



Seminar Title: The Political Economy of Global Governance (SOPP 5322)

Seminar Status: Elective

Instructors: Wolfgang Reinicke (SPP)

Teaching Assistant Jacqueline Dufalla

Number of credits: 2 (11 sessions, no classes during reading week October 22-26)

Teaching Format: Lectures, seminar discussions, student presentations

Semester: Fall 2018

Class Times: Detailed seminar schedule below

Location: tbd

Office Hours: every Thursday from 12:00 to 13:00 or by appointment

Overall Aim

This seminar aims to provide students with an overview of the contemporary debates on and challenges to global governance in the context of the current turmoil in the global political economy. It develops a solid understanding of the economic, political and social forces that have, until recently, led to a heightened demand for global governance and discusses a variety of public policy responses to meet that demand. More recently we have witnessed two challenges to the predominant ideology, institutions and processes of global governance also often referred to as the “Liberal International Order”. An “external” challenge by rising powers in particular China and an “internal” challenge propelled by rising economic and ethnic nationalism and exemplified most vividly by Brexit and the election of Donald Trump. The seminar examines the origins and causes of these challenges and explores their potential to either alter the Liberal International Order or even precipitate its demise.

Seminar Summary

“Ours is an ever more global civilisation that demands the provision of a wide range of public goods. The states on which humanity depends to provide these goods, from security to management of climate, are unpopular, overstretched and at odds. We need to think about how to manage such a world. It is going to take an extraordinary creativity.”

Martin Wolf, Financial Times, January 24, 2012

“[T]he world is not a ‘global community’ but an arena where nations, nongovernmental actors and businesses engage and compete for advantage”.

H.R. McMaster and Gary D. Cohn, Wall Street Journal May 30, 2017

“Socialism has failed. Now capitalism is bankrupt. So what comes next?”

Eric Hobsbawm, Guardian, April, 2009

The above three quotes not only capture two diametrically opposed perspectives on the future of global cooperation and global governance, the last statement also asserts a dramatic systemic failure of (global) capitalism and with that the “Liberal International Order” (LIO) that—at a minimum—requires further scrutiny and debate.

This seminar examines the gap between the demand for and supply of effective, accountable and just global governance. Global fora from the traditional UN and its agencies, the IMF, the World Bank to new formats such as the G20 and public-private ventures have continued to proliferate till recently, yet many criticize an insufficient provision of global public goods (GPGs) against the background of an ever deeper integration of the global economy --according to some even global society. At the same time, we are witnessing growing global tensions due to geopolitical power shifts manifested by the rise of China, India and other former so called “developing” countries and the violent opposition of Russia to the Western-dominated global institutional order. Some even foresee the rise of a parallel competing institutional order through multilaterals such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank (NDB). More recently, this “external” challenge to the Post World War II “Liberal International Order” has been amplified by challenges from “within”. Brexit and the election of Donald Trump are just the more prominent examples of an intensifying resistance to globalization and global governance in many “western” democracies as a growing number of citizens have lost trust in the institutions of democracy, feel betrayed by cosmopolitan elites and abandoned, manifested not the least in the growing and in some cases grotesque income and wealth inequalities, less so between nations but within them.

In other words: just at the very moment when (or because) there is an increasing need for global governance to deal with pressing global cross border challenges, the very foundation of the global institutional order, LIO, is not only being questioned but also held responsible for the those inequalities. It is challenged by rising powers and new international institutions as well as a rise in a nationalist set of policies reminiscent of the period between World War One and Two manifested in rising protectionism, resistance against migration, the real and threatened exits from international treaties providing global public goods such as the Paris Climate

Accord or NATO, all actions that question not only the benefits of international cooperation but the very principles of multilateralism upon which LIO is based.

In this seminar, we seek to gain an in-depth understanding of the evolution, the contemporary dynamics and the future prospects for global governance. Global governance is a broad term to say the least, encapsulating many meanings and concepts. For the purposes of this seminar on the political economy of global governance, global governance is narrowed down to and specified as the provision of global public goods (GPGs). We will proceed in four steps. First, we discuss the conceptual foundation, historical evolution and contemporary state of the LIO.” It is LIO, its norms, principles and rules and its institutions that is seen most often as the principal provider of GPGs. After World War II, LIO has been operationalized through what the American academic John Ruggie has called the “embedded liberal compromise (ELC)”. What is the state of ELC today? How has ELC been affected by the globalization of the world economy? Part two of the seminar, takes a close at the nature of GPGs --their origin, characteristics and what differentiates them from national public goods. This is followed by an analysis of five different mechanisms through which GPGs could potentially be provided. Students/student teams are asked to present these mechanisms, assess their bearing while also attention to the legitimacy of process. In the third part of the seminar we will examine the “external” challenge to LIO and its institutional manifestation. Why did this challenge arise? How serious is it and what, if anything, could/should be done about it? Finally, part four will take a first look at the “internal” challenge to LIO the consequences of which remain somewhat unclear though initial implications and beyond have been felt already.

In to the above, the seminar, will make an effort to assess and further investigate the above claim by the late historian Eric Hobsbawm that (global) capitalism, and by implication the LIO, is broken.

Prerequisites

There are no specific prerequisites for the seminar but it is helpful if students have had a prior seminar in international relations and public policy --such as the SPP elective mandatory seminar SOPP 5291 -- or an equivalent— and/or some international policy experience.

Aims of the Seminar

The seminar seeks to achieve the following aims:

- Survey the evolution and changing nature of the LIO and the concept of the ELC from 1945 until today with a view toward the concepts of international and global governance;
- Define and critically discuss key concepts in the debate on global governance including;
 - interdependence and globalization --why and how they differ;
 - state sovereignties --how they are impacted by global public policy making;
 - market failure, externalities and (global) public goods --with an emphasis on perspectives of political economy and globalization;
- Examine and asses five policy mechanisms that have the potential to provide GPGs;
- Survey and account for the recent power shifts in the global political economy, the emergence of new multilateral institutions and their impact on LIO and global governance in general;
- Understand the recent nationalist/populist backlash against globalization and the LIO; and assess its prospects;
- Reflect on the resilience of LIO and its future prospects

Learning Outcomes

By the end of the seminar students should be able to:

