

**Course Title: The Changing World(s) of Multilateralism: Understanding and Shaping Global Governance**  
**Instructors: Thorsten Benner and Inge Kaul**

**Syllabus**

*1. General Information*

Class hours	Wed 11-13
Venue (room #)	
Instructor 1	Thorsten Benner
Office (room #)	HSoG cafeteria
Telephone	030-27595975101
E-Mail	tbenner@gppi.net
Office Hours	Wed 10-11 (appointment via Email)
Instructor 2	Inge Kaul
Office (room #)	HSoG cafeteria
Telephone	030-887-09092
E-Mail	inge-kaul@t-online.de
Office Hours	Wed 10-11 (appointment via Email)

*2. Learning Objectives and Course Structure*

From finance and health to nuclear security and climate, many decry a striking gap between the demand and supply for effective, accountable and just global governance. Global fora from the traditional UN to new formats such as the G-20 and public-private ventures are proliferating, yet many criticize an insufficient provision of global public goods through multilateral institutions in today's increasingly multipolar world. Changing global power dynamics and ever more pressing cross-border challenges makes the review and (re)design of multilateral institutions a crucial task for policymakers. This requires an in-depth understanding of the evolution of multilateral arrangements as well a clear sense of key trends and changes in the landscape of multilateralism. In this course, we seek to develop such an in-depth understanding. The objective of this course is to analyze multilateral institutions in critical issue areas and to develop options for institutional (re)design.

What are the key changes in the landscape of multilateral institutions? How does the increasing importance of new players of new players (both rising powers such as China, India and Brazil as well as non-state actors such as companies and NGOs) affect multilateralism? How has the balance between public and private and state and market in multilateral arrangements changed? How can we work towards more effective, more accountable and more just multilateral institutions? These are the questions we seek to address in this course.

The course proceeds in three steps. In a *first* step, we discuss key trends in global governance as well as the different lenses we can use to analyze multilateral institutions. In a *second* step we analyze the development of multilateral institutions in key global policy areas (in Weberian terms the "causes of their being historically so and not otherwise") as well as the key drivers for change in the respective issue area. In a *third* step we discuss issues of

institutional (re)design and the future of multilateralism and the role and shape of states and international organizations.

### 3. Course Requirements, Teaching & Grading

Class participation	30%
In-class presentation	20%
Final Paper	50%

In-class participation (based on a thorough knowledge of the assigned readings) counts for 30% of the final grade.

For the in-class presentation (20% of the final grade) students are asked to take over the role of resident expert for one of the sessions. This involves preparing for the session beyond the assigned readings.

The final paper should be between 3.500 and 5.000 words in length. The paper discusses the changing nature of multilateralism with regard to a particular issue area. Students will be able to choose a topic from a list provided at the beginning of the semester. Students are asked to provide an annotated bibliography and an annotated paper outline toward the middle of the semester. The annotated bibliographies and paper will be circulated among the participants. The final sessions will provide an opportunity to present some key ideas from the papers.

### 4. Readings

**L** denotes books available in the library.

**E** denotes readings available electronically (through HertieConnect)

**P** denotes readings available for photocopy at the library (reader for course)

#### **Preparatory readings**

- The Economist, Who Runs the World? Wrestling for Influence, 3 July 2008, p. 1-8. **E**
- Dingwerth, Klaus/Philipp Pattberg (2009) 'Actors, arenas and issues in global governance' in Jim Whitman (ed.) Palgrave Advances in Global Governance (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 41-65. **L**
- Naazneen Barma/Ely Ratner/Steven Weber (2007) '[A World Without the West](#)', *The National Interest* 90, pp. 23-30. **E**
- Ikenberry, John (2009) '[Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of World Order](#)', *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1), 71-87 **E**
- **SHORT GPG TEXT**

#### **Additional recommended readings for students without graduate level training in international relations:**

- Keohane, Robert O. (2008) '[Big Questions in the Study of World Politics](#)', in Christian Reus-Smit/Duncan Snidal (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). pp. 708-715. **E**

