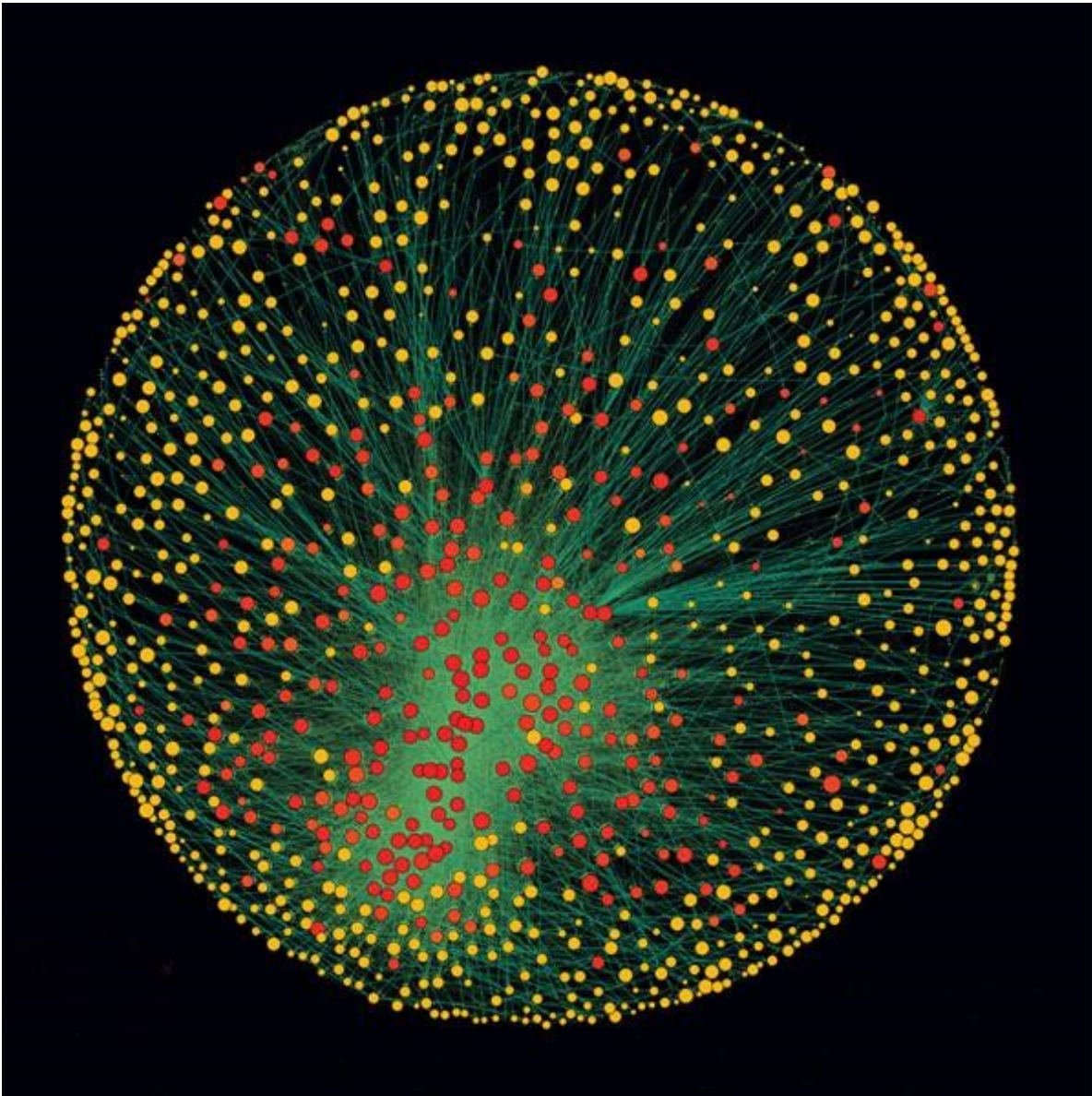


The Political Economy of Global Governance 2019/2020 Fall



Seminar Status: Elective (Governance Specialization)

Instructors: Wolfgang Reinicke (SPP)

Teaching Assistant: Jacqueline Dufalla (Office hours: By appointment)

Number of credits: 2 (12 sessions)

Teaching Format: Lectures, seminar discussions, debate, student presentations

Semester: Fall 2019

Class Times: Detailed seminar schedule below

Location: O/234

Office Hours: Every Tuesday from 12:00 to 13:00 or by appointment

Please note: This syllabus is accurate at the time of publication. Minor amendments to the READINGS section 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. Any changes will be communicated in a timely fashion via Moodle and will be reflected on the Moodle page.

