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## **MC 363: Global Governance (Fall 2007)**

### **Scope of the Course and Course Goals**

To study global governance is to study the sum of the multiple and often overlapping ways that individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. Thus it includes both state and non-state actors, those supportive of the current world order and those opposed to it, those formally organized and those less so, and profit-seeking as well as not-for-profit organizations. Obviously, in a single course, we cannot cover all of these organizations. So we must pick and choose. Our focus will be on the most prominent intergovernmental organizations (the UN system, the European Union and NATO), key international non-governmental organizations (usually abbreviated as NGOs) and resistance movements.

In addition to gaining this substantive knowledge, students in MC 363 will hone their research skills in writing and revising a paper, including the use of primary documents. Moreover, students will have an opportunity hone their speaking skills by sharing their research discoveries with their classmates.

### **Reading Requirements**

You are asked to acquire the following six books; you will be reading them in their entirety. They are also available in the assigned reading section of the main University library.

Ahmed, Shamima and David M. Potter. NGOs in International Politics. Bloomfield, CT.: Kumarian Press, Inc., 2006.

Eschle, Catherine and Bice Maiguashca. Editors. Critical Theories, International Relations and 'the Anti-Globalisation Movement': The Politics of Global Resistance. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Kennedy, Paul. The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations. New York: Random House, 2006.

Lindley-French, Julian. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Wallace, Helen; William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack. Policy-Making in the European Union. Fifth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Woods, Ngaire. The Globalizers: The IMF, The World Bank and Their Borrowers. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

In order to maximize learning in the class, including through meaningful and interesting class discussions, students are expected to read all of the required readings in advance of the class for which they are assigned.

A number of “recommended readings” are also listed in various places in this syllabus. They are not required, but are suggested as supplements to the required readings. They are placed in the syllabus for those who are fascinated by a particular facet of the course.

### **Paper Assignment and Panel Presentation**

Each student will be writing a paper that asks the same question: What makes for a successful leader of an intergovernmental organization? To answer this question, each student will select the head of an intergovernmental organization to research. While it’s not necessary to have selected a “successful” leader in order to build a model for successful leadership, it is necessary to have some clear understanding of the meaning of successful leadership and have a broad understanding of the factors that contribute to (or limit) success. While all of the students will be addressing the same key question in their papers, it is assumed that hypotheses will vary significantly.

There will obviously be more material on leaders of major intergovernmental organizations (World Bank Presidents, UN and League of Nations Secretaries-General, NATO Secretaries-General and SACEURs) than others. But there are interesting stories to be told about various Managing Directors of the IMF, executive heads of other of the UN’s Specialized Agencies, Presidents of the EU Commission, heads of the OAS, Arab League, ECLA, UNCTAD, and UN Global Conferences, etc. And, although the class is large, there are plenty of such executive heads from which to choose (e.g., 13 NATO Secretaries-General, 11 Presidents of the EU Commission, 9 Directors-General of UNESCO, 9 Directors-General of the International Labor Organization, etc.).

Students enrolled in MC 363 to earn STEPPS credit should consider working on a head of UNEP or one of the UN global environmental conferences.

Names of current and past executive heads can be found on the organization’s website or sometimes on *Wikipedia* (but always double-check when using this notoriously undependable source). For the names of those who headed UN Global Conferences, see <http://www.un.org/events/conferences.htm> or Michael G. Schechter, *United Nations*

*Global Conferences* (Routledge, 2005), appendix. Current executive heads should only be selected if they have already served in office for a number of years.

Everyone should find helpful the following guide put together by Terri Miller of the MSU library staff: [http://guides.lib.msu.edu/page.phtml?page\\_id=1334](http://guides.lib.msu.edu/page.phtml?page_id=1334)

For international statistics, you should begin with:  
[http://guides.lib.msu.edu/page.phtml?page\\_id=654](http://guides.lib.msu.edu/page.phtml?page_id=654)

Once the name of executive head has been selected, students should enter that name and the institution headed and years on the class's Angel Website. Go to Lessons on MC 363; call up Executive Head Selected, then go to Add Content and select Page and then add content and then remember to hit save before exiting. Choices will be based on who selects the executive head first.