- Understand our evolving geo-political and geo-economic environment, in particular with a view toward the LIO and the ELC and how it affects the debate on global governance;
- Be literate in key themes, concepts and debates concerning global governance, including concepts of interdependence and globalization and how each differ in their impact on state sovereignty and public policy making, in particular the provision of (global) public goods;
- Account for and appraise different institutional setups and processes that have the potential to (and in some cases do) provide GPGs;

- Be familiar and situate the more recent “external” and “internal” challenges to the LIO and global governance and assess their prospects;
- Debate the prospects of the sustainability and future of the LIO and explore possible alternatives;

Seminar Schedule and Overview

Section	Date & Time	Class title
Introduction	September 19 15:30-17:10	1a. Seminar overview
History and Current Context	September 19 15:30-17:10	1.b. The US-Led International Order and the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise”
	September 26 15:30-17:10	1. Changing Fortunes: The End of the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise”
Conceptual Foundations	October 3 15:30-17:10	2. Interdependence, Globalization, Sovereignty and Global Value Chains (GVCs)
	October 10 15:00-17:10	3. GVCs cont. Global Wealth Chains (GWCs) and the Commercialization of Sovereignty
	October 17 15:30-17:10	4. Market Failure, Externalities and (Global) Public Goods
Reading Week	October 22-26	<i>Identification of policy paper topic and 1st outline</i>

<p>Governing Globalization</p>	<p>October 31 15:00-17:10</p> <p>November 7 15:30-17:10</p>	<p>5. Providing Public Goods I.</p> <p>6. Providing Public Goods II.</p>
<p>Challenges</p>	<p>November 14 15:30-17:10</p> <p>November 21 15:30-17:10</p> <p>November 28 15:30-17:10</p>	<p>7. “External” Challenge I: Moving toward “A World Without the West”?</p> <p>8. “External” Challenge II: A Changing Institutional Landscape - The G-20, the BRICS, IBSA, NDB and the AIIB.</p> <p>9. “Internal” Challenge: Brexit, Trump and the Backlash Against Global Governance and the LIO</p>
<p>Reflections and Seminar Review</p>	<p>December 5. 15:30-17:10</p>	<p>10. What Future for the LIO and Global Governance?</p>

Plagiarism

Plagiarism and various forms of academic dishonesty consist of misrepresentation by deception or by other fraudulent means and will be automatically referred to the SPP Academic Integrity Committee and invariably result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript, and/or suspension or expulsion from the university. It is YOUR responsibility to understand what constitutes plagiarism and academic dishonesty. See the CEU Code of Ethics and complete the Indiana plagiarism [test](#) on Moodle.

Grading

CEU uses a system of letter grades and grade points for evaluation:

A	3.68 – 4.00
A-	3.34 – 3.67
B+	3.01 – 3.33
B	2.68 – 3.00
B-	2.34 – 2.67
C+	2.33 (minimum pass).

Assignments

Short Statement of Interest counts for 0% of the grade

By Tuesday September 18 (or before) students, the instructor and the teaching assistant are asked to submit an approx. 250-word summary of their interest in the topic and if applicable any professional background and experience that relates to this seminar. This assignment is not for grade. It allows the instructor to get to know the students and their interests and may help in organizing class discussions. If students agree, we can post them on the class webpage so that you get to know each other better in the context of this class.

Class preparation and participation count for 15% of the grade.

You are expected to come fully prepared to class having read the reading designated as “required”. For more on that see below. Reading some or all of the reading labelled “optional” will help you better understand the concepts employed, develop a more critical perspective on the issues covered, have greater impact in the class discussion and support you in completing your various assignments. Please consult with the instructor for more details.

Quizz(es) counts for 15% of the grade

There will be one or two short quizzes. The quizz(es) will take place at the beginning of a class and will test your familiarity with the “required” reading up to that point of the class.

Team presentation counts for 20% of the grade.

For more on the specific task of the team work see below sessions 7 & 8.

Policy Paper counts for 50% of the grade.

This assignment constitutes the final take home exam. You are asked to choose a global governance issue of particular interest to you. You should start by demonstrating why the issue requires global governance, assess the progress made and challenges faced to date and make a set of specific policy recommendations on how make further progress in this policy domain, while keeping the “external” and “internal” challenges in mind. The length of the paper should be 4,000 words. The structure of the paper should follow a guideline provided at the beginning of the seminar. The paper is intended to:

- Give you the opportunity to explore an issue in greater depth (integrating material and knowledge gained in this seminar, other courses and/or your professional/personal life);
- Expose you (and the instructor) to material that is not directly addressed in the class; and
- Strengthen your analytical and research skills. The paper must incorporate more than the relevant materials covered by class readings and lectures.

A number of websites offer guidance on writing policy briefs. There is no definitive structure and you should build on that fits the issue you address. Two recommended resources are provided by [Wesleyan University](#) and the [University of Texas](#).

Grading of Policy Paper

Organization and presentation of information	20%
Analysis of (history of) status quo and challenges	35%
Quality of conclusions & recommendations	20%
Drawing on sources and proper referencing	10%
Quality of writing	15%

Required Formatting

In the interest of consistency, it is preferred that you work in Chicago style. For more information you can consult the latest version of the Chicago Manual of Style (16th ed). For reference purposes:

- http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html
- http://myrin.ursinus.edu/help/resrch_guides/cit_style_chicago.htm
- <http://dianahacker.com/pdfs/hacker-bish-cms.pdf>

Auditors

Students may register to audit this course if it is not oversubscribed and if they secure the approval of the instructor. Note, however, that to receive the AUD mark on your transcript you have to attend ALL classes and fulfil ALL requirements except for the Policy Paper.

Required and Further Reading

The required reading amounts on average to about 90-100 pages per session. To ensure that our discussions are productive, inclusive and help you understand the topic it will be essential that you do the required reading.

The purpose of the further reading is to provide you with more in-depth coverage of each topic if you have a special interest in a topic or it may be helpful when writing your final paper. Also the instructor may occasionally draw on it. Students interested in following up and deepening their understanding on any of the topics covered in this seminar are invited to get in touch with the instructor directly.

Team reading groups are strongly encouraged in part to divide up the work, but more importantly to give you invaluable experience in summarizing others' ideas, getting your own ideas on the table, and talking about complex issues with people with a wide range of backgrounds and experiences.

