

**LDST 307: Leadership in International Contexts**  
**(“Global Governance in a Post-Sovereign World of Interdependence”)**

Spring 2009  
MW 2:45-4:00pm, Jepson 102

Instructor: Dr. Sungmoon Kim  
Office: Jepson Hall, Rm. 245  
Email: [skim23@richmond.edu](mailto:skim23@richmond.edu)  
Tell: (804)287-6845  
Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-4pm, and by appointment

**Course Description**

Ever since modern social contract theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, theorists and policy-makers have grappled with (re-)constructing a just and civil society where private individuals celebrate a common identity in terms of citizenship in a territorially demarcated, culturally bounded, and politically self-determining sovereign nation-state. In the modern social imagination, justice always means a national social and juridical justice, citizenship is causally equated with nationality, and leadership refers primarily to a national political leadership. Here what is theoretically and practically at stake is whether leadership should be commonly shared amongst all citizens or monolithically seized by an all-encompassing sovereign body (or person), or delegated to some democratically elected representatives. Today, unfortunately (or fortunately), none of these modern characteristics is taken for granted: (1) self-determining sovereignty of nation-state seems to be meaningless given the reality of, say, global warming, globalizing endemics, globalizing economy, and globalizing terrorism; (2) bounded citizenship sounds archaic given the reality of multiple citizenship (especially in Europe) and the emergence of the idea of flexible/stakeholder citizenship; (3) social justice seems to be too narrow or even selfish given the challenge of global poverty and material *and* non-material (religious/cultural) types of injustice. Now, great portions of national presidential debate are spent on international and/or global issues and national leadership is expected to meet global challenges. Similarly, citizens are exposed to all kinds of social, political, economic, environmental, health, and security problems in their lifeworld, which are largely generated outside their national territory. Like it or not, we are now living in the world of interdependence. The question then is how to democratize global interdependence and how to globalize democracy (and social contract) by enacting a new global leadership and citizenship.

This course aims to explore what kind of leadership and citizenship is necessary in both democratizing globalization and globalizing democracy in today’s post-sovereign world of interdependence. Therefore, this course does not concentrate on the personal characteristics of individual political leaders. Instead, the purpose of this course is to expose the students to both theoretical and practical challenges posed to our modern social imaginations and have them wrestle with alternative ideas that can meet such challenges. In order to achieve this goal, we will focus on three, interrelated, themes:

- (1) Globalization and Terrorism

- (2) Globalization and Transnational Citizenship
- (3) Globalization and Poverty

Correspondingly, we will discuss three, interrelated, theoretical and practical ways to breakthrough the deadlock between globalization and democracy:

- (1) Pooling Sovereignty: If unitary sovereignty comes far short in dealing with transnational and transsovereign global problems like terrorism, what can be its alternative?
- (2) Globalizing Citizenship: If neither traditional national citizenship nor cosmopolitan citizenship is tenable in this rapidly changing world, what can be an alternative?
- (3) Globalizing Social Contract: Given exacerbating global poverty and other material or non-material (religious/cultural/political) injustices, how can we reinvent a social contract that has global implications so that we can counter and transform a global version of the Hobbesian state of nature?

**Required Readings** (Available for purchase at the UR bookstore)

Stephen Holmes, *The Matador's Cape: America's Reckless Response to Terror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Michael Walzer, *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994)

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What can be Done About It* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999[1979])

Benjamin R. Barber, *Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy* (New York: Norton, 2004)

K. Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006)

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999)

Virginia Held, *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, and Global* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

\* Readings marked with ® are available online via the library e-reserve system.

**Course Requirements**

**1. Class Participation and Presentation: 15%**

The success of this “seminar-like” class hinges on the active participation of each member of the class. By “active participation,” I mean that students are not only to attend all class meetings but also to engage fully in them: reading the required reading materials in advance and carefully; thinking reflectively about the readings in relation to the key issues of the week; raising thoughtful and interesting questions regarding the readings and/or the service experiences; critically and yet respectfully arguing with another student or the instructor. If you attend every class and pay attention to what is going on but rarely say anything during the class, your participation grade will be roughly C+/B- (11-12). Note that one unexcused absence is understandable, but your final grade will be lowered by two percentage points for each additional unexcused absence. If you need to miss a class, please let me know in advance (via email). More than five absences (without permission) will amount to the failing grade.

Over the semester, you will be required once or twice to present the reading material(s) and lead class discussion (together 15 to 20 minutes). Presentation won't be graded separately from general class participation, though.

