

The Washington Semester Program
PSCI 398
NEW ACTORS IN GLOBAL POLICYMAKING
Fall 2003
Professor Thomas Callaghy
Fridays 10:00-1:00
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Course Perspective

We live in fascinating times. The last decade has brought amazing and important changes in the evolution of the world political economy. Globalization has accelerated and is being hotly debated. Some want to try to stop, divert it or modify it. Others want to see it accelerated and have a particular tone and shape. Non-governmental organizations have become a force to be reckoned with on many of these issues. Thousands of demonstrators have filled the streets of Seattle, Washington, Prague, Johannesburg, and other cities around the world challenging some aspect of current global economic governance while world financial officials discuss the state of the world behind police lines. Major protests, for example, will take place against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Cancún September 10-14: see http://www.mexicosolidarity.org/cancun_call.html.

This has also been a sobering period. Markets have not always worked the way many people expected. Some states have made considerable developmental progress while for others marginalization is accelerating. In some places markets did not bloom nor democracy flower, but they did in other, sometimes unexpected, places. The Asia crisis in the late 1990s and its spread to Russia then Brazil took everybody by surprise, no matter what they claim now. From Argentina to the U.S., financial globalization has revealed weak banking, judicial, and financial sectors in many countries -- things that underpin markets that were either assumed to exist or believed could emerge quickly and in a predetermined, relatively uniform way.

One of the most striking things about this period is that key beliefs, strategies, institutions, and academic theories are being challenged. We have seen mainstream Western economists vigorously attack accepted development doctrine and the way key instruments of global economic governance function. Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize winner and World Bank chief economist, savages the IMF, praises China, condemns the handling of Russia, and is forced to resign his

position. Columbia's Jeffrey Sachs and other senior economists have done much the same. A Congressional commission slammed the way the IMF and World Bank operate and recommended substantial change. In addition, mainstream views about international relations are also being challenged.

This course will deal with the new politics of global policymaking by examining the complex interrelationships of a range of actors -- the governments of the major powers [the G-7], the IMF, World Bank and WTO, and the non-governmental organizations [NGOs], along with the social movements and policy networks they create. We will look at how the entrance of these new players has changed the political dynamics of policymaking in areas such as debt, economic reform, poverty reduction, labor, trade policy, nuclear policy, the environment, the welfare of women, human rights, landmines, and corruption. The NGOs have paid particular attention to the general functioning of the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO as well as the policies they urge developing and transition countries to adopt. Major reform in these institutions and policies is a key goal of many of these NGOs.

Who are the people who run these NGOs, why do they do this work, what do they hope to accomplish, how do they operate and finance themselves, how effective are they? Are these organizations, movements, and networks the basis for a new global civil society? How have major states and international organizations attempted to cope with these newly influential actors? As we shall see, opinions about the legitimacy and appropriateness of these new actors vary considerably. Are they, for example, really any different than normal self-interested lobbying groups? Do their actions actually contradict the ideas and goals they espouse? The course will bring together the intense debates about globalization using the prism of this new politics of global policymaking. In particular, we will explore the relationships between states, international organizations, markets, and ideas, as well as the new ways in which the international system functions and how it may evolve. We will also examine the impact of these phenomena on dominant theories of international relations.

Texts and Other Resources:

Ann M. Florini, The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society, Carnegie Endowment for International Change, 2000.

Robert O'Brien, Anne Marie Goetz, Jan Aart Scholte, and Marc Williams, Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral and Global Social Movements, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

The rest of the readings will be available in a course pack from Wharton Repro that I will bring to Washington for you.

Washington is right in the midst of the processes and actors we will be examining; most of the major NGOs have offices here. We will use the resources of Washington and the Internet as major sources of information. You are encouraged to share good websites and other sources of information you discover with the rest of us. One of the best ways to keep track of the activities and events related to these actors is to follow the postings of the Stop-IMF email list; you can subscribe via <http://lists.essential.org/mailman/listinfo/stop-imf>. We will also follow relevant current events from the Internet and other media. In addition, I will arrange for several speakers from major NGOs.