The World We Live In

If you are interested in some recent global trends, issues and developments you might want to browse the reports listed below. All have been released within approximately the last year. They cover domains that will be crucial to and for the future of global governance. They are just samples. Neither the reports themselves nor the topics covered in them are exhaustive.

- Edelman, Richard. *Global Trust Barometer*. Edelman Trust, Executive Summary, June 2018. Online
- Edelman, Richard. 2017. *An Implosion of Trust*. Edelman online.
- World Economic Forum. *The Global Risk Report 2018*. 13th Edition. Geneva. Online.
- Oxfam. *Reward work, not wealth. To end the inequality crisis, we must build an economy for ordinary working people, not the rich and powerful*. Oxfam Briefing Paper, January 2018. Online.
- UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment. *Leave No*

One Behind: A Call to Action for Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment. 2016. Online.

- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. *World Disasters Report. Resilience: saving lives today, investing for tomorrow.* 2016. Geneva. Online.
- World Humanitarian Summit. *Too important to fail - addressing the humanitarian financing gap.* January 2016. Online.
- Bank for International Settlements. *87th Annual Report.* 2017. Basel, Switzerland. Online. Chapter VI: Understanding Globalisation. Online.
- World Bank Group 2018. *Global Economic Prospects, Turning of the Tide?.* June 2018. Online.
- Manyika, James et al. 2016. *Digital Globalization: The New Era of Global Flows.* McKinsey Global Publications. Online.
- National Intelligence Council. 2017. *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress.* Online. Washington, D.C. Online.

Please note: The following outline is accurate at the time of publication. Minor amendments may be made prior to the start of the term or a session especially in light of the topical nature of some of the issues covered in the latter part of the seminar. Any changes will be communicated in a timely fashion.

Seminar Schedule

INTRODUCTION

1. a. Seminar Overview (September 19)

This half-session is the perfect time to ask questions. It provides a general introduction to the seminar including an overview of its structure and content, what the seminar does and does not cover. This session also discusses learning aims and outcomes, readings and assignments, expectations and general policies including non-use of cell phones, plagiarism and other issues.

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT CONTEXT

1. b. The US-Led International Order and the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise” (September 19)

This half-session sets the stage and provides the broader historical context within which the seminar takes place. It surveys the establishment of the US dominated LIO, in the aftermath of the World War Two that centered on the concept of the ELC. In addition, we will also take a look what role, if any, so called “Global South” had in this process.

Required Reading

- Ruggie, John Gerald. 1982. ‘International Regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order’, *International Organization* 36(2): 379-415.
- Helleiner, Eric. 2006. ‘Reinterpreting Bretton Woods: International Development and the Neglected Origins of Embedded Liberalism’, *Development and Change* 37(5): 943-967.
- Rudra, Nita. 2007. ‘Welfare States in Developing Countries: Unique or Universal?’, *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 378-396.
- Makki, Fouad. 2015. ‘Post-Colonial Africa and the World Economy: The Long Waves of Uneven Development’, *Journal of World-Systems Research* 21(1): 124-135.

Further Reading

- Blyth, Mark. 2002. *Great Transformations, Economic Ideas and Institutional Change In The Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-45.
- Mazower, Mark. 2012. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. New York: Penguin Books: 191-243.
- Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6.

For a critical perspective on the use of the term “embeddedness” see:

- Cangiani, Michele. 2011. ‘Karl Polanyi’s Institutional Theory: Market Society and Its “Disembedded” Economy’, *Journal Of Economic Issues* 45(1).

For more empirical analyses on the embedded liberalism compromise see:

- Nooruddin, Irfan and Rudra, Nita. 2014. ‘Are Developing Countries Really Defying the Embedded Liberalism Compact?’, *World Politics* 66(4): 603-640.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. and Brooks, Sarah M. 2008. ‘Embedding Neoliberal Reform in Latin America’, *World Politics* 60(2): 231-280.
- Hays, Jude C., Ehrlich, Sean and Peinhardt, Clint. 2005. ‘Government Spending and Public Support for Trade in the OECD: An Empirical Test of the Embedded Liberalism Thesis’, *International Organization* 59 Spring: 473-494.

2. Changing Fortunes: The End of the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise” (September 26)

This session discusses the weakening and eventual collapse of the Bretton Woods order and with that the ELC. We will examine the causes of the collapse and its consequences most importantly the liberalization and deregulation of international trade and finance and consider the implications for the ELC, LIO and global political economy more generally.

Required Reading

- Mazower, Mark. 2012. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. New York: Penguin Books: 343-377.
- Kirshner, Jonathan. 1999. ‘Keynes, Capital Mobility and the Crisis of Embedded Liberalism’, *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 6(3): 313-337.
- Lind, Michael. 2017. ‘The New Class War’, *American Affairs* 1(2). Please read up to and including “The Politics of Global Arbitrage”.
- Makki, Fouad. 2015. ‘Post-Colonial Africa and the World Economy: The Long Waves of Uneven Development’, *Journal of World-Systems Research* 21(1): 135-142.
- Lang, Andrew T. F. 2008. 'Reconstructing Embedded Liberalism: John Gerard Ruggie and Constructivist Approaches to the Study of the International Trade Regimen' in: John G. Ruggie ed., *Embedding Global Markets. An Enduring Challenge*. Ashgate Publishing. Chapter 1.
- Ruggie, John G. 2008. 'Introduction: Embedding Global Markets' in: John G. Ruggie ed., *Embedding Global Markets. An Enduring Challenge*. Ashgate Publishing.
- Gono, Ikuo and Ataka, Hiroaki. 2006. “Conceptual Relevance of ‘Embedded Liberalism’ and Its Critical Social Consequences” *PAIS Graduate Working Papers* No. 03/06.

Further Reading

- Abdelal, Rawi, and Ruggie, John Gerald. 2009. ‘The Principles of Embedded Liberalism: Social Legitimacy and Global Capitalism’ in: David Moss and John Cisternino eds., *New Perspectives on Regulation*. Cambridge, MA: Tobin Project: 151–162.