- Simmons, Beth A./Lisa L. Martin (2002) '[International Organizations and Institutions](#)' in Walter Carlsnaes/Thomas Risse/Beth A. Simmons (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London, Sage), 192-211. **E**
- Keohane, Robert O. (2001) 'Governance in a Partially Globalized World', *American Political Science Review* 95 (1), 1-13. **E**

#### 5. Overview of the course

Sess.	Date	Topic
<i>Part I: Trends &amp; Concepts</i>		
#1	03.02.2010	Key Trends in Global Governance I: Actors, Power, Interests, Ideas, Issues, Institutions
#2	10.02.2010	Thinking About Multilateralism: Key Concepts
#3	17.02.2010	Recapitulation and formulating research questions/hypotheses; Discussion on final paper topics
<i>Part II: Multilateral Initiatives in Key Global Issue Areas</i>		
#4	24.02.2010	Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
#5	03.03.2010	Between new terrorist threats and the Responsibility to Protect: Dealing with failed and failing states
#6	10.03.2010	Mitigating, and adapting to, climate change
#7	17.03.2010	Communicable disease Control
#8	24.03.2010	Financial Stability
#9	31.03.2010	Foreign aid and development
#10	14.04.2010	Multilateralism as a part of multi-level governance
#11	21.04.2010	Taking stock: How has multilateralism evolved during the past six decades?
<i>Part III: Looking Ahead</i>		
#12	28.04.2010	Recent reforms and current reform proposals
#13	05.05.2010	Debating reform in critical issue areas
#14	12.05.2010	Outlook: Future Multilateralism: Possible implications for the role of states, international organizations, and nonstate actors?

#### 6. Detailed Schedule (\* denotes optional readings)

<b>Session #1</b>	<b>03.02.10</b>	<b>Key Trends in Global Governance: Actors, Power, Interests, Ideas, Issues, Institutions</b>
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Readings (also general background readings for course)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mingst, Karen/Margeret P. Karns (2007<sup>3</sup>) <i>The United Nations in the 21st Century</i> (Boulder, Col., Westview Press), ch .2 <b>L</b></li> </ul> <p><b>plus the general background readings for the course listed above</b></p>	
<b>Session #2</b>	<b>10.02.10</b>	<b>Key Trends in Global Governance II: Actors, Power, Interests, Ideas, Issues, Institutions</b>
Readings (	<b>Required reading</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruggie, John G. (1992) Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution, <i>International Organization</i> 46 (3), 561-598.</li> <li>• Kaul, Inge/Ronald U. Mendoza (2003) 'Advancing the Concept of Public Goods' in Inge Kaul et al. (eds.) <i>Providing Global Public Goods. Managing Globalization</i> (Oxford, Oxford University Press), pp. 78-111</li> </ul>	

**Recommended reading**

- Keohane, Robert O. (2006) 'The Contingent Legitimacy of Multilateralism in Newman, Edward et al. (eds) *Multilateralism under challenge? : Power, international order and structural change* (Tokyo : United Nations Univ. Press) , 56-76.
- Drezner, Daniel (2008) 'Two Challenges to Institutionalism' in Alan S. Alexandranoff (ed) *Can the World Be Governed? Possibilities for Effective Multilateralism* (Wilfried Laurier University Press), pp. 139-159

<b>Session #3</b>	<b>17.02.10</b>	<b>Recapitulation and formulating research questions/hypotheses, final paper topics</b>
Revisit readings from sessions 1 & 2 with a view to formulating research questions/hypotheses		

