# National Research University Higher School of Economics School of World Economy and International Affairs Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"

Course Title: "Global Governance: Theory and Practice"

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# **Target Audience:**

The Course is designed for Master students from Russia and abroad with concentrations in Political Science and International Relations, with a special interest in Globalization and its effects on International Relations and international and National Security, as well as in Russian Foreign policy. It is preferable, though not compulsory, if the students have basic knowledge of International Relations theory, as well as of contemporary International Affairs and Globalization.

# Course Description (no less than 200 words)

#### - Aims of the course:

Aims of the course are: to analyze the major impact of globalization on International Affairs and International Security; to review, study and analyze the major theories and concepts of global governance, developed after the end of the Cold war, and explore then through the prism of the International Affairs Theory; to analyze the mechanics of Global Governance, its major patterns, functions and structures; to study global governance of major aspects of international security (counter-terrorism, counter-proliferation); to explore the role of international institutions in Global Governance and analyze the problem of the UN reform as a problem of Global Governance; to study the roles and approaches of the US and Russia to Global Governance.

# - Course as a part of the study programme, brief analysis of the course in comparison to Russian and foreign academic experience.

The course provides a logical and necessary supplement to the curricular of the Master programs "International Relations: European and Asian Studies" and "International Relations in Eurasia" offered by the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs of the HSE. The curricular "International Relations: European and Asian Studies" used to contain courses on Russian domestic and foreign policies, International Relations, regional studies, but lacked one on the Global Governance, despite the fact that latter's importance is rising in managing both International Relations and World Economy. In an era of today's global complexity Global Governance is an indispensable part of professional knowledge of any curricular that aspires for proficiency in world affairs. The course offered is the only course on Global Governance offered by the Higher School of Economics and one of very few offered in Russia in general. The course would be of special interest for those Russian and foreign students, interested in International Affairs, World Politics and World Economy, as well as Russian foreign policy.

One of the advantages of the course is that it combines both theoretical and practical parts. It starts with examination of the major concepts and theories of Global Governance,

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developed mainly after the end of the Cold War, and also analyzes the concept and idea of Global Governance through the prism of classic theories of International Relations and traditional theoretical concepts of international order and regulation. A detailed study of Global Governance developed by one of its main classics – James Rosenau – is provided. Classifications of types, structures and missions of Global Governance are explored.

An important feature of the course is its critical nature, focused on cultivating analytical skills of the students. All the theories and concepts explored within the course are not simply studies, but critically discussed and compared with the existing practice of international Affairs. Moreover, a clear advantage of the course is the abundance of practical illustrations provided from the current evolution of the International Affairs.

The practical part of the course explores the cooperative modalities among states and other international actors aimed at collective management of global and transnational threats and challenges. The major focus is global security governance (global governance of counterterrorism, use of force, proliferation of WMD). Obstacles to effective global governance in the international security area are carefully analyzed and ways for their minimization are identified and studied. Also a study of International Institutions role and performance in Global Governance is provided. A special focus is given to the UN as a centerpiece of global security governance. Problems and projects of the UN reform are explored and analyzed.

The course ends with analyzing the role, place and approaches of two important international players to Global Governance – Russia and the United States.

# - Prerequisites

The course has no specific obligatory prerequisites. Still, basic knowledge of International Relations theory, as well as of contemporary International Affairs and Globalization would be preferable and welcome.

# - Intended Learning Outcomes

As a result of the study, the students should have:

Knowledge of the major theories, concepts and patterns of Global Governance, of mechanics of Global Governance of the key areas of world politics and economics, of the UN problems and performance as a centerpiece of Global Governance, as well as of approaches of such important international players as the US and Russia to Global Governance.

<u>Abilities</u>: to search, use and critically evaluate statistical data, academic, reference, and historical literature on Global Governance, management of crucial problems of international security and development, and to elaborate on the basis of this data and literature a prognosis of governance in various spheres of world economic and world politics, including its both structure and scope aspects.

<u>Skills</u>: to explore and analyze the factors that impact global governance positively and negatively in this or that aspect of world politics and economy; to identify the major reasons and factors behind the US and Russian policies in the spheres of Global Governance.