- Razavi, Shahara. 2009. 'The Gendered Impacts of Liberalization: Towards "Embedded Liberalism?"' in: Shahara Razavi eds., *The Gendered Impacts of Liberalization: Towards "Embedded Liberalism"?*, New York: Routledge.
- Hannes, Lacher. 1999. 'Embedded Liberalism, disembedded markets: Reconceptualising the pax Americana', *New Political Economy* 4(3): 343-360.
- Cahill, Damien. 2014. *The End of Laissz-Faire? On the Durability of Embedded Neoliberalism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. Chapters 5 and 7.
- Ruggie, John Gerald. 2009. 'Globalization and the embedded liberalism compromise: The end of an era?' Max Planck Institute for the Studies of Societies. No. 97/1.
- Blyth, Mark. 2002. *Great Transformations, Economic Ideas and Institutional Change In The Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 126-151.
- Helleiner, Eric. 2011. 'The Evolution of the International Monetary and Financial System' in: John Ravenhill, ed., *Global Political Economy* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dunoff, Jeffrey L. 1999. 'The Death of the Trade Regime', *European Journal of International Law* 10(4): 733-762.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2006. 'Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion?', *Journal of Economic Literature* 44(4): 973-987.
- Mazower, Mark. 2012. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. New York: Penguin Books: 244-272.
- Jones, Kent Albert. 2015. 'Trade, Embedded Liberalism and Development' in *Reconstructing the World Trade Organization for the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rudra, Nita. 2005. 'Globalization and Strengthening of Democracy', *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 704-730.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. and Brooks, Sarah M. 2008. 'Embedding Neoliberal Reform in Latin America', *World Politics* 60(2): 231-280.

CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

3. Interdependence, Globalization, Sovereignty and Global Value Chains (GVCs) (October 3)

This session compares and contrasts the concepts of economic interdependence and globalization. It introduces students to the world of global corporate activities, a micro-economic i.e. firm level, phenomenon often overlooked when probing this field of inquiry. There is a qualitative distinction to be made between interdependence and globalization that we elaborate on. This is evidenced by the existence of so called Global Value Chains (GVCs), the rising incidence of intra-firm trade, the related growing significance of value-added trade, franchising and suppliers' agreements, base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS) by companies, the digitalization of economic transactions and flows and a dramatic concentration of global economic activity among others. Following from that and contrary to the era of economic interdependence, globalization, it will be shown, affects state sovereignty in a different way with profound implications for a government's ability to conduct public policy and provide public goods. We will examine and develop this qualitative differentiation with the help of newly available firm and industry level data and a few concrete examples and discuss its implications for public policy and governance.

Required Reading

- Reinicke, Wolfgang. 1998. *Global Public Policy: Governing Without Government?* Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press: 11-74.
- Annan, Kofi. Two Concepts of Sovereignty, *The Economist*, September 16, 1999. Online.

Read one (or both) of the following two articles

- Gereffi, Gary. 2014. 'Global value chains in a post-Washington Consensus world', *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 9-37.

or

- Gereffi, Gary and Lee, Joonkoo. 2014. 'Economic and social upgrading in global value chains

and industrial clusters: Why governance matters', *Journal of Business Ethics* 133(1): 25-38.

Illustrations (all optional)

Illustration 1: Global Value Chains, Trade and Gender

- Bamber, Penny and Staritz, Cornelia. 2016. *The Gender Dimensions of Global Value Chains*. International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development Issue Paper. Geneva, Switzerland. Online.
- Staritz, Cornelia and Reis, José G. eds. 2013. *Global Value Chains, Economic Upgrading, and Gender. Case Studies of the Horticulture, Tourism, and Call Center Industries*. The World Bank. Washington, D.C. Online.
- United Nations Trade and Development. March 2016. *Global Value Chains: how to address the gender dimension*. Online.

Illustration 2: The Case of Apple Inc.

- Kakaes, Konstantin. 'The All-American iPhone', *MIT Technology Review*, June 9, 2016. Online.
- Watch Dejian Zeng's testimony working at Pegatron an Apple manufacturing partner: <https://www.cnbc.com/video/2017/04/28/this-nyu-grad-student-went-undercover-at-an-apple-factory-in-china.html>
- China Labor Watch. August 2016. *Apple making big profits but Chinese workers' wage on the slide*. Online.
- Clarke, Thomas and Boersma, Martijn. 2017. 'The Governance of Global Value Chains: Unresolved Human Rights, Environmental and Ethical Dilemmas in the Apple Supply Chain', *Journal of Business Ethics* 143(1): 111-131.
- Linden, Greg, Kraemer, Kenneth L. and Dedrick, Jason. 2009. 'Who Captures Value in a Global Innovation Network?: the case of Apple's iPod', *Communications of the ACM* 50(3): 140-144.
- Dedrick, Jason, Kraemer, Kenneth L. and Linden, Greg. 2009. 'Who profits from innovation in global value chains? a study of the iPod and notebook PCs', *Industrial and Corporate Change* 19(1): 81-116.
- Jopson, Barney. "Corporate America rallies to Apple's cause", *Financial Times*, September 16, 2016. Online.

Illustration 3: Hungary and Global Value Chains

- Lőrincz, Noémi. 2017. Main Characteristics Of Nowadays' Global Value Chains and Their Relevance To The Hungarian Automotive Manufacturing Industry', *Budapest Management Review* 48(5): 35-48.

Illustration 4: Trumponomics and Global Value Chains

- Manyika, James et al. June 2017. *Making it in America*. McKinsey Global Publications.
- Tett, Gillian. 'Executives take a quiet turn away from globalisation', *Financial Times*, June 1, 2017. Online.
- Hancock, Tom. "Adidas boss says large-scale reshoring is 'an illusion'", *Financial Times*, April 23, 2017. Online.
- Stephens, Philip. 'Peace and prosperity: it is worth saving the liberal order?', *Financial Times*, February 9, 2017. Online.