<b>Session #4</b>	<b>24.02.10</b>	<b>Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament</b>
<i>Readings</i>	<b>Required reading</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mingst, Karen/Margeret P. Karns (2007<sup>3</sup>) <i>The United Nations in the 21st Century</i> (Boulder, Col., Westview Press), ch 4.</li><li>• Wing, Christine (2010) 'The Evolution of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Institutions', in Bruce Jones/Shepard Forman/Richard Gowan (eds) <i>Cooperating for Peace and Security. Evolving Institutions and Arrangements in a Context of Changing US Foreign Policy</i> (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), pp. 122-142. L</li><li>• Barack Obama (2009) <a href="#">Speech at Hradcany Square</a>, Prague, Czech Republic, April 5, 2009. E</li></ul>	
	<b>Recommended reading</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mohamed ElBaradei (2009) '<a href="#">Willy Brandt Lecture 2009</a>', 20 November 2009, Berlin, Germany (Humboldt University). E</li><li>• International Atomic Energy Agency (2008) '<a href="#">Non-Proliferation, Disarmament and the IAEA</a>', 20/20 Vision for the Future, Background Report. E</li></ul>	

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<b>Session #5</b>	<b>03.03.10</b>	<b>Between new security threats and the Responsibility to Protect: Dealing with failed and failing states</b>
<i>Readings</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Gowan, Richard/ Ian Johnstone (2007) '<a href="#">New Challenges for Peacekeeping: Protection, Peacebuilding and the War on Terror</a>' (New York, International Peace Academy). E</li></ul>	

- Barnett, Michael et al (2007) 'Peacebuilding: What is in a name?', *Global Governance* 13 (2007), pp. 35-58. E
- Sandler, Todd (2006) '[Global Terrorism: Deterrence vs Preemption](#)', *Canadian Journal of Economics* E

**Recommended reading**

- Rosand, Eric/Sebastian von Einsiedel (2010) '9/11, The War on Terror, and the Evolution of Multilateral Institutions' in Bruce Jones/Shepard Forman/Richard Gowan (eds) *Cooperating for Peace and Security. Evolving Institutions and Arrangements in a Context of Changing US Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), pp. 143-162. L
- Annan, Kofi A. (1999) '[Two concepts of sovereignty](#)', *The Economist*, 18 September 1999. E

Session #6	10.03.10	Mitigating, and adapting to, climate change
Readings	<b>Required reading</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="#">The Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change</a>, chapters 2 (pp. 25-45) and 21 (pp. 509-529)</li> <li>• Flachsland, Christian, Robert Marschinski and Ottmar Edenhofer (2009) <a href="#">Global trading versus linking: Architectures for international emissions trading</a></li> <li>• Hansen, James (2009) '<a href="#">Copenhagen has given us the chance to face climate change with honesty</a>', <i>The Observer</i> 27 December 2009</li> </ul> <p><b>Recommended reading</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Biermann, Frank, Pattberg, Philipp and Zelli, Fariborz (2010) 'The architecture of Global Climate Governance: Setting the Stage' in Global Climate Governance Post-2012: An Introduction' in Frank Biermann, Philipp Pattberg, Fariborz Zelli (eds) <i>Global Climate Governance Beyond 2010. Architecture, Agency and Adaptation</i> (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press). L</li> <li>• Zadek, Simon (2009) '<a href="#">Tomorrow's History</a>', 19 December 2009 <a href="http://zadek.wordpress.com/">http://zadek.wordpress.com/</a></li> </ul>

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Session #7	24.03.10	Communicable disease control
Readings	<b>Required reading</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sridhar, Devi, Sanjeev Khagram and Tikki Pang (2008) '<a href="#">Are Existing Governance Structures Equipped to deal with Today's Global Health Challenges—Towards Systematic Coherence in Scaling Up</a>', <i>Global Health Governance</i>, Vol. II, No.2 (Fall 2008/Spring 2009). E</li> <li>• Garrett, Laurie (2007) 'The Challenge of Global Health', <i>Foreign Affairs</i> January/February E</li> </ul>

**Recommended reading**

- \*Fidler, David (2007) 'Architecture amidst Anarchy: Global Health's Quest for Governance', *Global Health Governance* 1 (1), 1-17. E

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Question Study question?