## - Assessment/s – *formative*, *summative*

The course combines continuous and final methods of assessment.

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Continuous: examination of students during the course of lectures; return to the given material.

Final: test (with account of previous observations and appearance in lectures).

<u>The student's independent work</u>: assimilation of the theoretical material and information received in the course of the lectures, learning the works of domestic and foreign authors on the given problems.

The course concludes with an oral exam aimed to assess the students knowledge, abilities and skills acquired as a result of the course.

Final grade is calculated from grades for:

- Exam—0.7;
- Lecture attendance—0.3;

For each of the above aspects of evaluation the student receives, correspondingly, on a 10-point scale:

- For exam—0.7 x Q1;
- For lecture attendance—0.3 x Q2;

where Q1, Q2 are grades on a 10-point scale.

## **Course Outline**

NōNō	Topics	<b>Course Hours</b>	Academic/Contact Hours		Self-study Hours
			Lectures	Seminars	
1.	Complexity and ambiguity in understanding Global Governance	4	2		2
2.	Theoretical predecessors to the Global Governance theory	2	2		2
3	Globalization and its effects on International Relations and State Sovereignty: a demand for Global Governance		2		4
4.	Problems of provision of Global Governance		2		2
5	The concept of "governance": general understanding and usage		4		4
6	The concept and classification of Global Governance: James Rosenau's theory		4		4

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7	Missions and Structures of Global Governance		4	4
8	International Institutions in Global Governance; Prospects and problems of the UN reform		4	4
9	Global Governance of Counter- Terrorism		2	4
10	Global Governance of non- proliferation of weapons of mass destruction		2	4
11	Russia in Global Governance		2	4
12	The US in Global Governance		2	4
	In sum:	74	32	42

# Curriculum (by topics)

## Topic 1. Complexity and ambiguity in understanding Global Governance

**Content:** Multiplicity of definitions and understandings of global governance. Global Governance as a language to describe International Relations in conditions of globalization. Governance and regulation: similarities and differences. Global governance and regulation of international order. A realist critique of Global Governance and counter-arguments of the Global Governance advocates. Globalization and its effects on International System, State and Sovereignty as the major reasons for the Global Governance concept and theory.

### **Reading List:**

### Essential:

Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002. Introduction,

Robert Gilpin. A Realist Perspective on International Governance. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

Timothy J. Sinclair. Global Governance. Polity Press, 2012. Chapters 1-2.

Cerny P. Globalization, governance and complexity. In: A. Prakash and J.A. Hart (eds.), Globalization and Governance. London: Routledge, 1999.

Colin Hay. International Relations Theory and Globalization. In: Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, Steve Smith. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity. Oxford University Press, 2010.

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#### Recommended:

Cable, V. Gloibalization and Global Governance. London, Royal Institute for International Affairs, 1999.

Elke Krahmann. *National, Regional and Global Governance: One Phenomenon or Many?* / Global Governance, Vol. 9, July-September 2003, pp. 323-346.

Rosenau J.N. Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity. Princeton University Press, 1990

Rosenau J.N., and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.). Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the major difficulties in conceptualizing global governance?

What are the major reasons and triggers for the Global Governance concept, theory and language emergence?

What are the major critical arguments against global governance as a subject and reality?

What are the counter-arguments of the Global Governance advocates in favour of Global Governance theory?

## **Suggested Research Topics:**

Governance and regulation in International Affairs.

Global Governance and International Relations: correlations between disciplines.

# **Topic 2. Theoretical predecessors to the Global Governance theory**

**Content**: The studies of Order in International Relations theory (the English School, Liberal Internationalism). Order and governance. Theory of International Regimes.

### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

G. John Ikenberry. After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars. Princeton University Press, 2000. Chapters 1-3.

Hedley Bull. The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. Columbia University Press. (forth edition, 2012). Chapters 1-3.

#### Recommended:

Hedley Bull. The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. Columbia University Press. (fourth edition, 2012). Chapters 5-9.

Stephen D. Krasner. International Regimes. Cornell University Press, 1983.