In addition to reading articles, biographies, autobiographies and speeches, you will need to be attuned to the provisions of the institution's constitutive documents as well as the global environment in which the leader operated (i.e. the systemic conditions that were conducive to executive head success or influence or constrained executive head autonomy).

The drafts of each student's paper, which should be about 3000 words, will first be shared with the Professor, no later than the beginning of class on October 22, 2007, and then, as they are being revised, with others, via the use of Angel teams, in the class who are writing about heads of the same organization or the same sort of organizations. In doing so, it is hoped that students will gain further insights into the explanatory factors for success.

Students will also be organized into panels for presenting their findings. Prior to the panel presentations, each group will post on the class Angel page their major theoretical findings (in bullet format).

Students will then have a final opportunity to revise their papers once more before turning them into the instructor for final evaluation, no later than the beginning of class on December 5, 2007. The final paper should be about 4000 words.

In MC 363, as in all classes in Madison College, we are committed to improving your writing, including the development of an argument and the use of supporting evidence. That's why each student will have ample opportunities to revise your paper, as befits a course in the Tier 2 cluster, as is this one. Throughout the entire paper process, students are encouraged to meet with the instructor during office hours and during separate appointments.

While the specific citation format that you use in your paper is not specified, you should be sure that you include enough materials in your foot or endnotes and

bibliography that your sources can be checked. A good place to look for formats is: <http://www2.lib.msu.edu/research/cite-resources.jsp>

### Grade Determinants

First examination	20%
Draft of paper	20%
Panel Presentation	5%
Final Paper	25%
Final Exam	25%
Classroom participation	5%

### Honors Option

Any student enrolled in MC 363 who is interested in receiving honors credit for this course is encouraged to do so. The focus of the extra sessions will be on international organization bureaucrats. Our extra sessions will be focused around reading and discussing two books: John Mathiason's Invisible Governance: International Secretariats in Global Politics (Kumarian, 2007) and Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore's Rules for the World: International Organizations in World Politics (Cornell, 2004). Different students will lead discussions about the various chapters in the books and, at the conclusion of the honors seminar, students will write a brief (fewer than 5 page) critical review essay of the two books. The awarding of an "H" for this course also requires that a student earn a minimum of a 3.5 in all of the normal requirements of the course. The honors designation for this course requires outstanding work in all aspects of this class and not simply the satisfactory completion of the additional work that will be required of those participating in the honors option session.

## Course Calendar

### Introduction to the Study of Global Governance

**August 27**

#### **What is Global Governance?**

- Administrative Details
- Key Actors: International Organizations versus Global Governance
- What Leads to a Successful or Influential IGO Executive Head?

Recommended Readings:

Robert W. Cox, "The Executive Head: An Essay on Leadership in International Organization," *International Organization*, 23:2 (Spring 1969): 205-230. Accessible from JSTOR and included in: *International Organization: Politics & Process*, edited by Leland M. Goodrich and David A. Kay

Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*, esp. pp. 119-125.

**August 29**

#### **Getting Started On Your Research and On Learning about IGOs**

- Conducting Research for Your Term-Long Research Paper (Terri Miller from the MSU Libraries)
- Pre-UN Intergovernmental Organizations

Required Reading:

Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations*, chapter 1.

Recommended Readings:

Inis L. Claude, Jr. *Swords Into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organizations*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, chapters 2 and 3.

Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance Since 1850*.

Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations, A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies and Their Quest for a Peaceful World.*

### **Some Prominent Intergovernmental Organizations**

#### **September 5**

#### **The League of Nations and the United Nations as Agents of Collective Security**

Required Reading:

Kennedy, chapters 2 and 3.

Recommended Readings:

Leland Goodrich, "From League of Nations to United Nations," *International Organization*, 1 (February 1947): 3-21.

Ramesh Thakur, *The United Nations, Peace and Security.*

David M. Malone, *The UN Security Council: From Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.*

Edward C. Luck, *UN Security Council: Practice and Promise.*

Jean E. Krasno, editor, *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society.*

Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations.*

#### **September 10**

#### **The United Nations' Economic Agenda(s)**

- Developmentalism as an Organizational Ideology
- Why Are UN Global Conferences Convened?