**Session #8 17.03.10 Financial Governance**

Concepts Concept 1, 2, 3

Readings **Required Reading**

- [The Warwick Commission Report on International Financial Reform: In Praise of Unlevel Playoing Fields](#). Warwick University 2009, Executive Summary (pp. 2-8) and chap. 9 (pp. 50-58).
- Woods, Ngaire (2009) [Global Governance after the Financial Crisis: A new multilateralism or the last gasp of the great powers?](#) GEG Working Paper WP 2009/54.

**Recommended Reading**

- Mosley, Layna (2009) '[Private Governance for the Public Good? Exploring Private Sector Participation in Global Financial Regulation](#)' in Helen V. Milner/Andrew Moravcsik (eds.) *Power, Interdependence and Nonstate Actors in World Politics* (Princeton, Princeton University Press), pp. 126-146. E
- Helleiner, Eric (2009) 'Crisis and Response. Five Regulatory Agendas in Search of an Outcome', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft* 1/2009, pp. 11-26. E
- Baker, Raymond/Eva Joly (2009) 'Illicit Money. Can it be stopped?', *New York Review of Books* 56 (19). E

Question Study question?

**Session #9 31.03.10 Foreign aid and development**

Readings

- Conceição, Pedro (2006) Accommodating New Actors and New Purposes in International Cooperation. In Kaul, Inge and Pedro Conceição, eds., 2006. *The New Public Finance; Responding to Global Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-280. L

- OECD/DAC. 2008. 2008 DAC Report on Multilateral Aid—available at [www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/11/42901553.pdf/](http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/11/42901553.pdf/)

**Recommended readings**

- Mavrotas, George and Espen Villanger. 2006. *Multilateral Aid Agencies and Strategic Donor Behaviour*. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER. WIDER Discussion Paper 2006/02—available at <http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/discussion->

[papers/2006/en\\_GB/dp2006-02/](#)

- McGillivray, Mark, Simon Feeny and Howard White. 2004. Multilateral development Assistance: Good, Bad and Just Plain Ugly?—available at
- Rodrik, Dani. 1995. Why is there multilateral lending? NBER Working Paper No. 5160—available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w5160/>
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**Session #10 14.04.10 Multilateralism as a part of multi-level governance**

*Readings*

- Kaul, Inge (2006) Blending External and Domestic Policy Demands; the Rise of the Intermediary State. In: Kaul, Inge and Pedro Conceição, eds., 2006. *The New Public Finance; Responding to Global Challenges*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 73-108 L

**Recommended reading**

- Acharya, Amitav. 2006. Multilateralism. Sovereignty and normative change in world politics. In Newman, Edward, Ramesh Thakur and John Tirman, eds. 2006. *Multilateralism Under Challenge? Power, International Order, and Structural Change*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press. pp. 95-118. L
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**Session #11 21.04.10 Taking stock: How has multilateralism evolved during the past six decades?**

*Readings* Kaul, Inge (2010) **XXXXXX** in Hendrik Enderlein/Sonja Wältli/Michael Zürn (eds.) *Handbook on Multi-level Governance* (Edward Elgar). [E](#)

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**Session #12 28.04.10 Recent Reforms and Current Reform Proposals**

*Readings*

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- Jones, Bruce/Carlos Pascual/Stephen Stedman (2009) 'Power and Institutions: An Effective International Architecture for Responsible Sovereignty' in Power and Responsibility. Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats (Washington D. C., Brookings), pp. 45-74. L
- [WEF](#)
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**Session #13 05.05.10**

*Concepts* Concept 1, 2, 3

*Readings*

*Question* Study question?

<b>Session #14</b>	<b>12.05.10</b>	<b>Outlook: Future Multilateralism: What kind of states, what kind of international organizations in the new multilateralism?</b>
<i>Readings</i>	•	

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