Course Requirements:

Take-home examination	30%
Attendance and discussion	20%
Project presentation	20%
Final paper	30%

The take-home examination will be handed out in class on October 31 and will be due at the following class on November 7. Class will be a mixture of lecture and seminar discussion. For each reading, one student will be responsible for leading off the discussion and will turn in a one-page assessment (not summary) of that reading as class begins.

Each student will select an NGO to follow throughout the course; you must have selected your NGO by September 26. The project will require that you investigate its history, organization, functioning, finance, the range of issues it works on, its views and policy objectives, strategies, networks and allies, enemies, and nature and source of its views as well as what it tells us about the literature on NGOs, global governance, and international relations more generally. Since there are no necessarily correct views or answers about these actors and issues, and given that that norms and ideas play a central role, the paper should also present *your views* about your NGO and its goals, activities, and strategies. You will make a class presentation on your project during the last four weeks of the course to inform us of your preliminary findings. The project will become a 15-20-page paper, due no later than Friday, December 19. This paper should also take into account the readings assigned since the take-home examination.

Topics and Readings

September 5: Introduction and Course Organization

Video, "Breaking the Bank."

Susan George, "Foreword" in J. Cavanagh, D. Wysham, and M. Arruda, Beyond Bretton Woods: Alternatives to the Global Economic Order, The Transnational Institute, Institute for Policy Studies, and Pluto Press, 1994, pp. vii-ix.

“Can Bono Save the World?” Time, March 4, 2002, pp. 63-69, 72.

Michael Hirsh, “Bush and the World,” Foreign Affairs, 81/5, September-October 2002, pp. 18-43. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa_septoct02d.html)

September 12:

“Contesting Global Governance: Multilateralism and Global Social Movements,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 1-23.

Ann Florini and PJ Simmons, “What the World Needs Now?” The Third Force, pp. 1-15

“Complex Multilateralism: MEIs and GSMs,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 206-34.

“The International Monetary Fund and Social Movements,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 159-205.

Kenneth Rogoff, “The IMF Strikes Back,” Foreign Policy, 134, January-February 2003, pp. 39-46. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_janfeb03_rok01.html)

September 19:

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics,” Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics, Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. vii-38.

“World Trade Organization and Labour,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 67-108.

Mike Moore, “Multilateral Meltdown,” Foreign Policy, 135, March-April 2003, pp. 74-75.

Ronald Deibert, “International Plug ‘n Play? Citizen Activism, the Internet, and Global Public Policy,” International Studies Perspectives, 1/3, December 2000, pp. 255-72.

Moisés Naím, “Lori’s War,” Foreign Policy, 118, Spring 2000, pp. 29-55. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_spr00lori.html)

Mark Ritchie, “A Practitioner’s Perspective,” Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms, Kathryn Sikkink, ed., University of Minnesota Press, pp. 294-98.

September 26: **NGO selection for project due**

Thomas Callaghy, “Networks and Governance in Africa: Innovation in the Debt Regime,” Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power, T. Callaghy, R. Kassimir, R. Latham, eds., Cambridge UP, 2001, pp. 115-48.

Thomas Callaghy, “The Paris Club and International Economic Governance: Double Crisis and Debt” in V.K. Aggarwal and B. Granville, eds., Sovereign Debt: Origins, Crises and Restructuring (London: Royal Institute of International Studies, 2003), pp. 201-28.

Devash Kapur, “The IMF: A Cure or a Curse?” Foreign Policy, 111, Summer 1998, pp. 114-29. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_kapur98.html)

Foreign Policy, “A Talk with Michel Camdessus: The Exit Interview,” Foreign Policy, 120, September-October 2000, pp. 32-45.

Moisés Naím, “Washington Consensus or Washington Confusion?” Foreign Policy, 118, Spring 2000, pp. 87-103. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_spr00nam01.html)

Moisés Naím, “The World According to Larry,” Foreign Policy, 131, July-August 2002, pp. 30-39.