Required Reading:

Kennedy, chapters 4 and 5.

Recommended Readings:

Craig N. Murphy, *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?*

W. Phillip Jones with David Coleman, *The United Nations and Education: Multilateralism, Development and Globalization.*

Michael G. Schechter, *United Nations Global Conferences*

Robert W. Cox and Harold K. Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence: Decision-Making in International Organizations*, chapter 11

Ian Taylor and Karen Smith, *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)*

**September 12**

**The United Nations' Human Rights and Humanitarian Efforts**

Required Reading:

Kennedy, chapters 6 and 7.

Recommended Readings:

Cristina GB. Badescu, "Authorizing Humanitarian Intervention: Hard Choices in Saving Strangers," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (March 2007): 51-78.

Thomas G. Weiss and David A. Korn, *Internal Displacement: Conceptualization and Its Consequences*

Adam Lebor, "*Complicity with Evil*": *The United Nations in the Age of Genocide.*

Yves Beigbeder, *New Challenges for UNICEF: Children, Women and Human Rights.*

M.J. Peterson, *The UN General Assembly*

Andrew Clapham, *Human Rights Obligations of Non-State Actors.*

John Shaw, *The UN World Food Programme and the Development of Food Aid.*

## September 17

### Assessing the United Nations Today as Well as Its Chances for Reform

Required Reading:

Kennedy, chapter 8.

Recommended Readings:

Marie-Claude Smouts, "United Nations Reform: A Strategy of Avoidance," in *Innovation in Multilateralism*, edited by Michael G. Schechter.

Edward C. Luck, "Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress," in *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society*, edited by Jean E. Krasno.

James Ingram, *Bread and Stones: Leadership and the Struggle to Reform the World Food Program*

Eric Shawn, *The U.N. Exposed: How the United Nations Sabotages America's Security and Fails the World*.

Pedro A. Sanjuan, *The UN Gang: A Memoir of Incompetence, Corruption, Espionage, Anti-Semitism, and Islamic Extremism at the UN Secretariat*.

## September 19

### Bretton Woods and Beyond: The IMF, World Bank, the ITO/GATT and the WTO

Required Reading:

Ngairé Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank and Their Borrowers*, Introduction and Chapters 1-3.

Recommended Readings:

Richard Peet with Beate Born, et al., *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*

Devesh Kapur, John P. Lewis, Richard Webb, *The World Bank: Its first half Century*.

James Vreeland, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*

Bernard M. Hoekman and Petros C. Mavroidis, *The World Trade Organization: Law, Economics and Politics*.

## **September 24**

### **The IMF and World Bank: Case Studies**

Required Reading:

Woods, chapters 4-6.

Recommended Reading:

Michael Goldman, *The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization*.

Paul Mosley, Jane Harrigan and John Toye, *Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policy-based Lending*.

André Broome and Leonard Seabrooke, "Seeing like the IMF: Institutional Change in Small Open Economies," *Review of International Political Economy*, 14 (October 2007): 576-601.

## **September 26**

### **Reform, Consolidation or Elimination of the IMF and World Bank**

Required Reading:

Woods, chapter 7.

Recommended Reading:

Kevin Danaher, *50 Years Is Enough: The Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*

## October 1

### Regional Integration Efforts

- What Makes the European Union Different?
- Institutions, Processes and Analytical Approaches

#### Required Reading:

Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack, *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Part one.

#### Recommended Readings:

Edward Mansfield and Helen Milner, "The New Wave of Regionalism," *International Organization*, 53 (Summer 1999): 589-627.

Edward Mansfield and Eric Reinhardt, "Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism," *International Organization*, 57 (Fall 2003): 829-862.

Bertrand Ford and Douglas Webber, editors, *Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe: Convergence or Divergence?*

Victor Bulmer-Thomas, editor, *Regional Integration in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Political Economy of Open Regionalism*.

Rok Ajulu, editor, *The Making of a Region: The Revival of the East Africa Community*

## October 3

### EU Policies: The Single Market, Competition Policy, and Economic and Monetary Union

#### Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapters 4-6.