Further Reading on Globalization

On GVS and Intra-Firm Trade

Research Papers (selection)

- Neilson, Jeffrey, Pritchard, Bill and Wai-chung Yeung, Henry. 2014. 'Global value chains and global production networks in the changing international political economy: An introduction', *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 1-8.
- Los, Bart, Timmer, Marcel P. and de Vries, Gaaitzen J. 2015. 'How Global Are Global Value Chains? A New Approach To Measure International Fragmentation', *Journal of Regional Science* 55(1): 66-92.
- Criscuolo, Chiara and Timmis, Jonathan. 2017. 'The Relationship Between Global Value Chains And Productivity', *International Productivity Monitor* Number 32.
- Heuser, Cecilia and Mattoo, Aaditya. 2017. 'Services Trade and Global Value Chains', *Policy Research Working Paper* No. 8126. World Bank Group. Washington, D.C.
- Sturgeon, Timothy J. 2013. *Global Value Chains and Economic Globalization - Towards a new measurement framework*. Industrial Performance Center, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Ahmad, Nadim. 2017. *Trade in Value-Added and Beyond: Developing Integrated International Economic Accounts*. OECD. Brussels.
- Los, Bart. *Using the World Input-Output Database (WIOD) to Analyze Global Value Chains*. Presentation at the New Techniques and Technologies for Statistics 2017 Conference.
- Ahmad, Nadim et al. 2017. *Indicators on global value chains A guide for empirical work*. OECD Statistics Working Paper Series. Paper No. 84.
- e15 Initiative at <http://e15initiative.org/themes/global-value-chains/>
- Duke University's GVC initiative at <https://globalvaluechains.org/>

Official Reports (selection)

- OECD. 2013. 'The Rise of Global Value Chains', *Interconnected Economies: Benefiting from Global Value Chains*. OECD Publishing: Paris.
- OECD, WTO OMC and UNCTAD. 2013. *Implications of Global Value Chains for Trade, Investment, Development and Jobs*. Report Prepared for the G-20 Leaders Summit, September 2013. Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation.
- OECD and World Bank Group. 2015. *Inclusive Global Value Chains Policy options in trade and complementary areas for GVC Integration by small and medium enterprises and low-income developing countries*. Report prepared at the request of Turkey's Presidency of the Group of 20, October 2015. Istanbul, Turkey.
- OECD at <http://www.oecd.org/sti/ind/global-value-chains.htm>
- UN Statistics Division, Global Forum on International Trade Statistics and Globalization <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/trade/globalforum/default.asp>

On the Impact of Digitalization on Globalization

- Manyika, James et al. 2016. *Digital Globalization: The New Era of Global Flows*. McKinsey Global Publications. Online.

Some introductory material on Taxation and Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS):

- Siu, Erika: Base erosion and profit shifting (BEPS) Panel 5: Reducing Inequality - International Corporate Tax Reform. Tax Justice and Human Rights Symposium: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kxwIn9WJjFQ>
- The BEPS monitoring Group <https://bepsmonitoringgroup.wordpress.com/>
- The Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation (ICRIT) <http://www.icrit.org/>
- OECD on BEPS <http://www.oecd.org/tax/beps/>
- Bond, Dale W. et al. 2015. 'Global value chain integration a critical success factor in the new tax environment', *Offshore* 75(6): 30-31.
- Morrison, Philip D., Morris, Will, Russo, Raffaele and Stack, Robert. 2014. 'Cross-Border Taxation: Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) Update', *The Tax Magazine* 92(6): 105-114.
- Christians, Allison. 2017. 'BEPS and the New International Tax Order', *Brigham Young University Law Review* 6: 1603-1647.

On Globalization and Economic Concentration

- Lynn, Barry C. 'Killing The Competition How the New Monopolies Are Destroying Open Markets', *Harpers* February 2012. Online.
- Barry C. Lynn and Phillip Longman. 'Who Broke America's Jobs Machine? Why creeping consolidation is crushing American livelihoods', *Washington Monthly* March/April 2010. Online.
- Autor, David et al. 2017. 'Fall of the Labor Share and the Rise of Superstar Firms'. *NBER Working Paper* No. 23396. National Bureau of Economics Research. Cambridge, Massachusetts. For a non-technical summary, see: <http://www.nber.org/digest/aug17/w23396.shtml>
- Nolan, Peter. 2008. *Capitalism and Freedom: The Contradictory Character of Globalisation*. London: Wimbledon Publishing. Pages 65-76 and 104-120.
- Barabási, Albert-László and Albert, Réka. 1999. 'Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks', *Science* 286(5439): 509-512.
- The Matthew effect of accumulated advantage: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matthew_effect

"Some Micro Perspectives" on Globalization:

- Choplin, Armelle and Pliez, Olivier. 2016. 'Inconspicuous Globalisations. Towards a new geography of global trade', *Books and Ideas*, 14 November, 2016. Online.
- Freedman, Josh. "Once poverty-stricken, China's 'Taobao villages' have found a lifeline making trinkets for the internet", *Quartz*, February 12, 2017. Online.
- O'Connor, Sarah. 'The highs and lows of hipster capitalism Artisanal globalisation offers some control but cannot fix all economic problems', *Financial Times*, January 10, 2017. Online.

General Further Reading

On Globalization

- Thun, Eric. 2011. 'The Globalization of Production' in: John Ravenhill, ed., *Global Political Economy* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 345-371.
- McGrew, Anthony. 2011. 'The Logics of Economic Globalization', in: John Ravenhill, ed., *Global Political Economy* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 275-311.
- Martens, Pim, Caselli, Marco, De Lombaerde, Philippe, Figge, Lukas and Scholte, Jan Aart. 2014. 'New Directions in Globalization Indices', *Globalizations* 12 (2).

On Sovereignty

- Eckes, Christina. 2014. *The Reflexive Relationship between Internal and External Sovereignty*. UCD Working Papers in Law, Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies. Research Paper No. 05061213. Dublin.
- Shah, Nisha. 2012. 'The Territorial Trap of the Territorial Trap: Global Transformation and the Problem of the State's Two Territories', *International Political Sociology* 1(20): 57-76.
- Hedley, Bull. 1977. *The Anarchical Society*. New York City: Columbia University Press.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hinsley, Francis Harry. 1986. *Sovereignty: Second edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lapidoth, Ruth. 1992. 'Sovereignty in Transition', *Journal of International Affairs* 45(2): 325-346.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1993. 'Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations', *International Organization* 47(1): 139-174.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1992. 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It', *International Organization* 46(2): 395-421.
- Nabulsi, Karma. 'The struggle for sovereignty', *The Guardian*, 23 June, 2004. Online.

4. GVCs cont., Global Wealth Chains and the Commercialization of Sovereignty (October 10)

Value chains, be they local, national or global, generate wealth. It is thus not surprising that in parallel to the emergence of GVCs we can observe the emergence of Global Wealth Chains (GWCs) that operate across multiple sovereignties. In this sessions we examine the emergence and operation of GWCs and its implications for the provision of public goods. We also look at the how the “commercialization of sovereignty” facilitates and structures GWCs and how it impacts governance.