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 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 to 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 what is often referred to as the “Liberal International Order” (LIO). All three statements require further scrutiny and debate which is one of the aims of this seminar.

The 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/populist 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 the LIO, its norms, principles and rules and its institutions that is seen most often as the principal provider of GPGs. After World War II, the LIO has been operationalized through what the American academic John Ruggie has called the “embedded liberal compromise (ELC)”. What is the state of the ELC today? How exactly has the ELC been affected by the globalization? Part two of the seminar, takes a close look 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 paying attention to the legitimacy of process. In the third part of the seminar we will examine the “external” challenge to the 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 look at the “internal” challenge to the LIO, rising economic nationalism and populism, the consequences of which remain somewhat unclear though initial implications and beyond have been felt already and can be discerned

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 "Introduction to Global Governance and Public Policy" (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 sovereignty --how it is impacted by global public policy making;
 - (global) public goods –with an emphasis on perspectives of political economy and globalization;
- Examine and assess 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 the 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 the 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 Overview

Section	Date & Time	Class Title
Introduction	<p>September 17 9:00-10:40</p>	1. Seminar overview
History and Current Context	<p>September 24 9:00-10:40</p>	2. The US-Led International Order and the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise”
	<p>October 1 9:00-10:40</p>	3. Changing Fortunes: The End of the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise”
Conceptual Foundations	<p>October 8 9:0-10:40</p>	4. Interdependence, Globalization and Sovereignty
	<p>October 15 9:00-10:40</p>	5. Global Value Chains (GVCs), Global Wealth Chains (GWCs) and the Commercialization of Sovereignty
	<p>October 22 9:00 -10:40</p>	6. Globalization & Sovereignty, Public Goods & Global Public Goods

Governing Globalization	October 29 9:00 - 10:40	7. Providing Public Goods I
	November 5 9:00 - 10:40	8. Providing Public Goods II
Challenges to the Liberal International Order	November 12 9:00-10:40	9. "External" Challenge I: China & Russia: Challengers to the Liberal International Order?
	November 19 15:30-17:10	10. "External" Challenge II: A World Without the West? and The Changing Institutional Landscape of Global Governance
	November 26 15:30-17:10	11. "Internal" Challenge: Brexit, Trump and the Backlash Against Globalization and Global Governance
Reflections and Seminar Review	December 3 9:00 -10:40	12. What Future for the LIO, Globalization and Global Governance?

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. All assignments will be submitted through [Turnitin](#), a software that will check for plagiarism. 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

For the opening class on September 17 students are asked to prepare a brief statement about their interests in the topic of the seminar and any practical and professional encounter they have had with the topic of global governance. This assignment is not for grade. It allows the class, the teaching assistant and the instructor to get to know each other and our respective interests.

Class preparation and participation counts for 20% 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.

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 60% of the grade. **The deadline to hand in your paper is December 15, 2019 12 AM (midnight).**

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.

Grading of Policy Paper

Organization and presentation of information	20%
Analysis of (history of) status quo and challenges	30%
Quality of recommendations	20%
Quality of conclusions	5%
Drawing on sources and proper referencing	10%
Quality of writing	15%

More information and instructions are available in a Word document below this section.

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 you have to attend ALL classes and fulfill ALL requirements except for the Policy Paper.

Required and Further Reading

The required reading amounts on average to about 40-60 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.

Inclusive Learning Policy

As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, please consult the CEU Student Disability Policy (<https://documents.ceu.edu/node/508>) and feel free to meet with the CEU Student Disability Services Officer, Natalia Nagyné Nyikes at the Dean of Students Office, Nador u. 11. 3rd floor 304. Her email is nyikesn@ceu.edu, or you can reach her by phone, at Ext. 2401.

