

Annotated 'World Government Week' Syllabus / Reading List

(Presuming two course lectures during the week)

1) First Lecture: Security World Government

This session could focus on the tradition of world government arguments, dating from the 1940s, which see global political and especially security integration as needed to ensure human survival in an age of nuclear weapons.

Suggested required readings:

Campbell Craig (2008) 'The Resurgent Idea of World Government', *Ethics & International Affairs* 22(2).

This review article by one of the leading historians of the Cold War focuses on security concerns, in particular around nuclear weapons, addressed in the recent world government literature.

Alexander Wendt (2003) "Why a World State is Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2003), pp. 491-542.

Here, Alex Wendt offers a fundamentally forward-looking constructivist analysis, arguing that the global system will inevitably move toward a world-state endpoint. Wendt, whose *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge UP, 1999) was voted 'Best Book of the Decade' by the International Studies Association, focuses on a struggle for recognition between states. This struggle, he argues, mirrors one that Hegel identified between individuals, where demands for recognition eventually lead to the formation of a collective identity and the development of the nation-state. While Hegel saw states as the developmental end point, Wendt argues that it cannot be in an age of nuclear weapons, where none are fully self-sufficient entities. He speculates the full integration process could take perhaps 200 years. (NB: for undergraduate classes especially, it may be advisable to instruct students to skim or skip the first 15 pages or so on teleological method and focus on last 30 pages of the article, where the world state argument is presented.)

Suggested recommended reading:

Deudney, Daniel H. (2007) *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): Chapter 9: "Anticipations of World Nuclear Government."

In this highly influential book, which won major prizes from both the International Studies Association and American Political Science Association, Deudney offers a

detailed and sophisticated reading of the Republican security tradition, where rule by the people creates forms of mutual restraint which help polities to avoid the extremes of both anarchy and strong hierarchy. World government, he argues in the final chapter, would not be so novel an institutional development as is often thought. Rather, it would simply be another effort to abridge dangerous anarchy, this time in an international system marked by intense 'violence interdependence' in the nuclear age. To avoid dangerous hierarchy, however, he also argues that the form a world government takes should be that of a highly limited 'mutual restraint union,' rather than some fully empowered federal world state. Such a union would be focused solely on controlling the most extreme security threats to humankind.

Albert Einstein (2007[1946]). 'The Way Out,' in Dexter Masters and Katherine Way, eds, *One World Or None: A Report to the Public on the Full Meaning of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: The New Press), 209-14. Online: <http://mailstar.net/one-world-or-none.html>

The great physicist prescribes a strong world government as the one means of controlling the terrible new threat from nuclear weapons.

< **TOGETHER WITH** >

George Orwell (1946[1941]) 'Wells, Hitler, and the World State', in *Critical Essays*. London: Secker and Warburg. Online: http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/wells/english/e_whws

British author and social commentator Orwell, writing in response to H.G. Wells and before the advent of nuclear weapons, dismisses world government as a non-starter in the face of likely opposition from powerful states.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING IS LISTED BELOW

2) Second Lecture: Global Government to Promote Justice and Democracy

This session could focus on arguments which see world government as required to ensure global justice, or to enable individuals to have appropriate input into policy decisions in age of still-intensifying globalization.

Suggested required readings:

Simon Caney, "Cosmopolitan Justice and Institutional Design," *Social Theory and Practice* 32 (2006): 725-56

Caney argues that there are clear reasons of global justice and democracy to advocate global

political integration. The piece makes an excellent teaching tool for its careful presentation of the salient literature and Caney's clear, systematic argumentation.

William Scheuerman (2014) 'Cosmopolitanism and the World State,' *Review of International Studies* 40(3): 419-41.

Scheuerman, a prominent scholar of mid-20th Century Realist thought in International Relations, takes Caney and other cosmopolitans to task for what he sees as failings in their institutional models, particularly in terms of how much security power global institutions would control. At minimum, Scheuerman says, a world government would have to have power sufficient to enforce its laws and rulings, and to defeat possible rivals for power.

Suggested recommended reading:

Luis Cabrera (2010) "World Government: Renewed Debate, Persistent Challenges," *European Journal of International Relations* 16(3): 511-30.

This article surveys work in the recent resurgence in academic thought on world government. It divides the literature into Security, Democracy and Justice arguments. It offers critical assessments of works in each area, and thus may provide a good classroom discussion starter.

Daniele Archibugi and David Held, "Cosmopolitan Democracy: Paths and Agents," *Ethics & International Affairs* 25, no. 4(2011): 433-61.

The 'deans' of cosmopolitan democracy detail a range of possible paths toward, and agents who could promote, the realization of democratic governance at the global level.

Simon Caney (2005) *Justice Beyond Borders: A Global Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chapter 5.

Robert E. Goodin. 2013. "World Government is Here!" in Sigal R. Ben-Porath and Rogers M. Smith, eds., *Varieties of Sovereignty and Citizenship*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 149-65.