Required Reading

- Seabrooke, L. and Wigan, Duncan (2014) ‘Global wealth chains in the international political economy’, *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 257–63
- Seabrooke, Leonard & Wigan, Duncan (2017) ‘The governance of global wealth chains’, *Review of International Political Economy*, 24:1, 1-29.
- Palan, R. (2002). Tax Havens and the Commercialization of State Sovereignty. *International Organization*, 56 (1), 151-176.

Further Reading

- Finéra, Lauri & Ylönenb, Matti (2017) ‘Tax-driven wealth chains: A multiple case study of tax avoidance in the Finnish mining sector’ *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 48 (2017) 53–81.
- Steven Adolf, Simon R. Bush, Sietze Vellema (2016) ‘Reinserting state agency in global value chains: The case of MSC certified skipjack tuna’ *Fisheries Research* 182 (2016) 79–87.
- Dietsch, Peter (2011), ‘Rethinking sovereignty in international fiscal policy’ *Review of International Studies* 37, 2107–2120.

5. Market Failure, Externalities and (Global) Public Goods (October 17)

This session reviews the basic concepts of market failure, externalities and public goods as proposed by the economics profession. It then proceeds to broaden this concept by introducing a political economy perspective on public goods. This is followed by an in-depth analysis of the concept of GPGs and its application.

Required Reading

- Malkin, Jesse and Wildavsky, Aaron. 1991. ‘Why the Traditional Distinction between Public and Private Goods Should be Abandoned’, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 3: 355-378.
- Kaul, Inge and Mendoza, Ronald. 2003. ‘Advancing the Concept of Public Goods’ in: Inge Kaul et. al. eds., *Providing Global Public Goods. Managing Globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 78-111.
- Sandler, Todd and Arce, Daniel G. 2007. ‘New Face Of Development Assistance: Public Goods And Changing Ethics’, *Journal of International Development* 19(4): 527-544.

Read one (or both) of the articles below

- Walker, Neil. 2016. ‘Human Rights and Global Public Goods: The Sound of One Hand Clapping?’, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 23(1): 249-265.

Or

- Augenstein, Daniel. 2016. ‘To Whom It May Concern: International Human Rights Law and Global Public Goods’, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 23(1): 225-248.

Further Reading

- Wolf, Martin. The world’s hunger for public goods, *Financial Times*, January 24, 2012.
- King, Michael. 2016. ‘Broadening the Global Development Framework Post 2015: Embracing Policy Coherence and Global Public Goods’, *The European Journal of Development Research*

28(1): 13-29.

- Kaul, Inge. 2013. *The Rise of the Global South: Implications for the Provisioning of Global Public Goods*. United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report Occasional Paper. 2013/08. New York: New York.
- Doering, Otto. 2007. 'The Political Economy of Public Goods: Why Economists Should Care', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 89 (5): 1125–1133.
- Nordhaus, William D. 2005. 'Paul Samuelson and Global Public Goods. A commemorative essay for Paul Samuelson' in Michael Szenberg, Lall Ramrattan, and Aron A. Gottesman eds., *Samuelsonian Economics and the Twenty-First Century*. Yale University.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. 1986. 'International Public Goods without International Government', *American Economic Review* 76(1): 1-13.
- Mulligan, Casey, Gill, Ricard and Sala-i-Martin, Xavier. 2004. 'Do Democracies Have Different Public Policies than Nondemocracies', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(1): 51-74.
- Deacon, Robert T. 2009. 'Public good provision under dictatorship and democracy', *Public Choice* 139(1): 241-262.
- Jackson, Ken. 2010. *Public Good Provision, Diversity and Distribution*. Online.
- Brousseau, Eric, Dedeurwaerdere, Tom, and Siebenhüner, Bernd eds. 2012. *Reflexive Governance for Global Public Goods*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 2004. 'Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors, and Practices', *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (4): 499-531.
- Cuicui, Chen and Zeckhauser, Richard J. 2016. 'Collective Action In An Asymmetric World', *NBER Working Paper Series* No. 22240. National Bureau of Economics Research. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

OCTOBER 22-26: READING WEEK

Students are strongly encouraged to use this time to hone in on a paper topic for the final policy paper. They are expected to discuss their topic of choice and a first rough outline with the instructor or the teaching assistant soon thereafter.

GOVERNING GLOBALIZATION

The following two sessions take a closer look five different mechanisms for providing GPGs. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive. In fact, a good number of them are employed at the same time in different policy domains, sometimes working at cross purpose. Students or student teams will be assigned one mechanism each (a-e) and will prepare a brief 15 minute presentation to be followed by 12 minutes of Q&A and discussion. Attention should also be given to the legitimacy of the mechanism. A short bibliography for each mechanism will be distributed during the opening session of this seminar once topics have been assigned. These bibliographies will also be available on Moodle. We close this section with a student/student team presentation asking whether the multitude of avenues for the provision of GPGs helps or hinders global governance.

6. Providing Public Goods I. (October 31)

a) Global Government/Cosmopolitan Democracy

❖ student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed and on Moodle

b) Regional Integration

❖ student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed and on Moodle

c) Government Networks

❖ student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed and on Moodle

7. Providing Public Goods II. (November 7)

d) International Organizations

- ❖ Student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed

e) Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships

- ❖ Student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed

f) Fragmentation of Global Governance: Too much of a good thing?

- ❖ Student(s) presentation --separate bibliography to be distributed

CHALLENGES

8. “External” Challenge I: Moving toward “A World Without the West”? (November 14)

While often still not recognized, the geopolitical and geo-economic landscape began to shift before the end of the Cold War. However, it accelerated sharply as of the mid-90s and continues to this day. This has led some scholars to go as far as to argue that we are witnessing the emergence of a “World Without the West”. This session examines those shifts and the implications for global governance and the LIO.

Required Reading

- Mishra, Pankaj. 2013. *From the Ruins of Empire, The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*. London: Penguin. Pages 1-11 and 294-310.
- Barma, Naazneen, Ratner, Ely and Weber, Steven. 2007. ‘A World Without the West’, *The National Interest* 90: 23-30.
- Mead, Walter Russel. ‘The Return of Geopolitics. The Revenge of the Revisionist Powers’, *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2014. Online.
- Ikenberry, John Gilford. 2014. ‘The Illusion of Geopolitics: The Enduring Power of the Liberal Order’, *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2014. Online.
- Kahler, Miles. 2016. ‘Who is Liberal Now? Rising Powers and Global Norms’ in Amitav Acharya ed., *Why Govern? Rethinking Demand and Progress in Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press: 55-73.