#### Recommended Readings:

Christoph Hermann, "Neoliberalism in the European Union," 79 *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review* (Spring 2007): 61-89.

Doris Fuchs, *Business Power in Global Governance*.

Scott Cooper, "Why Doesn't Regional Monetary Cooperation Follow Trade Cooperation?" *Review of International Political Economy*, 14 (October 2007): 626-652.

## **October 8**

### **EU Policies: Agriculture, Budget and Cohesion**

Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapters 7-9

Recommended Reading:

Carsten Daugbjerg and Alana Swinbank, "The Politics of CAP Reform: Trade Negotiations, Institutional Settings and Blame Avoidance," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (March 2007): 1-22.

## **October 10**

### **Social Policy, Employment and the Environment, with a focus on the EU**

- Other Regional IGOs, with an Emphasis on Human Rights

Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapters 10-12.

Recommended Readings:

A. Glenn Mower, Jr. *Regional Human Rights: A Comparative Study of the West European and Inter-American Systems*

Gilles Raveaud, "The European Employment Strategy: Towards More and Better Jobs," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (June 2007): 411-434.

## **October 15**

### **Regional Organization Policies with a focus on EU Biotech, Fisheries and Trade Policy**

Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapters 13-15

Recommended Readings:

Melissa Curley, *Advancing East Asian Regionalism*

Elizabeth R. DeSombre, *Flagging Standards: Globalization and Environmental, Safety, and Labor Regulations at Sea.*

**October 17**

**Regional Organization Policies with a focus on EU Enlargement, Foreign and Security and Justice and Home Affairs**

Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapters 16-18

Recommended Readings:

Paolo Foradon, Paolo Rosa, and Riaccardo Scartezzini, editors, *Managing a Multilevel Foreign Policy.*

Mary Kaldor and Andrew Salmon, "Military Force and European Strategy," 48 *Survival* (Spring 2006): 19-34.

Craig Arceneaux and David Pion-Berlin, "Issues, Threats, and Institutions: Explaining OAS Responses to Democratic Dilemmas in Latin America," 49 *Latin American Politics and Society* (Summer 2007): 1-31.

Jan Deley, "Do Enlargements Make the European Union Less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust between EU Nationalities," *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45 (June 2007): 253-279.

**October 22**

**The EU as a Model of Post-Sovereign Governance**

**Draft of Paper Due at the Beginning of Class**

Required Reading:

Wallace, Wallace and Pollack, chapter 19.

Recommended Reading:

Andrus Alber, et al. "Does Europe Have Something to Offer the World?" *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 30 (Summer 2006): 179-190.

**October 24**

**Regional Security Organizations**

- In relation to the UN
- How Distinctive is NATO?

Required Reading:

Julian Lindley-French, *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance*, pp. 1-73

Recommended Readings:

Björn Hettne and Frederik Söderbaum, "The UN and Regional Organizations in Global Security: Competing or Complementary Logics?" *Global Governance*, 12 (2006): 227-232.

Thomas A. Imobighe, *The OAU (AU) and OAS in Regional Conflict Management: A Comparative Assessment*

David C. Gompert, "For a Capability to Protect: Mass Killing, the African Union and NATO," *Survival*, 48 (Spring 2006): 7-17.

Thomas Jaye, *Issues of Sovereignty, Strategy, and Security in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Intervention in the Liberian Civil War*

David Martin Jones and Michael L.R. Smith, "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order," *32 International Security* (Summer 2007): 148-184.

Emil J. Kirchner, "Regional and Global Security: Changing Threats and International Responses," in *Global Security Governance: Competing Perceptions of Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, edited by Emil J. Kirchner and James Sperling.

**October 29****NATO: The Once and Future Alliance**

Required Reading:

Lindley-French, pp. 74-118

Recommended Readings:

Renée de Nevers, "NATO's International Security Role in the Terrorist Era," *International Security*, 321 (Spring 2007): 34-66.

Edward Newman, *A Crisis of Global Institutions? Multilateralism and International Security*.