Prominent political philosopher Goodin turns his attention here to world government, arguing that it has in fact already emerged, in a form quite similar to, for example, the United States in its early years.

FURTHER READING: General and Historical Sources

Catherine Lu (2012) "World Government," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/world-government/>

Luis Cabrera (2014) "All for One: World Government is Back, in Geopolitics and in the

Academy, But What Does the Future Hold for It?" *Aeon Magazine*, (3,300 words).
<http://aeon.co/magazine/world-views/will-a-world-government-work/>

Thomas G. Weiss (2009) 'What Happened to the Idea of World Government',
International Studies Quarterly 53 (2): 253-71.

Joseph P. Baratta (2004) *The Politics of World Federation*. Vol. 1: *The United Nations, U.N. Reform, Atomic Control*. Vol. 2: *From World Federalism to Global Governance*. Westport: Praeger.

Derek Heater. 1996. *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press).

Wesley T. Wooley (1988) *Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism Since World War II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

Robert L. Carneiro (2004) 'The Political Unification of the World: Whether, When, and How—Some Speculations', *Cross Cultural Research* 38 (2): 162-77.

FURTHER READING: World Government Critics

Mathias Risse (2012) *On Global Justice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 16.

Martha Nussbaum (2006) *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Harvard), esp. pp. 312-13

Ian Shapiro (2011) *The Real World of Democratic Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 159-66.

John Rawls (1999) *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. p.36.

Danilo Zolo (1997) *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

FURTHER READING: Security World Government

On Wendt's 'inevitability' thesis:

Brian Greenhill (2008) "Recognition and Collective Identity Formation in International Politics," *European Journal of International Relations* 14(2): 343-68.

Shannon P. Vaughn (2005), "Wendt's Violation of the Constructivist Project: Agency and Why a World State is Not Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations* 11(4), pp. 581-87.

Alexander Wendt (2005) "Agency, Teleology and the World State: A Reply to

Shannon,” *European Journal of International Relations* 11(4), pp. 589-98.

James A. Yunker (2011) “Recent Consideration of World Government in the IR Literature: A Critical Appraisal,” *World Futures* 67: 409-436.
<http://www.wiu.edu/users/mfjay1/wiu/Consider.pdf>

On security and world government more generally:

Campbell Craig (2003) *Glimmer of a New Leviathan* (New York Columbia University Press), especially final chapter.

William Scheuerman (2011). *The Realist Case for Global Reform*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Luis Cabrera, ed. 2011. *Global Governance/Global Government: Institutional Visions for an Evolving World System* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press).

Amitai Etzioni (2001) “Beyond Transnational Governance,” *International Journal* 56(4), pp.595-610.

Amitai Etzioni (2004) *From Empire to Community: A New Approach to International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

Richard Falk and Saul Mendlovitz, eds. (1966) *The Strategy of World Order* (4 Volumes). New York: World Law Fund.

These are some key publications from a major global initiative, the World Order Models Project, which sought to provide and promote models of more sustainable global governance, and some of whose principals advocated full world government.

Kenneth Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler (1992) “Beyond Nuclearism,” in Regina Cowen Karp (ed.), *Security Without Nuclear Weapons*, 21-55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pojman, Louis. 2006. *Terrorism, Human Rights, and the Case for World Government*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bertrand Russell (1945) “The Bomb and Civilization.” Online:
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/19112559/The-Bomb-and-Civilization>

Bertrand Russell, *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1959)

Susan Caudill (1991) ‘Trying to Harness Atomic Energy, 1946-51: Albert Einstein’s Publicity Campaign for World Government,’ *Journalism Quarterly* 1-2(Spring/Summer): 235-62.

Jonathan Schell (1984) *The Abolition*. London: Pan Books.

Furio Cerutti (2007) *Global Challenges for Leviathan: A Political Philosophy of Nuclear Weapons and Global Warming*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, *World Peace Through World Law*, 3rd Edition (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1966).

John H. Herz. 1959. *International Politics In the Atomic Age*. New York: Columbia University Press.

FURTHER READING: Non-Western Sources

Manu Bhagavan (2012) *The Peacemakers: India and the Quest for One World*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.

John Huddleston (1996) *The Earth is But One Country*. New Delhi: Bahá'í Publishing Trust. (Book details support for the world unity and government from within the Bahá'í faith.)

Shyam Saran (2014) "Nehru and the Concept of One World: Idealistic Fantasy or Practical Necessity?" Online:

http://ris.org.in/images/RIS_images/pdf/Nehru%20and%20the%20Concept%20of%20One%20World%20_Final_.pdf

< With >

Jawaharlal Nehru. 1999 [1956]. "Towards a World Community." In *India at the United Nations*, ed. S. K. Madhavan, Vol. I. New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation

FURTHER READING: World Government to Promote Justice and Democracy

Thomas Pogge (1992) 'Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty' *Ethics* 103(1): 48-75.

