3/1: Empire vs. Republic: Revolution or reorganization?
Is the UN system a kernel of world government?

UN roughly modelled on U.S.

UN Charter is the “world constitution”

Sec. General & agencies are the executive

General Assembly & Security Council are the legislative houses

Executive relies on states for funding and authority

UNSC members must agree to back up resolutions with power

Int’l Court of Justice adjudicates cases among states

States must agree to ICJ jurisdiction, which is not enforced

UN lacks sovereignty!
Is global governance the answer?

According to Fred Halliday, GG "lies short of internationalist idealism, but a degree beyond a world of constant competition. It rests on an international system of states, with a shared set of values, about the independence and sovereignty of states on the one hand, and the significance of political rights within them" (The World at 2000, p. 129).

"management of world affairs is distributed across a range of institutions, some with distinct competences, some with overlapping responsibilities, some organized by states, some by private business co-ordination, some by NGOs" 

"[GG] lies in a shift of mood or ethos about these institutions themselves, in particular a greater skepticism and an abandonment of that liberal optimism which was earlier associated with the UN and [its] associated bodies."
What is global governance?

*Global Governance*: a global system of regimes, laws, rules, practices not-fully institutionalized or unified within a single authoritative political apparatus

- **Official and customary international law**
- **In'tl organizations and agencies on responsible for regulation**
- **Collective actions of states, via alliances, coalitions, etc.**
- **Private regulatory networks and corporate associations**
- **Regulatory activities of non-governmental groups and movements**
There are four levels of global governance

- Patchwork of state-centric institutions
- Mixed public-private and private non-state regimes
- "Global Civil Society"
- Six billion plus individuals
- International regime system
- Regional authorities: EU, NAFTA, etc.
- FSC, PEFC, ISO, World Econ Forum, World Soc. Forum
- Lobbying organizations and social movements
- "Public opinion" and action
GG institutions are slow to act & undemocratic

National interests are well-defined, shared interests are not

What are the costs and benefits of climate change, and who will pay?

Quasi-legislative bodies are created for each issue or problem

Individual regimes have only weak legislative authority

Each regime creates its own set of rules and procedures, and moves slowly

Annual meetings tend to focus on principles, not policies

There are no democratic procedures for vetting representatives or outcomes

What makes these institutions and procedures legitimate?
Global governance looks more like *governmentality*

It is about the managing and ordering of people and things through infusion into all aspects of social life (Michel Foucault)

Ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections

That facilitate calculations & tactics allowing exercise of complex form of power

Whose target is the management of population and economy

And whose technical means are apparatuses of security
Globally, this rests on a dense network of technical expertise and practices.

Order becomes the highest value, above politics, liberty, democracy.

Experts utilize knowledge to design policies & practices intended to provide bare minima for survival.

Institutions enforce these practices and desired behaviors through incentives and punishments.

Globalized apparatuses of surveillance, policing, and demonstration maintain discipline and security.
But governmentality’s form is not determined

It can manifest in different global structures

- **Global Republic**: system of global confederal rule by juridically-equal states
  - Slow, messy, subject to state assertions of opposition and difference
  - UN Republic

- **Global empire**: system of unified and unilateral rule over subject territories
  - Fast, efficient, subject to individual and group opposition and resistance
  - U.S. Empire

Nothing else?