**October 31****First In-Class Examination****International Non-Governmental Organizations****November 5****NGOs in International Relations**

Required Reading:

Shamima Ahmed and David M. Potter, *NGOs in International Politics*, part one

Recommended Readings:

William E. DeMars, *NGOs and Transnational Networks: Wild Cards in World Politics*.

Peter Willetts, Editor, "*The Conscience of the World*": *The Influence of Non-Governmental Organisations in the U.N. System*

Michael G. Schechter, "Making Meaningful UN-sponsored World Conferences of the 1990s: NGOs to the Rescue?" in *United Nations-sponsored World Conferences: Focus on Impact and Follow-up*, edited by Michael G. Schechter.

Daphné Josselin and William Wallace, *Non-State Actors in World Politics*.

Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, editors, *NGOs, the UN and Global Governance*

## November 7

### **NGOs: Accountability and Case Studies relating to Foreign aid and International Security**

Required Reading:

Ahmed and Potter, chapters 6-8

Recommended Readings:

Lisa Jordan and Peter van Tuijl, editors. *NGO Accountability: Politics, Principles and Innovations*.

Viven Collingwood and Louis Logister, "State of the Art: Addressing the INGO 'Legitimacy Deficit,'" *Political Studies Review* (Vol. 3, 2005): 175-192.

Viven Collingwood, "Non-Governmental Organisations: Power and Legitimacy in International Society," *Review of International Studies* 32, (2006), 439-454.

Jonathan Goodhand, *Aiding Peace? The Role of NGOs in Armed Conflict*.

Thomas J. Ward, "The Political Economy of NGOs and Human Security," 24 *International Journal of World Peace* (March 2007): 43-64.

Jennifer M. Brinkeroff, Stephen C. Smith and Hildy Teegen, editors, *NGOs and the Millennium Development Goals: Citizen Action to Reduce Poverty*

David P. Forsythe with Barbara Ann J. Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross: A Neutral Humanitarian Actor*

Jean-Marc Coicaud, editor, *Ethics in Action: The Ethical Challenges of International Human Rights Nongovernmental Organizations*.

World Bank, IMF, *Global Monitoring Report 2007: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality and Fragile States*.

**November 12**

**NGOs: Case Studies relating to Human Rights and the Environment**

Required Reading:

Ahmed and Potter, chapters 9-11.

Recommended Readings:

Bas Arts, *The Political Influence of Global NGOs: Case Studies on the Climate and Biodiversity Conventions.*

Claude E. Welch, Jr., *NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance.*

**Executive Head Success and Influence**

**November 14**

**Panel Presentations on Executive Heads**

**All Panels Must Have Their Major Theoretical Findings to Date Posted on Angel Prior to the Beginning of Class**

**November 19**

**Panel Presentations on Executive Heads**

**November 21**

**Panel Presentations on Executive Heads**

## Networks, Transnational Advocacy Groups and Social Movements

### **November 26**

#### **Networks, Transnational Advocacy Groups and Social Movements and Resistance Movements: Power/Resistance/Movement**

##### Required Reading:

Catherine Eschle and Bice Maiguashca, editors, *Critical Theories, International Relations and 'the Anti-Globalisation Movement': The Politics of Global Resistance*, chapters 1-3.

##### Recommended Readings:

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*

Kelly Kollman, "Same-Sex Unions: The Globalization of an Idea," *International Studies Quarterly*, 51 (June 2007): 329-357.

"What about Marcus Garvey? Race and the Transformation of the Sovereignty Debate," *Review of International Studies*, 32 (2006): 379-400.

Louise Amoore, *The Global Resistance Reader*.

### **November 28**

#### **Examples of Resistance Movements, with attention to Discourse/Identity/Culture**

##### Required Reading:

Eschle and Maiguashca, chapters 4-7.

**December 3**

**Resistance Movements: Politics/Strategy/Violence**

**Final Paper Due No Later Than Beginning of Class**

Required Reading:

Eschle and Manguashca, chapters 8-11 and conclusion

Recommended Readings:

Ronaldo Munck, *Globalization and Contestation: The New Great Counter-Movement*

Jackie Smith, *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*

Ruth Reitan, *Global Activism*.

**December 5**

**Summary and Conclusions**

**December 13      10:00 – Noon**

**Final Examination**