stanford University Press. pp.95-107.

Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion*. Chapters 7-9.

Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner, "Saving Failed States", *Foreign Policy* 1992-93, pp. 3-20

Paris, Roland. 1997. "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism." *International Security* 22 (Fall 1997): 54-89.

CIC, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2007*, excerpts

Brahimi, Lakhdar and Salman Ahmed, "In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation"

Poulligny, Beatrice. 2002. "Building Peace After Mass Crime," *Intl Peacekeeping*, 2002, and excerpts from her *Peace Operations Seen from Below* (pp 96-104, 155-162)

Poulligny, Beatrice. 2006. *Peace Operations Seen from Below UN Missions and Local People*. Chapter 3.

Doyle, Michael W. 2007. "The John W. Holmes Lecture: Building Peace." *Global Governance* 13: 1-15.

Supplementary Readings

Chopra, Jarat. 2002. "Building State Failure in East Timor." *Development and Change* 33(5): 79-100.

Salman Ahmed and Ugo Salinas, "Shaping the Future of UN Peace Operations: Is there a Doctrine in the House?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20, 1, March 2007.

UN, Secretary-General's Report, No Exit without Strategy, April 2001.

Rotberg, Robert I.. 2002. "Failed States in a World of Terror." *Foreign Affairs* 81(4): 127-141.

Doyle, Michael. 2001. "War Making and Peace Making: the United Nation's Post-Cold War Record" in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington: United State Institute of Peace.

Session 4

Tuesday - April 08, 2008

Topic:

WTO

Class Plan:

Weeks 11-13: International Trade (April 8, 15 and 22, 2008)

Wolf, Martin. 2004. *Why Globalization Works*. Yale University Press. Chapter 8 ("The Rise, Fall, and Rise of a Liberal Global Economy"): 106-121.

Hoekman, Bernard and Michel M. Kostecki. 2001. *The Political Economy of the World Trading System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1: 25-46.

O'Campo, Jose-Antonio. 2003. *Inequalities and Asymmetries in the Global Order: A Latin American and Caribbean Perspective*. Available at <http://site.ebrary.com> (excerpts)

Rodrik, Dani. 2001. *The Global Governance of Trade: As if Development Really Mattered*, UNDP 2001, pp. 21-36.

Steinberg, Richard H. 2002. In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO. *International Organization Vol. 56(2)*, 339-374.

Davis, Christina. 2006. "Do WTO Rules Create a Level Playing Field? Lessons from the Experience of Peru and Vietnam." Princeton University Working Paper available at: <http://www.princeton.edu/~cldavis/research/index.html>, pp. 11-36.

DeSombre, Elizabeth and J. Samuel Barkin. 2002. "Turtles and Trade: The WTO's Acceptance of Environmental Trade Restrictions." *Global Environmental Politics*:12-19.

WTO Appellate Body: *US vs. Malaysia WT/DS58/AB/RW*, 22 October 2001 (excerpts).

Pauwelyn, Joast. 2000. "Enforcement and Counter-measures in the WTO: Rules are Rules—Towards a More Collective Approach" in O. Hathway and H. Koh (eds) *Foundations of International Law and Politics* 2005 Foundation Press, pp.

Supplementary Readings:

Schwartz, Warren F and Alan O. Sykes. 2002. "The Economist Structure of Renegotiation and Dispute Resolution" in O. Hathway and H. Koh (eds) *Foundations of International Law and Politics* 2005 Foundation Press.

Stiglitz, Joseph and Andrew Charlton. 2005. *Fair Trade for All*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4: 57-65.

Broude, Tomer. 2007. The WTO/GATS Mode 4, International Labour Migration Regimes and Global Justice. *International Law Forum: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem* Research paper 7-07.