James N. Rosenau. Governance, order and change in world politics. In: Rosenau J.N., and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.). Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

## **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is Order in the International Relations theory?

How is order defined and explained by the English school of IR and Liberal Internationalism?

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What are International Regimes in the IR theory?

Why are order and regimes essential for understanding global governance?

## **Suggested Research Topics:**

Order and Governance in International Affairs: two sides of the same coin?

Governance and International Regimes: their correlation in contemporary International Relations

# **Topic 3. Globalization and its effects on International Relations and State Sovereignty: a demand for Global Governance**

**Content:** A phenomenon of global interdependence and its effect on international relations. Transnational and global threats and challenges. Global vulnerability. State sovereignty and capacities in conditions of global interdependence. Post-Westphalian sovereignty and global governance. A phenomenon of power diffusion. Increased role of non-state actors in world politics. State-centric International Relations vs. multiple-actor Global Governance.

#### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford University Press (fifth edition, 2011). Chapters 32, 33

Stanley Hoffmann. Clash of Globalizations. Foreign Affairs, July/August 2002.

James N. Rosenau. *The Study of World Politics. Vol. 2. Globalization and Governance*. Routledge, 2006. Part III: Globalization. Pp. 81-109.

#### Recommended:

Our Global Neighborhood. Report of the Commission on Global Governance. Oxford University Press ,1995.

Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual and Stephen John Stedman. *Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats.* Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Chapters 1-3.

John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford University Press (fifth edition, 2011). Chapters 14, 15, 22, 23.

Richard N. Haass. The Age of Nonpolarity. Foreign Affairs, May/June 2008

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Global Interdependence as a reason for Global Governance

Power diffusion as a reason for Global Governance

Global Governance and Post-Westphalian state sovereignty

### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Globalization as a "border line" between International Relations and Global Governance

Exploring correlation between national security policy and global security governance

### **Topic 4. Problems of provision of Global Governance**

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**Content**: Anarchical international system and Global Governance. National interests and threat perceptions divergence as an impediment for Global Governance. Correlation between national and transnational challenges to international security as a problem for Global Governance. "Interests swaps", agenda setting and Global Governance. Leadership and Global Governance. Ineffectiveness of international institutions, unilateralism and "free riding" as problems for global governance provision.

## **Reading List:**

### Essential:

Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Introduction.

Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual and Stephen John Stedman. *Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Chapters 1-3.

G. John Ikenberry. The Three Faces of Liberal Internationalism. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

#### Recommended:

Anne-Marie Slaughter and Thomas Hale. Transgovernmental Networks and Emerging powers. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

Charles A. Kupchan. No One's World. The West, the Rising Rest and the Coming Global Turn. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapters 4,7.

Gregory Chin. China's Rising Institutional Influence. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

How does anarchical International System impact Global Governance?

How does divergence of national interests and their hierarchies impact Global Governance?

What are the problems for Global Governance provision beyond national interests?

#### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Is international leadership necessary and helpful for Global Governance?

Ways for minimizing the effects of national interests' divergence for Global Governance.

# Topic 5. The concept of "governance": general understanding and usage

**Content**: Governance as a system of rule and as a process of exercising authority (definition). Governance vs. government. Appearance and evolution of the term governance. Usage and meaning of the term governance at national, regional and international (global) levels. Functional areas of the term governance usage. Governance and disaggregation and fragmentation of political authority. Governance as purposeful activity vs. governance as a system of arrangements (rules, institutions, etc.).

## **Reading List:**

Essential:

Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"

Elke Krahmann. *National, Regional and Global Governance: One Phenomenon or Many?* / Global Governance, Vol. 9, July-September 2003, pp. 323-346.

Jon Pierre. Introduction: Understanding Governance. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy. Oxford University Press, 2000.

Paul Hirst. Democracy and Governance. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy. Oxford University Press, 2000.

James N. Rosenau. Change, Complexity and Governance in Globalizing Space. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy. Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Recommended:

Gerry Stoker, "Governance as Theory: Five Propositions," International Social Science Journal 155 (1998): 17–28

Kees van Kersbergen and Frans van Waarden. "Governance" and a bridge between disciplines: Cross-disciplinary inspiration regarding shifts in governance and problems of governability, accountability and legitimacy. / European Journal of Political Research. Vol. 43, 2004. Pp. 143-171.