Read one (or both) of the articles below

- Hurrell, Andrew. 2013. ‘Power Transitions, Global Justice, and the Virtues of Pluralism’, *Ethics & International Affairs* 27(2): 189-205.

or

- Xiaoyu, Pu. 2012. ‘Socialisation as a Two-way Process: Emerging Powers and the Diffusion of International Norms’, *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5: 341-367.

Further Reading

- Ikenberry, John Gilford. 2009. ‘Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of World Order’, *Perspectives on Politics* 7(1): 71-87.
- Boyle, Michael J. 2016. ‘The Coming Illiberal Order’, *Survival* 58(2): 35-66.
- Chatterjee, Deen. 2013. ‘Building Common Ground: Going Beyond the Liberal Conundrum’, *Ethics & International Affairs* 27(2): 119-127.
- Ying, Fu. 2016. ‘Under the Same Roof: China’s View of Global Order’, *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Winter 2016.

- Ying, Fu. 2017. A Roadmap For Managing China's Rise, *The World Post*, August 9, 2017. Online.
- Weizhun, Mao. 2017. 'Debating China's International Responsibility', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 10(2): 173-210.
- Mazarr, Michael J. 2017. 'The Once and Future Order. What comes after Hegemony?', *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2017. Online.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2016. 'Idea-shift': how ideas from the rest are reshaping global order, *Third World Quarterly* 37(7): 1156-1170.
- Stephens, Philip. 'How the west has lost the world', *Financial Times*, October 14, 2016. Online.
- Kyngé, James. 'China stakes a claim for globalism without liberalism', *Financial Times*, January 27, 2017. Online
- Acharya, Amitav. 'Emerging powers can be saviours of the global liberal order', *Financial Times*, January 18, 2017. Online.
- Woetzel, Jonathan et al. 2017. *China's Role in the Next Phase of Globalization*. McKinsey Global Publications.
- UNDP. 2013 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', New York: UNDP. Online.

9. "External" Challenge II: A Changing Institutional Landscape - The G-20, the BRICS, NDB and the AIIB (November 21)

The shift in the global political and economic landscape discussed in the previous session is now consolidating. Among others, this consolidation is evidenced by the emergence of a set of new multilateral fora and institutions either to build bridges between "old" and "new" powers such as the G-20 or to create new multilateral institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the New Development Bank (NDB). This session examines the key drivers and ideas behind the emergence of this new institutional landscape and the prospects of these institutions to develop into a parallel, alternative multilateral system challenging the current status quo including the LIO.

Required Reading

- Chodor, Tom. 2017. The G-20 Since the Global Financial Crisis: Neither Hegemony nor Collectivism. *Global Governance* 23(2): 205-223.
- Heilmann, Sebastian et al. 2014. 'China's Shadow Foreign Policy: Parallel Structures Challenge the Established International Order', *China Monitor* 18.

NDB

- Cooper, Andrew F. and Farooq, Asif B. 2015. 'Testing the Club Dynamics of the BRICS: The New Development Bank from Conception to Establishment', *International Organizations Research Journal* 10 (2): 1-15.
- Cooper, Andrew F. 2017. 'The BRICS' New Development Bank: Shifting from Material Leverage to Innovative Capacity', *Global Policy* 4(4): 428-433.
- Chin, Gregory. 2014. 'The BRICS-led Development Bank: Purpose and Politics beyond the G-20', *Global Policy* 5(3): 366-373.

AIIB

- Chin, Gregory. 2016. 'Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Governance Innovation and Prospects', *Global Governance* 22(1): 11-25.
- Stünkel, Oliver. 2016. 'The BRICS: Seeking Privileges by Constructing and Running Multilateral Institutions' *Global Summitry* 2(1): 38-53.
- Morris, Scott. 2016. 'Responding to AIIB: U.S. Leadership at the Multilateral Development Banks in a New Era', *CGD Policy Paper* No. 091. Washington, D.C. Center for Global Development.

Further Reading

General

- Barma, Naazneen, Ratner, Ely and Weber, Steven. 2014. 'Welcome to the World Without the

West', *The National Interest*, November 12, 2014. Online.

- Feigenbaum, Evan A. 'The New Asian Order and how the United States Fits In', *Foreign Affairs*, February 2, 2015. Online.
- Morse, Julia C. and Keohane, Robert Owen. 2014. 'Contested Multilateralism', *The Review of International Organizations* 9(4): 385-412.
- Kirton, John James. 2015. 'Going Global: The G8's Adaptation to Rising Powers' in: Dries Lesage and Thijs Van de Graaf eds., *Rising Powers and Multilateral Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 117-134.
- Wade, Robert H. 2011. 'Emerging world order? From multipolarity to multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF', *Politics and Society* 39(3): 347-378.
- Woods, Ngaire. 2010. 'Global Governance after the Financial Crisis: A New Multilateralism or the Last Gasp of the Great Powers?', *Global Policy* 1(1): 51-63.
- Shih, Chih-Yu and Chiung-Chiu Huang. 2013. 'Preaching Self-Responsibility: the Chinese style of global governance', *Journal of Contemporary China* 22(80): 351-365.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2011. 'Can Asia Lead? Power ambitions and global governance in the twenty first century', *International Affairs* 87(4): 851-869.

G-20

- Vestergaard, J. and Wade, R.H. 2011. 'The G20 has Served its Purpose and Should be Replaced', *Journal of Globalization and Development* 2(2): 1-17.
- Kharas, Homi and Lombardi, Domenico. 2012. *The Group of Twenty: Origins, Prospects and Challenges for Global Governance*, Brookings Institution.
- Slaughter, Steven. 2013. 'Debating the International Legitimacy of the G20: Global Policymaking and Contemporary International Society', *Global Policy* 4(1): 43-52.
- Slaughter, Steven. 2017. 'The G20 and Global Justice: The Potential of Transnational Deliberative Democratic Theory', *Global Society* 31(4): 460-478.
- Tian, Huifang. 2016. 'The BRICS and the G20,' *China & World Economy* 24(4): 111-126.