Joseph Stiglitz, “The Insider--What I learned at the World Economic Crisis,” New Republic, April 17, 2000, 5 pp.

Barry Eichengreen, “The Globalization Wars” [review of Stiglitz’s Globalization and Its Discontents], Foreign Affairs, 81/4, July-August 2002, pp. 157-64.
(http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa_julaug02o.html)

Lael Brainard, “Capitalism Unhinged” [review of The Christening], Foreign Affairs, 81/1, January-February 2002, pp. 192-98.

October 3:

- “Conclusions,” Activists Beyond Borders, pp. 199-217.
- Nancy Birdsall, “Asymmetric Globalization,” Brookings Review, 21/2, Spring 2003, pp. 22-27.
- P.J. Simmons, “Learning to Live with NGOs,” Foreign Policy, Fall 1998, pp. 82-96.
- “The World Bank and Women’s Movements,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 24-66.
- Sanjeev Khagram, “Toward Democratic Governance for Sustainable Development: Transnational Civil Society Organizing Around Big Dams,” The Third Force, pp. 83-114.

October 10: [No class; Penn’s fall break]

- Ann Florini, “Lessons Learned,” The Third Force, pp. 211-40.
- Wolfgang Reincke, “The Other WWW: Global Policy Networks,” Foreign Policy, Winter 1999-2000, pp. 44-57. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_99rew01.html)
- T. Friedman and I. Ramonet, “Dueling Globalizations,” Foreign Policy, 116, Fall 1999, pp. 110-27. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_99frt01.html)
- “The World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the Environmental Social Movement,” Contesting Global Governance, pp. 109-58.
- S. Esserman and R. Howse, “The WTO on Trial,” Foreign Affairs, 82/1, January-February 2003, pp. 130-40. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa_janfeb03k.html)
- John Micklethwait and Adrian Woolbridge, “The Globalization Backlash,” Foreign Affairs, 126, September-October 2001, 16-26.

October 17:

- Kathryn Sikkink and Jackie Smith, “Infrastructures for Change: Transnational Organizations 1953-1993,” Restructuring World Politics, pp. 24-43.
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, “The Real New World Order,” Foreign Affairs, September-October 1997, pp. 183-97.
- John Ikenberry, “Don’t Panic: How Secure is Globalization’s Future?” Foreign Affairs, 79/3, May-June 2000, pp. 145-51.
- Motoko Mekata, “Building Partnerships toward a Common Goal: Experiences of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines,” The Third Force, pp. 143-76.
- Richard Price, “Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines,” International Organization, 52/3, Summer 1998, pp. 613-44.
- Holly Burkhalter, “A Diamond Agreement in the Rough,” Foreign Policy, 135, March-April 2003, pp. 72-73.

October 24:

- Kathryn Sikkink, “The Limits and Asymmetries of Soft Power,” Restructuring World Politics, pp. 301-17.
- Robert Gilpin, “Governing the Political Economy,” Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order, Princeton UP, 2001, pp. 377-402.

Thomas Risse, "The Power of Norms versus the Norms of Power: Transnational Civil Society and Human Rights," The Third Force, pp. 177-209.

Chetan Kumar, "Transnational Networks and Campaigns for Democracy," The Third Force, pp. 115-42.

Charles T. Call, "A Human Rights Practitioner's Perspective," Restructuring World Politics, pp. 123-27.

October 31: [Take-home examination handed out; due November 7]

P.J. Simmons and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, "From Agenda to Accord," Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned, Carnegie Endowment, 2001, pp. 663-89.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sovereignty," Foreign Policy, 122, January-February 2001, pp. 20-29. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_janfeb01krs01.html)

Devesh Kapur, "Who Gets to Run the World?" Foreign Policy, 121, November-December 2000, pp. 44-50.

Fredrik Galtung, "A Global Network to Curb Corruption: The Experience of Transparency International," The Third Force, pp. 17-47

Rebecca Johnson, "Advocates and Activists: Conflicting Approaches on Nonproliferation and the Test Ban Treaty," The Third Force, pp. 49-81.