**2. Two Short Papers (5-6 double-spaced pages): 20%**

Paper #1 on Globalization and Terrorism (10%) **Due Wednesday, February 18, 3:00 p.m.**

Paper # 2 on Globalization and Poverty (#2-1) or Globalization and Nationalism (#2-2) (10%)  
**Due Monday, March 16, 3:00 p.m. or Monday April 6, 3:00 p.m.**

**[Please note that you have an option]**

Late papers are penalized one-third of a grade for each day they are late. Barring exceptional circumstances, there are no paper extensions.

**3. In-Class Midterm Examination: 20% (Wednesday, March 4)**

The exam will be comprised of 15 identification questions (each 5%) and one short essay question (25%). Note that this format can be changed.

**4. In-Class Final Examination: 25% (Monday, April 27)**

The exam will be comprised of 15 identification questions (each 5%) and one short essay question (25%). Note that this format can be changed.

**5. Final Paper (10-12 double-spaced pages): 20% (Due Friday, May 1, 3p.m.)**

In this final course paper, you will write a paper on a topic related to the questions raised by the course. Specific guidelines will be provided during the semester.

It is highly recommended (but not required) that you submit an outline for this final paper by **Friday, April 24**. I will schedule appointments during the out-of-class time with those students who've submitted outlines to go over your paper plans.

Again, a late paper is penalized one-third of a grade for each day they are late. Barring exceptional circumstances, there are no paper extensions.

## **6. Special Events (participation required)**

Over the semester, there will be two occasions of the "Jepson International Public Square" series: first on "USA, A Global Superpower?" (Thursday, February 5, 4-5pm) and second tentatively on "Just and Unjust War" (Thursday, March 26, 4-5pm). You're required to attend both.

### **\* Notes on Grading Standards and the Honor System**

**A** range grades are given for truly outstanding written work that not only meets the basic requirements of the given assignment but also demonstrates exceptional insight, clarity, and depth of thought. For instance, an A-range paper will not simply forward and defend an argument, but also anticipate and attempt to answer likely objections to the argument, and/or acknowledges points at which one's argument might be vulnerable. Such papers will also be very well-organized and well-written, and gracefully presented.

**B** range grades are given for good and very good written work which amply meets all the basic requirements of the given assignment and reflects substantial effort and engagement with the material. Such work is generally well-written and well-organized, shows good understanding of the course material, and avoids major substantive or logical errors. *B is a good grade for any assignment in this course, and B+ is a very good grade.*

**C** range grades are given for work which attempts to fulfill the requirements of the assignment but which falls short in some substantial way, with respect to organization, writing quality, understanding of the material, or argumentative logic.

**D** and **F** grades are reserved for work which comes nowhere close to meeting the requirements of the assignment.

The Jepson School supports and adheres to the provisions of the Honor Systems as sanctioned by the School of Arts and Sciences. Every piece of written work in this course must have the word, "**Pledged,**" along with the student's signature, signifying the following: "I pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance during the completion of this work." In the context of this course, the pledge also signifies that you are accurately reporting your experiences and hours worked at the service site.

### **\* Notes on Disabilities**

If you are having any physical or mental disabilities that require a special assistance in class or in fulfilling course assignments (including an in-class examination), please contact the instructor after the end of the first class on January 12.

## **Class Schedule**

### **I. Modern Social Imaginations: National and International**

#### **January 12 (M): Introduction to the Course**

No readings; review of syllabus and course requirements; signing up for presentation

#### **January 14 (W): Contracting a National Civil Society I**

-- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chapters 13, 14, 15, 22, 29 ®

-- Richard Boyd, *Uncivil Society: The Perils of Pluralism and the Making of Modern Liberalism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 55-82 ®

#### **January 19 (M): Contracting a National Civil Society II**

-- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Second Discourse* (or *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*), preface and all of part II, pp. 81-85, 113-138 ®

-- Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, bk 1, pp. 156-169 ®

#### **January 21 (W): Modern Nation-State and National Citizenship I**

-- Heather Rae, *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 14-54, 83-123 ®

#### **January 26 (M): Modern Nation-State and National Citizenship II**

-- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-82 ®

#### **January 28 (W): International Relations as a State of Nature**

-- Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, pp. 11-66.

#### **February 2 (M): The Autonomy of States**

-- Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, pp. 67-123.

### **II. Globalization and the Crisis of Modern Social Imagination**

## **1. The Case of “War on Terror”**

### **February 4 (W): Understanding 9/11 in the Global Context**

-- Stephen Holms, *The Matador’s Cape*, pp. 13-68.

-- Benjamin R. Barber, *Fear’s Empire*, pp. 33-50.

### **February 9 (M): Myth of Independence and the Revival of the Natural State**

-- Benjamin R. Barber, *Fear’s Empire*, pp. 65-84, 85-95.

-- Stephen Holms, *The Matador’s Cape*, pp. 71-91, 107-127.

### **February 11 (W): *Realpolitik* in Disguise**

-- Stephen Holms, *The Matador’s Cape*, pp. 131-196.

### **February 16 (M): Democratization of Fear**

-- Benjamin R. Barber, *Fear’s Empire*, pp. 96-159.

-- Stephen Holms, *The Matador’s Cape*, pp. 257-285.

## **2. The Dilemmas of Citizenship**

### **February 18 (W): Dilemmas of Citizenship in Contemporary Europe**

-- Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 147-177, 105-146 ®

\* *The First Short Paper #1 is Due.*

### **February 23 (M): Cosmopolitanism vs. Nationalism**

-- Martha C. Nussbaum, “Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism,” Joshua Cohen (ed.), *For Love of Country?* (Boston: Beacon, 1996), pp. 3-17 ®

-- David Miller, *Citizenship and National Identity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), pp. 81-96 ®

## **3. The Case of Global Poverty**

### **February 25 (W): Globalization and Poverty I**

-- Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion*, chapters 1-5 (pp. 3-75)

## **March 2 (M): Globalization and Poverty II**

-- Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion*, chapter 6 (pp. 79-96)

## **March 4 (W): In-Class Midterm Examination**

### **III. Beyond Modern Social Imaginations: Rethinking Sovereignty, Citizenship, and Social Justice**

#### **1. Pooling Sovereignty**

## **March 16 (M): Multilateralism and Neo-liberal Institutionalism**

-- Stephen Holms, *The Matador's Cape*, pp. 235-256.

-- Robert O. Keohane, "Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (2002), pp. 743-765 ®

-- Robert O. Keohane, "Sovereignty in International Society," David Held and Anthony McGrew (eds.), *The Global Transformations Reader* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), pp. 109-123.

[This is the excerpt of "Hobbes's Dilemma and Institutional Challenge in World Politics: Sovereignty in International Society," in Han-Henrik Hom and Georg Sørensen (eds.), *Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 165-229.]

\* *The Short Paper #2-1 is Due.*

## **March 18 (W): A Lesson from EU and the American Past**

-- John Peterson, "The European Union: Pooled Sovereignty, Divided Accountability," *Political Studies* XLV (1997), pp. 559-578 ®

-- Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphian System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, Circa 1787-1861," *International Organization* 49:2 (1995), pp. 191-228 ®

#### **2. Beyond National and Cosmopolitan Citizenship**

## **March 23 (M): Another Cosmopolitanism I**

-- K. Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*, Introduction and chapters 4-6.

## **March 25 (W): Another Cosmopolitanism II**

-- K. Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, chapters 7, 8, & 10.

**March 30 (M): Thin Universalism with Thick Citizenship**

-- Michael Walzer, *Thick and Thin*, chapters 1, 4, 5.

**IV. Leadership and Citizenship for Global Democratic Interdependence**

**April 1 (W): Strong Global Democracy as an Alternative to War**

-- Benjamin Barber, *Fear's Empire*, pp. 163-232

**April 6 (M): Cultivating Care**

-- Virginia Held, *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, and Global* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapters 2-4, 6

\* *The Short Paper #2-2 is Due.*

**April 8 (W): Extending Care**

-- Virginia Held, *The Ethics of Care*, chapters 7, 8, 10.

**April 13 (M): A Global Justice Debate**

-- Charles Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, pp. 125-176.

-- Michael Walzer, *Thick and Thin*, chapter 2.

Recommended: Peter Singer, "The Singer Solution to World Poverty," *The New York Times* (September 5, 1999)

**April 15 (W): Achieving Global Justice: Rawls I**

-- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, pp. 11-58.

**April 20 (M): Achieving Global Justice: Rawls II**

-- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, pp. 59-88.

**April 22 (W): Conclusion: Rawls' Nonideal Theory**

-- John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, pp. 89-128.

**April 27 (M): Final In-Class Exam**

(The actual date is subject to change according to the exam schedule)

*\* Final paper is due on Friday May 1, 3p.m.*