AIIB and NDB

- Jane Perlez. 'China Creates a World bank of its Own, and the U.S. Balks', *The New York Times*, December 5, 2015. Online.
- Biswas, Rajiw. 2015. 'Reshaping the financial architecture for development finance: the new development banks', Working Paper, 2/2015, London School of Economics and Political Science, Global South Unit, London, U.K.
- Reisen, Helmut. 2015. 'Will the AIIB and the NDB Help Reform Multilateral Development Banking?', *Global Policy* 6(3): 297-304.
- Ratner, Ely. 'Making Bank' Why China's New Infrastructure Bank Represents a Challenge to the Global Order, *Foreign Policy*, 23 October, 2014. Online.
- Feng, Emily and Tom, Mitchell. 'China-led AIIB gives Brazil and South Africa extra year to join', *Financial Times*, March 28, 2017. Online.
- Wang, Hongying. 2017. 'New Multilateral Development Banks: Opportunities and Challenges for Global Governance', *Global Policy* 81(1): 113-118.

BRICS

- Stuenkel, Oliver. 2015. *The BRICS and the Future of Global Order*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Stuenkel, Oliver. 2016. *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers Are Remaking Global Order*. Polity Press.

10. "Internal" Challenge: Brexit, Trump and the Backlash Against Global Governance and the LIO (December 28)

The origins of the backlash against globalization and the LIO date back years and resentment at the domestic level in Europe and the United States has been growing for some time. During the last 5 years, however, this resentment has grown sufficiently strong that political entrepreneurs were able to convert it into a social and political force providing a power base for a new politics both in substance and style. Brexit and Trump are the most significant examples of its success but similar developments in other OECD countries are well known and more could follow. These developments are very recent and whatever evidence does exist still needs to be thoroughly assessed. Nevertheless this session will attempt to sort through what we know so far and consider the implications for global governance and the future of LIO.

- Mishra, Pankaj. 'The Globalization Rage,' *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2016. Online.
- Mead, Walter Russell. 2017. 'The Jacksonian Revolt, American Populism and the Liberal Order', *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2017. Online.
- Streeck, Wolfgang. 2017. 'Trump and Trumpists,' *Inference International Review of Science* 3(1). See also the responses to the article in *Inference*.
- Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs: Mark Blyth: Global Trumpism. Watson Institute Student Seminar Series - American Democracy: The Dangers and Opportunities of Right Here and Right Now. Brown University September 19, 2016 (before the US Elections) *watch presentation by Mark Blyth till min 49; Q&A optional*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bkm2Vfj42FY>
- CID Harvard: Peter Hall: Six Theses About Contemporary Populism. Presentation at 'Globalization and the Backlash of Populism', Center for International Development, Harvard University, April 18-19, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YUAXIspBA9A>
- CID Harvard: Globalization and the Backlash of Populism, Conference Panel Discussion, April 18-19, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEuxZZCTTYc>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZUCemb2pIE>
- Lind, Michael. 2017. 'The New Class War', *American Affairs* 1(2). Please read rest of the article i.e. from "Globalization: Hobson's Imperialism".
- Rodrik, Dani. 2017. *Populism And The Economics Of Globalization*. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Further Reading

- Blyth, Mark. 'Global Trumpism: Why Trump's Victory Was Thirty Years in the Making and Why It Won't Stop Here', *Foreign Affairs*, November 15, 2016. Online.
- Inglehart, Ronald F. and Norris, Pippa. 2016. 'Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash', *Harvard Kennedy School Faculty Research Working Paper Series* RWP16-026.
- Nair, Chandran. 'The illusion of globalism is meeting its match in populism', *Financial Times*, February 14, 2017. Online.
- Usul, Ali Resul. 2017. 'Ankara American Elections and the Global (Dis)order All', *All Azimuth A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace* V6, N1: 103-108.
- Sandbu, Martin. 'Explaining Trump's rise and predicting his failure', *Financial Times*, March 24, 2017. Online.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 'Us Against the World', *Financial Times*, November 11, 2016. Online.
- Kuper, Simon. 'Poor white and no longer forgotten', *Financial Times*, December 15, 2016. Online.
- Sandbu, Martin. 'The long shadow of deindustrialization', *Financial Times*, November 23, 2016. Online.
- Coyle, Diane. 'The anger of deindustrialised Brexit towns goes far beyond immigration', *Financial Times*, November 22, 2016. Online.
- Sandbu, Martin. 'No economy is an island', *Financial Times*, April 20, 2017. Online.
- Emmott, Bill. 'Literary Life: It is time for a new liberal lexicon', *Financial Times*, March 15, 2017. Online.

Some early responses by the LIO:

- IMF, the World Bank Group and WTO. 2017. *Making Trade an Engine of Growth for All. The Case for Trade and for Policies to Facilitate Adjustment*. Policy Paper.
- European Commission. May 2017. *Reflection Paper On Harnessing Globalisation*. European Union. Brussels, Belgium.

On Trump accelerating the rise of China:

- Wolf, Martin. 'Donald Trump and the Surrendering of US Leadership', *Financial Times*, May 30, 2017. Online.
- Sandbu, Martin. Trump's arbitrary use of power is a threat to rules-based order, *Financial Times*, January 31, 2017. Online.
- President of the People's Republic of China, President Xi's speech to Davos in full: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/full-text-of-xi-jinping-keynote-at-the-world-economic-forum>
- Li, Eric. Xi Jinping's guide to the Chinese way of globalization. The president's Davos speech stressed a message of pluralism, *Financial Times*, January 19th 2017. Online.
- Mitchell, Tom; Donnan, Shawn and Harding, Rob. 'Beijing plans rival Asia-Pacific trade deal after Trump victory', *Financial Times*, November 10, 2016. Online.
- Wu, Wendy. 'What Asia-Pacific trade pacts could replace the TPP?' *South China Morning Post*, 21 November, 2016. Online.
- Donnan, Shawn and Schipani, Andres. 'China pledges to lead the way on global trade. President Xi outlines vision amid fears of US disengagement from Asia under Trump', *Financial Times*, November 19, 2016. Online.

REFLECTIONS AND REVIEW

11. What Future of Global Governance and Course Review (December 5)

A set of short readings will be distributed beforehand