

# National Sovereignty & Universal Challenges: Choices for the World After Iraq

Briefing Paper No. 4

## **“Global Governance: Theory and Practice”**

- Yale Ferguson - Center for Global Change & Governance, Rutgers University

Contemporary “globalization” has been multidimensional (e.g., economic, cultural, demographic, military, environmental) and has coexisted with national, regional, and local patterns.

“Governance” connotes influence or control over a range of issues or over particular issues.

By any measure then, governance involves a host of actors at many different overlapping and interacting “levels” in the global system—not just states and certainly not only at the “world” level. So governance involves states but also international organizations, less formal “regimes,” local jurisdictions of states (e.g., in the U.S., Texas and Virginia), TNCs, NGOs, tribes, families, religious entities, and so on. Viewed in that perspective, even a hyperpower/ empire/ superpower only “rules” at most some of what happens in the global system.

Models of governance at the global level: the United Nations and various other functional organizations (e.g., World Bank, IMF, WHO, WTO)—also hyperpower/ empire/ superpower. Current U.S. unilateralism contrasts with earlier and to some extent continuing trends of neoliberal globalization and post-Cold War multilateral ethos of peacekeeping, human rights, and environment. Nevertheless, many critics of “globalization” continue to equate globaliztion with Americanization, which exacerbates “clashes of civilizations” and anti-globalization generally.

On the one hand, we are increasingly aware that the nation-state as a model can no longer effectively address problems that are cross-boundary and even global in scope. On the other hand, the United States and a few other secondary-capacity “major powers” are resisting what many consider ought to be a new world order or are seeking to shape that order in accordance with their narrow conceptions of “national interest.”

Be that as it may, by no measure is the global system “anarchic,” except in the sense that there is no world government. It is “ordered” at many different levels.

**The questions are:**

**How effective and “just” are prevailing patterns of global governance?**

**If to some extent they are inadequate and/or unjust, how best to reform them?**

**Specifically, how best to respond to U.S. militant unilateralism: condemnation, acquiescence and cooperation, and/or regional countervailing institution-building and initiatives?**

**How best to revitalize global governance in terms of international organizations: overcome issues of bureaucratic inefficiency, lack of transparency, democratic deficit, and the like?**

*June 4<sup>th</sup> 2003, Rutgers University, New Jersey*

## Select Bibliography

### *Globalization*

David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton, Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1999).

Jan Aarte Scholte, Globalization: A Critical Introduction (New York: St. Martin's, 2000).

Peter L. Berger and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

### *Global Governance*

Craig N. Murphy, "Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood," International Affairs, Vol 76, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 789-803.

James N. Rosenau, Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chap. 5 on "Globalization," Chap. 6 on "Fragmentation," and Chap. 8 on "Governance."

Robert O. Keohane, Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World (London: Routledge, 2002).

Riordan Wilkinson and Steve Highes, eds., Global Governance: Critical Perspectives (London: Routledge, 2002).

### *U.S. Empire/ Hegemony*

Foreign Affairs, America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002). Important articles by Fukuyama, Huntington, Kaplan, Ikenberry, Zakaria, Kupchan, Walt, and President George W. Bush's West Point Commencement Speech.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Cannot Go It Alone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Michael Mandelbaum, "The Inadequacy of American Power," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 81, No. 5 (September/ October 2002), pp. 61-73.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Eagle Has Crash Landed," Foreign Policy, No. 131 (July/ August 2002), pp. 60-68.

Michael J. Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 3 (May/ June 2003), pp. 16-35.

Minxin Pei, "The Paradoxes of American Nationalism," Foreign Policy, No. 136 (May/ June 2003), pp. 30-37.