B. Guy Peters. Governance and Comparative Politics. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy. Oxford University Press, 2000.

## **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the reasons for the term "governance" invention and what does it mean?

What is the difference between governance and government?

How is the term governance applied in different disciplines and issue areas, on different levels of aggregation?

Is governance a process, or a system of arrangements, or both?

### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Governance and government in contemporary governing processes at national and international levels.

Public-private partnership as a form of governance at national level.

Relocation of authority, diffusion of power and the future of governance as a concept.

# Topic 6. The concept and classification of Global Governance: James Rosenau's theory

Content: Definition and meaning of Global Governance. James N. Rosenau understanding of Global Governance. Main sources of emergence of Global Governance as a concept and reality. Major features of Global Governance according to Rosenau. "Governance without government" concept. Compliance in Global Governance. Rosenau's matrix (classification) of Global Governance according to structures and processes of governing: six types of Global Governance according to Rosenau.

### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

James N. Rosenau. Governance in a New Global Order. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

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Lawrence S. Finkelstein. What is Global Governance? / Global Governance, Vol. 1 (1995), pp. 367-372.

James N. Rosenau. Governance in the Twenty-first Century. / Global Governance 1 (1995), pp. 13-43.

Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Pattberg. Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics. Global Governance, 2006, No 12. Pp. 185-203.

#### Recommended:

Rosenau J.N., and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.). Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

James N. Rosenau. *The Study of World Politics. Vol. 2. Globalization and Governance*. Routledge, 2006. Part IV: Governance. Chapters 13-17.

R.A. W. Rhodes, "The New Governance: Governing Without Government," Political Studies 44, No. 4 (1996): 652–667

James N. Rosenau, "Toward an Ontology for Global Governance". In: Martin Hewson and Thomas Sinclair, eds., Approaches to Global Governance Theory (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), pp. 295–296.

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is Global Governance according to James Rosenau and according to Lawrence Finkelstein?

What are the major characteristic features of Global Governance according to Rosenau?

How to ensure compliance in Global Governance?

What are the unidirectional types of Global Governance?

What are the multidirectional types of Global Governance?

## **Suggested Research Topics:**

Rosenau's concept of Global Governance and today: still relevant?

Network governance and "mobius-web" governance in contemporary multilateral diplomacy and decision-making.

### **Topic 7. Missions and Structures of Global Governance**

Content: Global Governance as a way to fill the gap of a state failure/inability to fulfil important missions. Lack of resources and lack of will as the reasons for state failure/inability to fulfil important missions. National interests and interdependence as triggers for global governance. Classification (matrix) of missions of Global Governance according to the criteria of interdependence, state resources and state will. Problems of Global Governance performing the substitution mission. Publicness, delegation and inclusiveness as criteria for the structures of Global Governance classification. Eight types of Global Governance structures: examples from the real life.

### **Reading List:**

## Essential:

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. Mapping Global Governance. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

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Robert O. Keohane. Governance in a Partially Globalized World. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

Timothy J. Sinclair. Global Governance. Polity Press, 2012. Chapter 5.

#### Recommended:

David Held. Cosmopolitanism: Ideas, Realities and Deficits. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

David Held. Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance. Cambridge: Policy, 1995.

James N. Rosenau. Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is the causality between state capacities and global governance?

On which factors does the concrete shape of global governance depend on?

What are the major missions of global governance?

What types of collectivities participate in global governance?

What are the ideal-types of structures of global governance?

# **Suggested Research Topics:**

Dynamics and evolution of the global governance missions since the end of the Cold war.

Intermediate structures of global governance.

# Topic 8. International Institutions in Global Governance; Prospects and problems of the UN reform

**Content**: Explaining central role of international institutions in Global Governance. Liberal Institutionalism and Global Governance. The major functions of international institutions. Westphalisn and Post-Westphalisn missions of international institutions. Decreasing effectiveness of international institutions in producing governance. The UN as the centrepiece of Global Governance. Problem and necessity of the UN Reform. Recommendations of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change on the UN reform and decision of the 2005 World summit. Scenarios of the UN Security Council reform.

### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

Ngaire Woods. Global Governance and the Role of Institutions. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.

A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility. Report of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. <a href="http://www.un.org/secureworld/">http://www.un.org/secureworld/</a>

Timothy J. Sinclair. Global Governance. Polity Press, 2012. Chapter 3.

#### Recommended:

Anthony McGrew. Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002

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2005 World Summit Outcome. Final Document. Adopted by General Assembly on October 24, 2005. daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf

## **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Why are international institutions vital for global governance?

Can one put equation mark between global governance and international institutions?

What are the main Westphalian and Post-Westphalian functions of international institutions?

Why are major international institutions losing effectiveness?

What is the role of the UN in global governance and what are the major challenges for the UN?

What are the major problems of the UN reform? Which proposals on the UN reform have been implemented and which have not? Why?

## **Suggested Research Topics:**

The evolving role of international institutions in global governance: governance beyond institutions?

Could the UN Security Council be reformed and how and when?

## **Topic 9. Global Governance of Counter-Terrorism**

**Content**: The phenomenon of transnational terrorism, differentiation between national and transnational (global) terrorism. Roots and causes behind the transnational terrorist movement, the role of globalization. Alternative counter-terrorist strategies. Nation and state-building as a counter-terrorist strategy. Difficulties in pursuing a common (joint) counter-terrorist policy. National state interests and unilateralism as the major impediments for global governance of counter-terrorism. The UN contribution to the global governance of counter-terrorism. The US role in the global governance of counter-terrorism.

#### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

Steven E. Miller. The War on Terror and international Order: Strategic Choice and Global Governance; In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (Eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual and Stephen John Stedman. *Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Chapter 8.

#### Recommended:

Gideon Rose (ed.). The War on Terror (Foreign Affairs Books). Foreign Affairs, 2002.

Walter Russell Mead. Power, Terror, Peace, and War. America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk. Council on Foreign Relations, 2004.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the roots / causes of transnational terrorism?

What are the major counter-terrorist strategies?

What are the major impediments for forging an effective multilateral counter-terrorist strategy?

Is nation/state-building essential for effective counter-terrorism?

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### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Comparative analyses of the UN and US roles and contributions to fight against international terrorism after 9/11.

Evolving counter-terrorist strategy of the US from the Bush to Obama Administrations.

## Topic 10. Global Governance of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

Content: Nuclear non-proliferation regime: history, problems and prospects. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) as a threat to international security. A challenge of nuclear terrorism. Multilateral efforts to counter nuclear proliferation: UN and IAEA. US non-proliferation policy and its effects. Prospects for nuclear proliferation and the NPT Treaty, prospects for the nuclear weapons-free Broader Middle East. Interrelationship between nuclear non-proliferation and reduction of nuclear weapons. Prospects for nuclear disarmament.

### **Reading List:**

#### Essential:

Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual and Stephen John Stedman. Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Chapter

Paul Bracken. The Second Nuclear Age: Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics. Times Books, 2012.

#### Recommended:

World at Risk: The Report of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism. (Chairman – senator Bob Graham). Vintage, 2008.

Jason D. Ellis, Geoffrey D. Kiefer. Combating Proliferation: Strategic Intelligence and Security Policy. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Etel Solingen (ed.). Sanctions, Statecraft, and Nuclear Proliferation. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

James Wirtz, Peter Lavoy (eds.). Over the Horizon Proliferation Threats. Stanford Security Studies, 2012.

## **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the major reasons/factors behind nuclear proliferation?

How did the US non-proliferation policy during the Bush Administration period impact nuclear proliferation?

What is the mechanics of global governance of nuclear non-proliferation?

What are the major difficulties of forging an effective multilateral non-proliferation strategy and policy?

#### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Solving the nuclear proliferation – nuclear disarmament dilemma.

Evolution of the global governance of counter-proliferation: variable geometry?

## **Topic 11. Russia in Global Governance**

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Content: Russian foreign policy philosophy and thinking and global governance. The role for Global Governance in the Russian basic foreign policy documents. Russia's role and place in major Global Governance institutions. Russian approach towards the transnational (global) threats and challenges. Russia and the global governance structures reform (BRICS). Russian position on reform and evolution of global economic governance. Russian position on reform of global security governance. Russia and regional institutions at the Post-Soviet space.

## **Reading List:**

Essential:

Charles Grant. *Russia, China and Global Governance*. Center for European Reform, 2012. Chapters 3,6.

Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (12 February 2013)

 $\frac{http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp\_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/76389fec168189ed44257b2e0039b16d!OpenDocument}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1$ 

Igor Ivanov. Postulates on Russia's Foreign Policy. <a href="http://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/riac-foreign-policyen">http://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/riac-foreign-policyen</a>

Sergey Lavrov. Russia's foreign policy philosophy.

http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/04/04/lavrov\_explains\_the\_countrys\_foreign\_policy\_philosophy\_24649 .html

Recommended:

The Russian Presidency of the G20: Outline. http://en.g20russia.ru/docs/g20 russia/outline.html

Sergei Karaganov. Fatal Thaws. Project Syndicate. <a href="http://www.project-">http://www.project-</a>

 $\underline{syndicate.org/commentary/the-causes-and-consequences-of-conflicts--unfreezing-by-sergei-karaganov}$ 

Sergei Lavrov. Interview to the Foreign Policy Magazine. April 2013.

http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id 4=1784#top

Dmitry Trenin. Russia's Relations with the CIS Countries: Outlook for 2020.

http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id 4=1612#top

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Is global governance natural for the Russian foreign policy discourse?

What is the Russian approach to dealing with transnational threats and challenges?

Why is BRICS important for the Russian foreign policy?

What are the Russian initiatives on global economic governance reform?

What are the Russian initiatives on global security governance reform?

### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Global governance and multipolarity: the Russian solution.

Russia in the BRICS: how natural, how sustainable?

## **Topic 12. The US in Global Governance**

**Content**: Leadership in the US foreign policy tradition. The US policy of liberal international order building since World War II. The US in global decision-making: hegemonism, unilateralism and multilateralism. The US in international institutions and governing forums. The US in global

Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies" security governance. The US in global economic governance. The US relative decline, demise of unipolarity and the future of global governance.

## **Reading List:**

Essential:

Michael Mandelbaum. *The Case for Goliath. How America Acts and the World's Government in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. PublicAffairs, New York, 2005.

G. John Ikenberry. *Liberal Leviathan: the Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton University Press, 2011.

G. John Ikenberry. America's Imperial Ambition. / Foreign Affairs, September/October 2002

Recommended:

Robert Kagan. The World America Made. Vintage Books, 2012

Charles A. Kupchan. No One's World. The West, the Rising Rest and the Coming Global Turn. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapter 7.

Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment. / International Security, volume 37, issue 3, page 7–51

G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno and William C. Wohlforth (eds.). International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity. Cambridge, 2011.

Stephen G. Brooks, William C. Wohlforth. American Primacy in Perspective. / Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4: 20-33, July/August 2002.

## **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Leadership and primacy in the US foreign policy discourse and in the US approach to global governance

How did the US contribute to building a liberal international order?

What place does the US occupy in the global decision-making?

What role does the US play in global security and economic governance?

## **Suggested Research Topics:**

American and global governance: a clash or compatibility?

The US role in global governance in a multipolar world: governance beyond leadership or leadership through other means?

## **Teaching and Learning Activities**

Teaching and learning activities include: lectures, providing the central focal points of the material discussed; reading of the provided essential and recommended literature; discussion of the central theoretical and practical problems of Global Governance based on the data and knowledge provided in the lectures and on the readings; and, finally, individual online communication with students beyond the classroom.