November 7 – December 5: Student Presentations [No class November 28]

November 7:

Elizabeth Donnelly, "Proclaiming Jubilee: The Debt and Structural Adjustment Network," Restructuring World Politics, pp. 155-80.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "Coping with Antiglobalization," Foreign Affairs, 81/1, January-February 2002, pp. 2-7.

November 14:

Paul J. Nelson, "Agendas, Accountability, and Legitimacy among Transnational Networks: Lobbying the World Bank," Restructuring World Politics, pp. 131-54.

T. Bennere, W. Reinicke, and J. Marin Witte, "Global Public Policy Networks: Lessons Learned," Brookings Review, 21/2, Spring 2003, pp. 18-21.

Stephen Fidler, "Who's Minding the Bank?" Foreign Affairs, 126, September-October 2001, pp. 40-50.

November 21:

Joseph E. Stiglitz, "The Way Ahead," Globalization and Its Discontents, pp. 214-52, 264-67.

William Easterly, "The Cartel of Good Intentions," Foreign Policy, 131, July-August 2002, pp. 41-49. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_julaug02_eaw01.html)

William Easterly, "Think Again: Debt Relief," Foreign Policy, 127, November-December 2002, pp. 20-26.

Oxfam, "Rigged Rules and Double Standards: Trade, Globalization, and the Fight Against Poverty" [summary], Oxfam, 2002, 17 pp. plus covers.

December 5:

Andrew S. Natsios, "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?" Global Governance, pp. 388-405.

Stanley Hoffman, "Clash of Globalizations," Foreign Affairs, 81/4, July-August 2002, pp. 104-15. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fa/fa_julaug02j.html)

Kofi Annan, "Problems Without Passports," Foreign Policy, 132, September-October 2002, pp. 28-31. (http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/fp/fp_sepoct02_ank01.html)

Paper Due no later than December 19

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY:

T. Cohn, Global Political Economy (Longman, 2000), pp. 377-87

T. Lairson, D. Skidmore, International Political Economy (Harcourt Brace, 1993), pp. 441-51.

R. Isaak, Managing World Economic Change (Prentice Hall, 2000), pp. 326-37.

J. Spero, J. Hart, The Politics of International Economic Relations (St. Martin=s, 1997), pp. 371-90.

WEBSITES:

<http://www.imf.org/>

<http://www.worldbank.org/>

<http://www.wto.org/>

<http://www.ustreas.gov/>

<http://www.oecd.org/>

<http://www.unctad.org/>

<http://www.undp.org/>

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/>

<http://www.oxfamamerica.org/>

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/>

<http://www.jubilee2000uk.org/>

<http://www.jubileeplus.org/>

<http://www.j2000usa.org/>

<http://www.debtchannel.org/>

<http://www.datadata.org/> [Bono]

<http://www.essentialaction.org/imf/imf.html>

<http://www.oneworld.org/eurodad/>
<http://www.50years.org/>
<http://www.igc.org/dgap/>
<http://www.bread.org/>
<http://www.catholicrelief.org/>
<http://www.coc.org/home.htm>
<http://dc.indymedia.org/>
<http://www.transparency.de/>
<http://www.greenpeace.org/>
<http://www.hrw.org/>
<http://www.ids.susx.ac.uk/>
<http://iisd1.iisd.ca/>
<http://www.nsi-ins.ca/>
<http://www.odi.org.uk/>
<http://www.iie.com/>
<http://www.brook.edu/>
<http://www.cfr.org/>
<http://www.heritage.org/>
<http://www.cato.org/>
<http://www.ceip.org/>
<http://www.wri.org/>
<http://www.theglobalist.com>

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Information Sheet

NAME:

TELEPHONE:

EMAIL:

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER:

MAJOR:

INTERNSHIP:

PRESENT OR PAST RELATED COURSES:

WORK OR OTHER EXPERIENCE RELATED TO THE COURSE MATERIAL:

OTHER COMMENTS:

PRELIMINARY IDEAS ABOUT AN NGO FOR YOUR COURSE PROJECT: