

IS 101 Week 2.2

Political Globalization

Tutorial question from 2023

- Tutorial questions:

1. Look at the list of members in the Security Council and in the General Assembly when the UN was formed in 1945. What kind of global challenges would this have produced? Discuss at least 2. (Please flip to the next slide for question 2)

Imagine that you were

- (a) an American social justice activist in 1945. You have a huge following in the United States amongst working class people. You have been asked to give a speech in front of the United Nations (both the security council and general assembly) with 2 recommendations for how it can become a more inclusive body. What will your 2 recommendations be? Explain. Optional: For inspiration, you may read up on Zelma Watson George.
- (b) the leader of the movement against colonial rule in Ghana. You have been invited (in 1945 of course this was extremely unlikely), to present your recommendations to the UN to make it a more inclusive body. What would your recommendations be? Optional: For inspiration you may read up on Kwame Nkrumah.

Are human rights universal rights that should be protected by the United Nations? Provide arguments for both a “yes” and a “no” response.

Q2. The ICJ gave a provisional ruling on Jan 26th 2024. As international studies students studying political globalization this week and international law next week, you need to be aware of what the case was about and how to understand it.

(this is being left here as a thought exercise for you. Please note that in tutorial you will be writing your reading review)

Please look at the following documents:

- (1) The text of the provisional judgement. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20240126-ord-01-00-en.pdf>

A version of this judgement with major portions underlined for you has been sent to you by email.

- (2) A collection of experts who give different perspectives on the judgement.

The question you will discuss in your tutorial: There have been several reactions to this judgement in the public discourse. Which of the following do you agree with (explain your choice). Go around the group and ask each person which one of the five options they want to go with. Then discuss.

1. This is a historic judgement because _____
2. This is not a judgement at all because _____
3. This does not go far enough because _____
4. This goes as far as it possibly could in the present circumstances. This is because _____
5. This is deeply problematic because _____

Tutorial questions

1. Look at the list of members in the Security Council and in the General Assembly when the UN was formed in 1945. What kind of global challenges would this have produced? Discuss at least 2. (see next slide for question 2).

. CASE STUDY: The ICJ gave a provisional ruling on Jan 26th 2024. As international studies students studying political globalization this week and international law next week, you need to be aware of what the case was about and how to understand it.

Please look at the following documents:

The text of the provisional judgement. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20240126-ord-01-00-en.pdf>

It then gave its advisory opinion on 19th July 2024: <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/204176>

For the tutorial you should focus on the SECOND document (19 July 2024). It may be easier, in order to answer the questions, to focus on these two short pieces that give different opinions on the judgement, rather than the judgement itself:

<https://verfassungsblog.de/the-2024-icj-advisory-opinion-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory/>
<https://carnegieendowment.org/emissary/2024/07/icj-israel-occupation-palestine-ruling-us-effects?lang=en>

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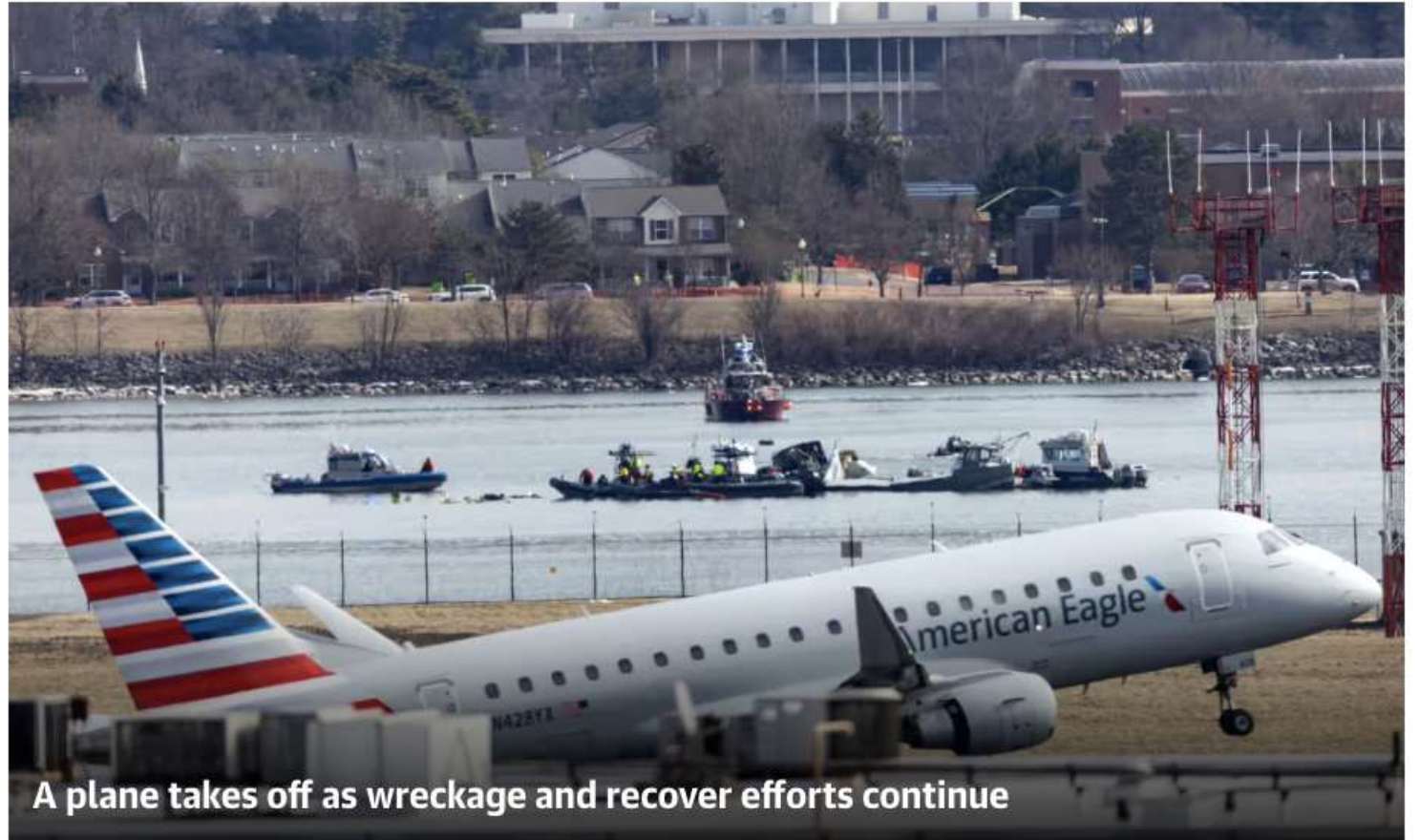
This is deeply problematic because _____

IS 101: News pick for this week

● Live

Trump blames diversity policies and 'confluence of bad decisions' as officials say no survivors in Washington plane crash

3m ago



A plane takes off as wreckage and recover efforts continue

Let's go to the
longer
"Analysis"
piece in the
same paper

Analysis

Trump blames others but Washington air crash comes amid upheaval in US aviation

Rachel Leingang

More flights, staffing shortages and mounting safety questions may have played a role in deadly air collision

● [Washington DC plane crash - latest updates](#)

The crash also comes as Trump's new administration is cleaning out the facets of government it disagrees with - including freezing hiring and requiring in-person work arrangements.

At a press conference on Thursday morning, Trump said "we have very strong opinions and ideas" about how the accident happened, then took political swipes at Barack Obama and Joe Biden over air traffic controller standards.

He complained about diversity and inclusion measures, and called the former transportation secretary Pete Buttigieg a "disaster" who has a "good line in bullshit".



Pete Buttigieg 

@PeteButtigieg



Despicable. As families grieve, Trump should be leading, not lying. We put safety first, drove down close calls, grew Air Traffic Control, and had zero commercial airline crash fatalities out of millions of flights on our watch.


President Trump now oversees the military and the FAA. One of his first acts was to fire and suspend some of the key personnel who helped keep our skies safe. Time for the President to show actual leadership and explain what he will do to prevent this from happening again.

9:15 AM · Jan 30, 2025 · **2.6M** Views



What is
political
globalization?

The globalization (transnational
connectedness and
interdependence) of the political
sphere.



Clarifying the terms we have used this week and last week

This chapter expands last week's discussion by looking at globalization in the political sphere.

*Clarifying terms: What is this “political sphere”? How is it different from the “economic sphere”?

The **political sphere** has to do with government and the state. More broadly, politics is seen as the exercise of power (making someone do something they would not have ordinarily done) through the government.

Economic sphere has to do with markets and the economy. Economics studies the production, allocation and consumption of goods and services (and the choices that each of these entails).

You can find separate definitions for each of these. In other words, politics can be defined separately from the economy, but in the way that they function they are related. For instance, last week we discussed how the belief in neoliberalism or neoliberal policy is rooted in politics and political belief. These beliefs were implemented after the 1970s by particular governments.

So this chapter looks at the globalization of the political sphere.

Would it focus on the same institutions?

i.e. the World Bank, the WTO and the IMF?

No, it highlights the beginning of the League of Nations and the United Nations instead.

This is because they do not deal very directly with the economy.

What else would it need to focus on in order to explain political globalization?

Last week we mentioned: trade and transport, financial flows (movement of capital and stocks) states and banks.

This week the nation-state is particularly important. Multinational alliances and regional associations are also important.

What is their relationship to one another?

Main idea 1





After the WW1 you had the formation of a new organization – the League of Nations

On p. 70 of your reading it discusses the formation of major international institutions that are central conflict resolution in the international system today. Both of these institutions emerged after WWII

- the United Nations
- International Court of Justice

“even leaders of nation-states had to fear facing justice if they committed war crimes or genocide.”

These international institutions are not the only form of transnational alliances that have existed. For instance, Amnesty international has formed alliances with indigenous and racialized groups in an attempt to push back against policies of the World Bank and even of individual governments.

Main story
(remember to
think about
what the
“hidden
stories”
potentially are)

- 1914, WW1 breaks out. It is far more terrible than people could have imagined.
 - Woodrow Wilson (then US President) says he never wants to see such a disaster again. Your reading calls him the “founder of modern liberalism” because he felt that new organizations and a strong rule of law in the global system could prevent another Great War.
 - 1919 The Treaty of Versailles calls for the formation of the League of Nations and a Permanent Court of International Justice.
 - 1939-1945: the Second World War and the failure of the League of Nations.
- * Can you guess what the “hidden story” here is?

The historical context of political globalization

1945 and the formation of the UN

Its precursor - the League of Nations

How did we get here?

In 1939 the Second World War began and lasted 6 years...

The UN was not just made to create an ideal world. It was responding to global power relations at the end of WWII.

Historically, it has been very difficult for the UN to reach consensus on most issues because of the diversity of its membership.

Powerful countries historically do what they want. For instance, the US invaded Iraq without the support of the UN. (pp. 74-75).

Does that mean political globalization has failed?

Your reading does discuss some successes

Such as ending The Apartheid (1948 to 1994) in South Africa.

Some of its components (like the WHO) has (almost) eradicated smallpox and polio.

“The danger” is that the UN reflects global power. *Can you explain why this is dangerous?

(a) Power changes over time

(b) It consolidates power inequalities

Human Rights as doctrine are supposed to be protected by these organizations..

- But the ICJ cannot bind countries to its will.
- Your human rights (claims and protections people have because they are part of humanity) actually originate in your nationality (p. 79).
- In 1946 mass killing such as the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust produced the need for the UN Commission on Human Rights. So is this a success?
- Partially, but states can still violate human rights.

We will not cover the section on regional organizations and democratization since we have a separate session on that.

Main idea: double standards continue to be exercised in spite of the stating of grand aims

For instance from p. 87

The United Fruit Company in Guatemala in 1954 and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran in 1953 were defended by the US and the US and Britain actually overthrew national governments to defend those interests.

Some Transnational coalitions (For instance with indigenous peoples) represent a different way of building new types of power based on indigenous knowledges. For instance the Arctic Council is an organization made up of eight nations in the region with six indigenous communities.



From Antony
Anghie, Professor of
International Law at
the National
University of
Singapore. Author of
Imperialism,
Sovereignty and the
Making of
International Law

- Dismantling Empire and leading the way to a world of independent sovereign states became one of the main issues dealt with by the UN because both processes (formation of international institutions like the UN and the movements for decolonization) were taking place at the same time.
- At the end of the First World War, the system of international law became one that could be used to manage international relations – this included relations with colonized territories.
- the system which was supposed to make colonized territories into independent sovereign states was created under the League of Nations and was called the “Mandate System”.

Why was the Mandate System created?

To govern territories that had previously been annexed or colonized by Germany and the Ottoman Empire (since these were the two major powers defeated in the First World War).

They were placed under a system of “international tutelage”. Under the Mandate system controlling states were supposed to:

- (a) Protect natives and advance their welfare
- (b) Follow all procedural obligations to make sure the territory was being properly administered.

Antony Anghie argues: “that international law consistently attempts to obscure its colonial origins, its connections with the inequities and exploitation inherent in the colonial encounter.”

*A story of Khilafat and India.

This is from the
League of
Nations charter
and established
the system of
mandates.

ARTICLE 22.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.


There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

The primary and substantive obligation undertaken by the mandatory power is stated in Article 22 of the League Covenant, which enunciates the concept of a 'sacred trust of civilization':

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So what is
Anghie's
main
argument?

I have argued that nineteenth-century jurists built racial discriminations into their conceptualization of sovereignty...the enduring vulnerabilities created by the processes by which non-European states acquired sovereignty pose an ongoing challenge, not only to the peoples of the Third World, but also to international law itself.



The formation of the UN in 1945 and its current security council

PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS

The Council is composed of 15 Members:

Five permanent members: China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and ten non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly (with end of term year):

- Albania (2023)
- Brazil (2023)
- Ecuador (2024)
- Gabon (2023)
- Ghana (2023)
- Japan (2024)
- Malta (2024)
- Mozambique (2024)
- Switzerland (2024)
- United Arab Emirates (2023)

The UN does need reform, but the need for reform is complicated by political issues. From p. 76 of your reading

“China is unwilling to see its old rival Japan join, a step that would dilute Chinese influence. Pakistan bitterly opposes the idea of bringing India into the Security Council. Argentina feels the same about Brazil, with discreet support from Mexico.”

The Second World War and the United Nations



Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

ADOPTED

BY

14 December 1960

General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

Nine countries abstained

Australia, Belgium, Dominican Republic, France, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States.

What about other actors in a politically globalized world?

Global political cities are:

- Centres for new ideas that go into policy
- Convene political forums
- Grassroots battlegrounds for political action.

Particular cities seem to be more important than others: New York City, Geneva (and in the past even Bandung).

Conclusion: Some regions may be more politically powerful within the territory of the nation-state.

The example of NGOs as a global actor from
your recommended reading

The role of NGOs in Africa: are they a force for good?

Published: April 25, 2017 3.39pm EDT



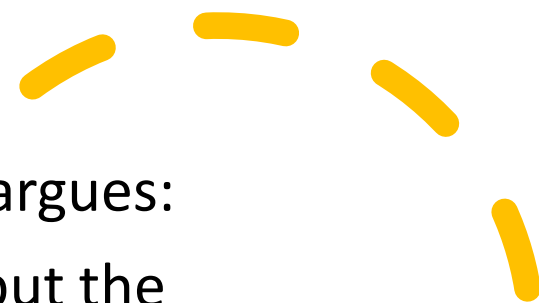
Let us look at an example from your recommended reading (by Sally Matthews) that highlights what political globalization and what some of the problems with it are.

International NGOs try to reduce poverty and provide services in countries in the global south. For instance, in Kenya the number of NGOs grew by 400% between 1997 and 2006.

- This is an example of political globalization.
- Examples of international NGOs
- Doctors without Borders
- Human Rights Watch
- Amnesty International
- Oxfam

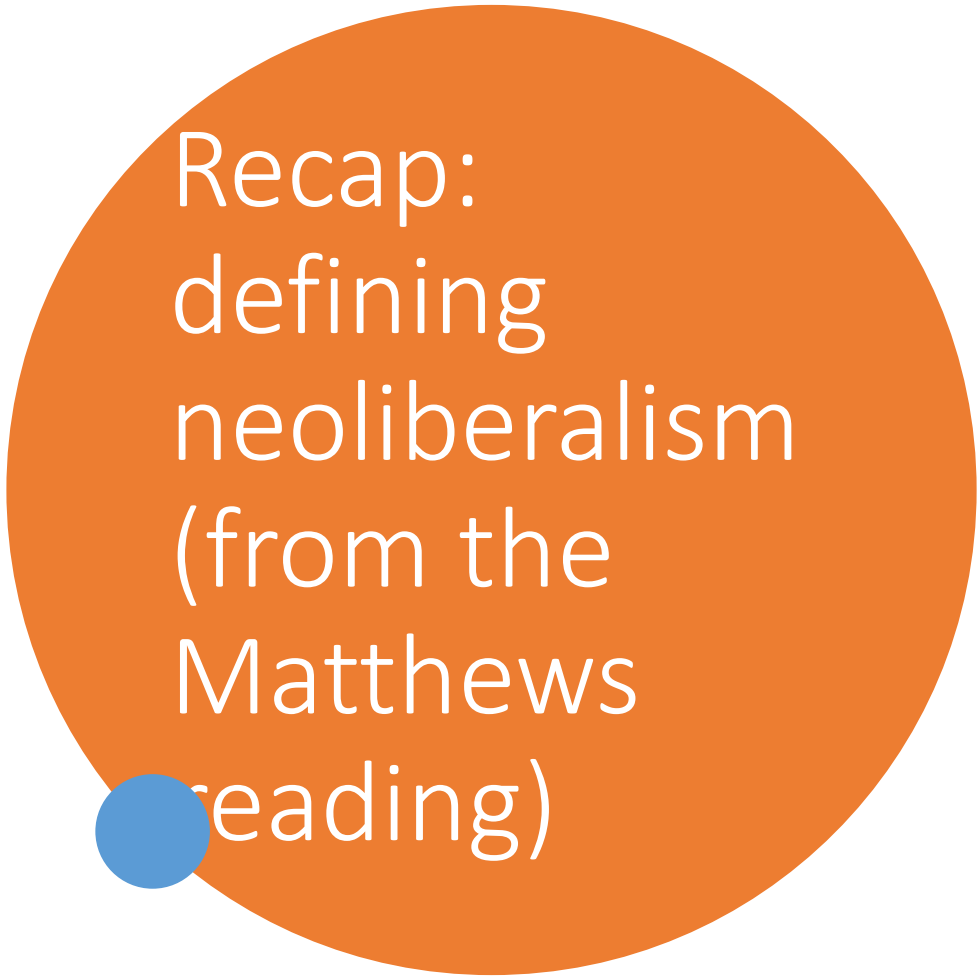


Is this good
or bad?




In the Matthews reading she argues:
It looks like it's a good thing, but the
policies of **neoliberalism (see next slide)**
through the 1970s and 1980s, have
weakened the power of the state to solve
its own problems.


**As a result, these NGOs are filling that
gap, preventing the state from doing what
its supposed to do – fulfill these services.**



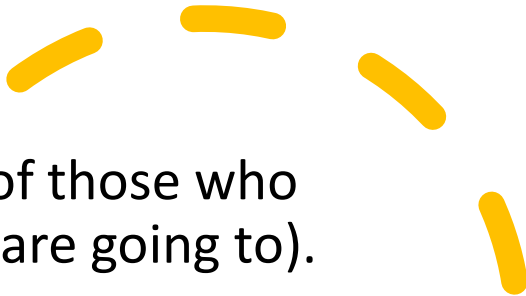
Recap:
defining
neoliberalism
(from the
Matthews
reading)



Neo-liberalism is an approach that favours a smaller role for the state in the economic arena. Advocates believe that the market and other non-state actors provide better services than governments.




NGOs are also
seen as more
accountable
to donors
than those
they serve...



So the NGO will fulfill the needs of those who fund it (not those who the funds are going to).

NGOs are criticized as providing technical solutions (band aid relief) instead of bringing about sustainable, reproducible change.

NGOs are more likely to get funds (as opposed to states like Kenya) and so they have more power in deciding things.



In this example —
is the nation-
state (let's take
the example of
Kenya) weakened
or strengthened
by the actions of
IGOs?

**from your reading summary:

- **Explainer of the term used in your reading “nation-state”:**
- In week 1 we talked about nationalism as a constructed identity for all people who belong to a nation. When connected to a particular territory (an area in which these people live), when the territory is independent or sovereign and when most of the people within the territory see themselves as part of the nation and agree to be ruled by a common government with its own military, police and legal system, this can be referred to as a “nation-state”.



In sum, political globalization means that political decisions are taken by the state you are part of, but are also affected by other global actors.

In the example we just discussed, the “other global actor” was NGOs.

I have left in the last few slides from last semester.
These are just to help you if you wish to revise.
These are optional reading.

What about the ICJ and its role (p. 78 of your reading)

“The idea of international justice was to be central to the new world order. For this reason, the new International Court of Justice (ICJ), the main judicial organization of the UN, had a broad range of responsibilities.

For example, countries could agree to submit boundary disputes and other arguments to the court for a binding settlement. Aggrieved parties could also take their disputes to the court for resolution. The ICJ was intended to provide judicial support to the Security Council to avoid and resolve international conflict. The ICJ has not always succeeded. During the Cold War, the court was incapable of imposing its rulings on the superpowers. For example, in the 1980s the United States refused to recognize a court ruling that condemned it for planting sea mines in Nicaraguan ports.”

2 Summary Analyses of ICJ case

1. Selma Dabbagh writes in The London Review of Books (LRB) on 26th January 2024:

The ICJ ruling shows that it considered:

- Palestinian people to be a 'protected group'
- that the case was plausible
- that South Africa had jurisdiction

*The LRB article refers to a UNICEF report from 2022 to describe the conditions that had previously existed in the Gaza strip since it has been under siege since 2007.

2. Shalom Lipner in “Experts react” from *The Atlantic Council*

“The practical implications of its decision are unlikely to compel any drastic reconfiguration...”

The ICJ refrained from issuing any call for an immediate cease-fire and so its provisions do not clash with the Israel’s aims in the war.

“Israel’s leadership would be well-advised to avoid recourse to unhelpful, incendiary rhetoric and to concentrate instead on the security tasks at hand.”

The advisory opinion.
As discussed here:
<https://verfassungsblog.de/the-2024-icj-advisory-opinion-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory/>

David Kretzmer argues that the principle *uti possidetis juris*, raised in the Dissenting Opinion of Vice-President Sebutinde and according to which a new State established in formerly colonial territory inherits the former (colonial) borders is untenable in the situation of Israel. The reason is that at the time of independence Israel's leaders accepted the principle of partition. No claim was made then or subsequently that the State of Israel inherited the borders of Mandatory Palestine and legislative acts reveal that Israel even regarded territories not within the UN Partition Plan borders as occupied territory.

Omar Yousef Shehabi discusses the impact of the AdvOp on a negotiated settlement. In his view the Opinion, in pronouncing that the Palestinians' right of self-determination is a peremptory norm which must be realised without conditions set by Israel as occupying Power, rejected the premise that this right can exclusively be fulfilled through bilateral negotiations. By logical extension, the Opinion calls into question the continued viability of the interim arrangements in the OPT set by the Oslo Accords.

Barak Medina takes issue with the Court's central finding that the occupation is illegal and thus Israel the aggressor which implies that an end to the conflict depends solely on Israel withdrawing from the OPT. He challenges the Court's choice to not even consider the possibility that the occupation is a means of self-defense invoking the doctrine of double effect.

High level view from
<https://carnegieendowment.org/emissary/2024/07/icj-israel-occupation-palestine-ruling-us-effects?lang=en>

Last week, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the judicial arm of the UN, issued an advisory opinion that upended the prevailing wisdom in Washington on Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking.

According to the court, Israel's prolonged occupation over Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank—including East Jerusalem—and its settlement enterprise are illegal under international law and constitute apartheid. Ending the occupation does not require a bilateral agreement guaranteeing Israel's security and Palestinian concessions on territory, borders, the status of Palestinian refugees, and Jerusalem. Rather, the court stated, Israel must immediately withdraw its troops, evacuate all 750,000 Israeli settlers from the West Bank, and pay Palestinians reparations. The court added that the UN, international organizations, and other states must do everything in their power to compel Israel to adhere to the ruling, including through sanctions.

The court's opinion has not received a warm reception in Washington, where international law has little currency in discussions concerning Israel and Palestine. It will certainly complicate cooperation between U.S. allies in Europe and states forming part of the so-called global majority, where international norms figure more prominently in formulating foreign policy toward Israel and Palestine.