Janna Thompson. 1992. *Justice and World Order: A Philosophical Inquiry*. London: Routledge.

David Held. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

David Held. 2004. *Global Covenant: The Social Democratic Alternative to the Washington Consensus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Daniele Archibugi. 2008. *The Global Commonwealth of Citizens: Toward Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Daniele Archibugi, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi and Raffaele Marchetti, eds., *Global Democracy: Normative and Empirical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Lea Ypi. 2013. "Cosmopolitanism without If and without But", in *Cosmopolitanism: For and Against*, ed. Gillian Brock. Oxford: Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Christien Van den Anker. 2006. "Cosmopolitan Institutions: Justice, Governance, and Political Economy." *Global Society* 20(3): 233-38.
- Yael Tamir (2000) "Who's Afraid of a Global State?" in Kjell Goldmann, Ulf Hannerz and Charles Westin, eds., *Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era* (London, Routledge), pp. 244-67.
- Luis Cabrera (2005) "The Cosmopolitan Imperative: Global Justice Through Accountable Integration," *The Journal of Ethics* 9(1-2), pp. 171-99.
- Luis Cabrera (2010). *The Practice of Global Citizenship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Luis Cabrera. 2015. "Global Government and the Sources of Globoscepticism," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43(2): 471-91.
- William Scheuerman (2014) 'Cosmopolitanism and the World State,' *Review of International Studies* 40(3): 419-41
- Mathias Koenig-Archibugi (2011) 'Is Global Democracy Possible?' *European Journal of International Relations*, 17 (3), 519-42.
- Christian List and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Can there be a Global Demos? An Agency-Based Approach," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 38, no. 1 (2010):76-110.
- Andreas Bummel (2010) *Developing International Democracy: For a Parliamentary Assembly at the United Nations* (Berlin: Committee for a Democratic UN).
- Falk, Richard, and Andrew Strauss (2011) *A Global Parliament: Essays and Articles*. Berlin: Committee for a Democratic UN.
- Carol Gould (2004) *Globalizing Democracy and Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carol Gould (2014) *Interactive Democracy: The Social Roots of Global Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ronald Tinnevelt (2012) "Federal World Government: The Road to Peace and Justice?" *Cooperation and Conflict* 47(2): 220-38.
- Joel Trachtman (2014) *The Future of International Law: Global Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- James A. Yunker (2000) "Rethinking World Government: A New Approach," *International Journal on World Peace* Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 3-33.
- James A. Yunker (2004) "Could a Global Marshall Plan Be Successful? Evidence from the

WEEP Simulation Model,” *World Development* 32(7): 1109-37.
<http://www.wiu.edu/users/mfjay1/wiu/marshall.pdf>

Dani Rodrik (2000) “How Far Will International Economic Integration Go?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14(1), pp. 17-86. Also available at <http://www.econ.duke.edu/~uribe/econ170/Rodrick.pdf> Harvard economist predicts that economic globalization will lead to global political integration.

Raffaele Marchetti (2006) ‘Global Governance or World Federalism? A Cosmopolitan Dispute on Institutional Models’, *Global Society* 20(3): 287-305.

Raffaele Marchetti (2008) *Global Democracy, For and Against: Ethical Theory, Institutional Design, and Social Struggles*. London: Routledge 2008.

Torbjorn Tannsjo (2008) *Global Democracy: The Case for a World Government*, (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press).

Pavel Dufek, ‘Why Strong Moral Cosmopolitanism Requires a World-State’, *International Theory*, 5(2013): 177-212

Nancy Kokaz (2005) “Institutions for Global Justice,” *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 31: 65-107

David Copp (2005) ‘International Justice and the Basic Needs Principle’, in Gillian Brock and Harry Brighouse, eds., *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39-54.

Jurgen Habermas. 2008b. ‘The Constitutionalization of International Law and the Legitimation Problems of a Constitution for World Society’. *Constellations* 15(4): 444-55.

Shmuel Nili, “Who’s Afraid of a World State? A Global Sovereign and the Statist-Cosmopolitan Debate,” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 18, no.3 (2015): 241-63

Kai Nielsen “World Government, Security, and Global Justice,” in Steven Luper-Foy, ed., *Problems of International Justice*, pp. 263-82,

Thomas Pogge (1988) “Moral Progress,” in Steven Luper-Foy, ed., Problems of International Justice (Boulder: Westview), pp. 263-82. **(response to Nielsen)**

Laura Valentini (2011) *Justice in a Globalized World: A Normative Framework* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
A more general exploration of global justice issues, but with high salience to questions of global integration to secure global justice.

Toni Erskine (2008) *Embedded Cosmopolitanism Duties to Strangers and Enemies in a World of 'Dislocated Communities.'* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Erskine seeks to identify an appropriate balancing between principles of global justice and more local attachments in the context of armed conflict.

H.G. Wells (1905; 1967) *A Modern Utopia*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.