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. 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, January 2019 https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2019-02/2019_Edelman_Trust_Barometer_Executive_Summary.pdf. also see: <https://youtu.be/0e3dCn8JSkw> for a longer version see
- World Economic Forum. *The Global Risk Report 2019*. 14th Edition. Geneva. <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-risks-report-2019> see also: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WaB9KKoE5ao>
- World Inequality Report 2018, <https://wir2018.wid.world/> for an excellent overview and discussions of global inequality.
- Oxfam. Public Good or Private Wealth? Oxfam, January 2019. for a good summary interactive summary overview see: <https://indepth.oxfam.org.uk/public-good-private-wealth/>; for the report itself see: <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/public-good-or-private-wealth>
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. *World Disasters Report 2018. Leaving No One Behind*. 2018. Geneva. <https://media.ifrc.org/ifrc/world-disaster-report-2018/>.
- OHCHR, "Climate change and poverty". Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Philip Alston, June 2019. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=24735&LangID=..>
- Bank for International Settlements. *87th Annual Report*. 2017. Basel, Switzerland. Online. Chapter VI: Understanding Globalisation. <https://www.bis.org/publ/arpdf/ar2017e6.pdf>
- Manyika, James et al. 2016. *Digital Globalization: The New Era of Global Flows*. McKinsey Global Publications. <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/digital-mckinsey/our-insights/digital-globalization-the-new-era-of-global-flows>
- National Intelligence Council. 2017. *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress*. Online. Washington, D.C. <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/global-trends-home>



Main Course Forum

[Add a new topic to this forum](#)



PEGG Final Assignment

Uploaded 18/08/19, 19:40



Final policy paper

Please upload your final policy paper here.

[0 participants Submitted](#) Due 15 December 2019

[Papers are submitted to Turnitin](#)

1. Seminar Overview

1. Seminar Overview (September 17)

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

2. The US-Led International Order

2. The US-Led International Order and the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise” (ELC) (September 24)

This 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. This order was centered on what the American academic John Ruggie coined the “*Embedded Liberal Compromise*” or *ELC*. The *ELC* is a key concept that will accompany us throughout the seminar as we observe if it still holds today. We will also take a look at what role, if any, the 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.

Read one of the following three:

- Helleiner, Eric. 2006. ‘Reinterpreting Bretton Woods: International Development and the Neglected Origins of Embedded Liberalism’, *Development and Change* 37(5): 943–967.

or

- Rudra, Nita. 2007. ‘Welfare States in Developing Countries: Unique or Universal?’, *Journal of Politics* 69(2): 378-396.

or

- 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.

 [Required Readings](#)

 [Further Readings](#)

3.Changing Fortunes: The End of the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise

3. Changing Fortunes: The End of the “Embedded Liberalism Compromise” (October 1)

This session discusses the weakening and eventual collapse of the original Bretton Woods order and with that the ELC. We will examine the causes of the ELC's collapse and its consequences. Most importantly this refers to (1) the revolution in information and communication technologies, (2) the rapid decline in transportation costs and (3) the liberalization and deregulation of international trade and finance. What were the implications of these dynamics for the ELC, the 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). *ONLY 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.

Further Reading

- Gono, Ikuo and Ataka, Hiroaki. 2006. "Conceptual Relevance of 'Embedded Liberalism' and Its Critical Social Consequences" *PAIS Graduate Working Papers* No. 03/06.
- 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 Laissez-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.

 Required reading

Download folder

 Further reading

Download folder

4. Conceptual Foundations I

4. Interdependence, Globalization and Sovereignty (October 8)

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 growing numbers of corporate mergers, 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 digitization of economic transactions and flows and a dramatic concentration of global economic activity among others. For example, what is the meaning of international trade trade in a globalized economy?

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.

Further Reading

On the Impact of Digitalization on Globalization

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

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.

 Required reading

 Further reading on globalization

 General further reading

5. Conceptual Foundations II

4. Global Value Chains (GVCs), Global Wealth Chains (GWCs) and the Commercialization of Sovereignty (October 15)

One of the most often cited manifestation that production processes around the world have become truly global is the widespread presence of GVCs in many industries. This session will examine the concept of global value chains, discuss different forms of GVCs and address the challenges of governance. Given their global reach, GVCs have had a major impact on development policies which we also, albeit briefly, consider. 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 GWCs that operate across multiple sovereignties. Time permitting, we will take a first look at the nature of GWCs and examine its implications on state sovereignty.