Typically, the class will meet twice a week. Each meeting will be devoted to a relevant topic among the list provided above. Students will be supposed to study essential readings for each of the topics in advance of each classroom meeting. These readings will be distributed

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by e-mail among the students, if necessary. Then central problems of the topic discussed will be covered by the instructor in an interactive lecture (involving questions and answers to the lecturer from the audience and vice versa), to be followed by discussion of the central problems and issues of each of the topic. In some cases, Power Point presentations will be prepared by the instructor to structure and optimize comprehension of the materials by the students. Finally, the students will be invited to enquire about additional readings and discuss items of interest of the relevant topics of the Global Governance problems with the instructor individually by e-mail and /or in person at the instructor's office at the special appointments.

The course will end with an exam covering the central aspects and discussion points of each of the topic of the course. The subjects brought to exam will be those covered during the lectures.

#### Resources

- 1. Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002. 370 p.
- 2. Robert Gilpin. *A Realist Perspective on International Governance*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002. Pp. 237-249.
- 3. Timothy J. Sinclair. *Global Governance*. Polity Press, 2012. 197 p.
- 4. Cerny P. *Globalization, governance and complexity*. In: A. Prakash and J.A. Hart (eds.), *Globalization and Governance*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- 5. Colin Hay. *International Relations Theory and Globalization*. In: Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, Steve Smith. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- 6. Cable, V. *Globalization and Global Governance*. London, Royal Institute for International Affairs, 1999.
- 7. Elke Krahmann. *National, Regional and Global Governance: One Phenomenon or Many?* / Global Governance, Vol. 9, July-September 2003, pp. 323-346.
- 8. Rosenau J.N. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*. Princeton University Press, 1990
- 9. Rosenau J.N., and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.). *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- 10. G. John Ikenberry. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars.* Princeton University Press, 2000.
- 11. Hedley Bull. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Columbia University Press. (forth edition, 2012).
- 12. Stephen D. Krasner. *International Regimes*. Cornell University Press, 1983.
- 13. James N. Rosenau. *Governance, order and change in world politics*. In: Rosenau J.N., and E.-O. Czempiel (eds.). *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

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- 14. John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens. *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press (fifth edition, 2011).
- 15. Stanley Hoffmann. Clash of Globalizations. / Foreign Affairs, July/August 2002.
- 16. James N. Rosenau. *The Study of World Politics. Vol. 2. Globalization and Governance*. Routledge, 2006.
- 17. Our Global Neighborhood. Report of the Commission on Global Governance. Oxford University Press, 1995.
- 18. Bruce Jones, Carlos Pascual and Stephen John Stedman. *Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 19. Richard N. Haass. The Age of Nonpolarity. / Foreign Affairs, May/June 2008
- 20. Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 21. G. John Ikenberry. *The Three Faces of Liberal Internationalism*. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 22. Anne-Marie Slaughter and Thomas Hale. *Transgovernmental Networks and Emerging powers*. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 23. Charles A. Kupchan. *No One's World. The West, the Rising Rest and the Coming Global Turn.* Oxford University Press, 2012.
- 24. Gregory Chin. *China's Rising Institutional Influence*. In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions. Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 25. Jon Pierre. *Introduction: Understanding Governance*. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- 26. Paul Hirst. *Democracy and Governance*. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- 27. James N. Rosenau. *Change, Complexity and Governance in Globalizing Space*. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- 28. Gerry Stoker. *Governance as Theory: Five Propositions.* / International Social Science Journal. No 155 (1998), pp. 17–28
- 29. Kees van Kersbergen and Frans van Waarden. *Governance" and a bridge between disciplines: Cross-disciplinary inspiration regarding shifts in governance and problems of governability, accountability and legitimacy.* / European Journal of Political Research. Vol. 43, 2004. Pp. 143-171.
- 30. B. Guy Peters. *Governance and Comparative Politics*. In: Jon Pierre (ed.). *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- 31. James N. Rosenau. *Governance in a New Global Order*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.
- 32. Lawrence S. Finkelstein. *What is Global Governance?* / Global Governance, Vol. 1 (1995), pp. 367-372.

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- 33. James N. Rosenau. *Governance in the Twenty-first Century*. / Global Governance 1 (1995), pp. 13-43.
- 34. Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Pattberg. *Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics*. / Global Governance, 2006, No 12. Pp. 185-203.
- 35. R.A. W. Rhodes, *The New Governance: Governing Without Government.* / Political Studies, No. 4 (1996), pp. 652–667
- 36. James N. Rosenau, *Toward an Ontology for Global Governance*. In: Martin Hewson and Thomas Sinclair, eds., *Approaches to Global Governance Theory* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), pp. 295–296.
- 37. Mathias Koenig-Archibugi. *Mapping Global Governance*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.
- 38. Robert O. Keohane. *Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.
- 39. David Held. *Cosmopolitanism: Ideas, Realities and Deficits*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.
- 40. David Held. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge: Policy, 1995.
- 41. James N. Rosenau. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World.* Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- 42. Ngaire Woods. *Global Governance and the Role of Institutions*. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*. Polity, 2002.
- 43. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. Report of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. http://www.un.org/secureworld/
- 44. Anthony McGrew. Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism. In: Anthony McGrew, David Held (Eds.). Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance. Polity, 2002
- 45. 2005 World Summit Outcome. Final Document. Adopted by General Assembly on October 24, 2005. daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf
- 46. Steven E. Miller. *The War on Terror and international Order: Strategic Choice and Global Governance*; In: Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (Eds.). *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.
- 47. Gideon Rose (ed.). The War on Terror (Foreign Affairs Books). Foreign Affairs, 2002.
- 48. Walter Russell Mead. *Power, Terror, Peace, and War. America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk.* Council on Foreign Relations, 2004.
- 49. Paul Bracken. *The Second Nuclear Age: Strategy, Danger, and the New Power Politics*. Times Books, 2012.
- 50. World at Risk: The Report of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism. (Chairman senator Bob Graham). Vintage, 2008.

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- 51. Jason D. Ellis, Geoffrey D. Kiefer. *Combating Proliferation: Strategic Intelligence and Security Policy*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- 52. Etel Solingen (ed.). *Sanctions, Statecraft, and Nuclear Proliferation*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- 53. James Wirtz, Peter Lavoy (eds.). *Over the Horizon Proliferation Threats*. Stanford Security Studies, 2012.
- 54. Charles Grant. *Russia, China and Global Governance*. Center for European Reform, 2012. Chapters 3,6.
- 55. Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (12 February 2013)
  <a href="http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp\_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/76389fec168189ed44257b2e0039b16d!OpenDocument">http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp\_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/76389fec168189ed44257b2e0039b16d!OpenDocument</a>
- 56. Igor Ivanov. *Postulates on Russia's Foreign Policy*. http://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/riac-foreign-policyen
- 57. Sergey Lavrov. *Russia's foreign policy philosophy*. <a href="http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/04/04/lavrov">http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/04/04/lavrov</a> explains the countrys foreign policy philosophy 24649.html
- 58. *The Russian Presidency of the G20: Outline*. http://en.g20russia.ru/docs/g20 russia/outline.html
- 59. Sergei Karaganov. *Fatal Thaws*. Project Syndicate. <a href="http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-causes-and-consequences-of-conflicts--unfreezing-by-sergei-karaganov">http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-causes-and-consequences-of-conflicts--unfreezing-by-sergei-karaganov</a>
- 60. Sergei Lavrov. *Interview to the Foreign Policy Magazine*. April 2013. http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id 4=1784#top
- 61. Dmitry Trenin. *Russia's Relations with the CIS Countries: Outlook for 2020*. http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\_4=1612#top
- 62. Michael Mandelbaum. *The Case for Goliath. How America Acts and the World's Government in the 21*<sup>st</sup> Century. PublicAffairs, New York, 2005.
- 63. G. John Ikenberry. *Liberal Leviathan: the Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- 64. G. John Ikenberry. *America's Imperial Ambition*. / Foreign Affairs, September/October 2002
- 65. Robert Kagan. The World America Made. Vintage Books, 2012
- 66. Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. *Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment*. / International Security, volume 37, issue 3, page 7–51
- 67. G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno and William C. Wohlforth (eds.). *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity*. Cambridge, 2011.
- 68. Stephen G. Brooks, William C. Wohlforth. *American Primacy in Perspective*. / Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 4: 20-33, July/August 2002.