Required Reading

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

- 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.
- Seabrooke, L. and Wigan, Duncan (2014) 'Global wealth chains in the international political economy', *Review of International Political Economy* 21(1): 257–63
- Gleckman, Howard. (2013) "The Real Story On Apple's Tax Avoidance: How Ordinary It Is" *Forbes Magazine*, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/beltway/2013/05/21/the-real-story-about-apples-tax-avoidance-how-ordinary-it-is/#364ebda86523>
- Grono, Nick. (2018) "Business Needs To Work With Frontline Organisations To end Forced Labour in Supply Chains", https://freedomfund.org/blog/business-needs-to-work-with-frontline-organisations-to-end-forced-labour-in-supply-chains/?mc_cid=aa3faf28b0&mc_eid=fe381c0337

Further Reading: 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.
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 Illustrations (all optional)

6. Conceptual Foundations III

6. Globalization & Sovereignty, Public Goods & Global Public Goods (October 22)

In the first, half this session we will "unpack" the concept of sovereignty and relates it to both interdependence and globalization. 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 and discuss its implications for public policy and governance. How does globalization affect state sovereignty and public policy making? In countries with democratic governance structures and institutions, what are the implications of globalization? Part two briefly reviews the basic concept of 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 Global Public Goods (GPGs) and its application. We close this session by an examination on how the notion of GPGs affects the debate on international aid.

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7./8. Governing Globalization I & II

The following two sessions take a closer look five different mechanisms of global governance that is 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/student teams will be able to choose one mechanism each (a-e) on first come first serve basis 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. Bibliographies for each governance mechanism will be distributed once topics have been assigned though students are encouraged to do their own literature search. The bibliographies will also be available on Moodle for all students to see. We close this section with a general discussion asking whether the multitude of avenues for the provision of GPGs helps or hinders global governance.

1. Providing Public Goods I. (October 29)

- 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

2. Providing Public Goods II. (November 5)

- d) International Organizations


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

e) Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships

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

 Global Government/Cosmpolitan Democracy

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 Regional Integration

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 Government Networks

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 International Organizations

 Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships

9. “External” Challenge I: China & Russia: Challengers to the Liberal International Order?

9. “External” Challenge I: China & Russia: Challengers to the Liberal International Order? (November 12)

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 asks the question, “What is a challenger today?”. Specifically, in this class we look at states as challengers, using the examples of Russia and China.

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Read one (or both) of the articles below

- (For those interested more in theory) Reus-Smit, Christian. *The Moral Purpose of the State: Culture, Social Identity, and Institutional Rationality in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), Ch. 2

or

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 Required reading

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 Further reading

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 [Ikenberry \(2009\) Liberal Internationalism](#)

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10. “External” Challenge II: The Changing Institutional Landscape - The BRICS, NDB and the AIIB

10. “External” Challenge II: The Changing Institutional Landscape - The BRICS, NDB and the AIIB (November 19)

Whatever position one might take regarding the challenges to the Liberal International Order (LIO) some have argued that a new world is emerging and with it a set of new institutions is being build. This session examines the claim that a "World Without the West" is in fact emerging and takes closer look at some of the new institutions that have come to life in recent years in particular under China's and the BRICS's leadership -- such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the New Development Bank (NDB). It then proceeds to examine the key drivers and ideas behind the emergence of the 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.

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 Further reading

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11. “Internal” Challenge: Brexit, Trump and the Backlash Against Global Governance and the LIO

11. “Internal” Challenge: Brexit, Trump and the Backlash Against Global Governance and the LIO (November 26)

Required Reading

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 7 years, however, this resentment has grown sufficiently strong that political entrepreneurs were able to convert it into a social and political and 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. This session will attempt to sort through what we know so far about the impact of nationalist identity politics and consider the implications for global governance and the future of LIO.

NEW ARTICLE ADDED from FT: <https://on.ft.com/2BqdtLq>

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12. Reflections and Review

12. What Future of Global Order/Global Governance and Course Review (December 3)

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Required readings