

## **MA Program in Political Science – United Nations and Global Policy Studies**

### **The Politics of Globalization in Theory and Practice**

**Course 790-512**

#### **Syllabus**

**Spring 2020, Tuesday 6.00-8.40**

**Dr. Roland Rich**

**rr842@scarletmail.rutgers.edu**

#### **Course Outline**

Globalization is the defining theme of the world's political economy. The end of the Cold War allowed for a new paradigm to take hold and, under American tutelage, globalization became the globe's leitmotif. It is reflected primarily in the freedom to trade goods around the world where a generalized slashing of tariffs combined with the cutting of transport costs through container ship innovations was accompanied by a system, however incomplete, of bilateral, regional and global rules including through the World Trade Organization. Next came a radical liberalization of financial flows, unaccompanied by any international oversight and often lacking effective domestic oversight. There was only the most limited liberalization of labor flows.

The course will begin with a historical perspective of previous globalizing eras in world history culminating with the gold standard era, the Bretton Woods period and today's contested hyperglobalization. Having examined the phenomenon, the course will turn to theoretical aspects. The explanatory theories range from the Marxist systems approach to the sociological approach that modernity implies globalization. Other approaches reviewed in the course will be transformational theories and critical theories. Having examined the phenomenon and its theorization, the course will move to the impacts of globalization in the global North, the global South and China before concluding with a discussion on its future.

Globalization is far more than an economic phenomenon. It also encompasses a communications diversification revolution, an intensification in social relations and an acceleration in the velocity of information flows. The phenomenon that has been the most difficult to assess, however, has been its impact on politics. While respecting the economic discourse that has characterized the discussion of globalization, the course will also attempt to link it to the political aspects shaking both domestic and global governance.

#### **Course Objectives**

Students who complete the course will:

- Gain a deeper understanding of the historical precedents for globalization

- Gain a deeper understanding of the forces behind globalization
- Examine the theoretical underpinnings, justifications and criticisms of globalization
- Strengthen their capacities to gauge the political impacts of globalization
- Develop a stronger appreciation of the interplay of globalization on international and domestic politics
- Contemplate the various possible futures of globalization

### Primary Texts

The Sakai resources page contains much of the required reading for the course. Several of these readings come from two key texts:

- Andrew Jones (2010) *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, Polity Press, Cambridge
- Dani Rodrik (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, Norton, NY

It would be useful for students to obtain these books to read beyond the core texts. Other articles are obtainable through the library electronic journal system.

Another useful text is:

Jagdish Bhagwati (2007) *In Defense of Globalization*, Oxford University Press

### Assignments

There will be two major assignments, each worth 40% of the total grade. Each assignment will be of approximately 7,000 words (with a ten percent allowance in either direction). The assignments will have full and correct citations. The other 20% will come from class participation including several short presentations that each student will make.

**Assignment 1**            uploaded to Assignments portal in Canvas by **Monday 23 March**

Select a global industry (eg aviation, shipping, textiles, timber, tourism) and describe the global rules, direct and indirect, under which it operates. How could those rules be changed to improve the industry's prospects? Illustrate your response with several country examples.

**Assignment 2**            uploaded to Assignments portal in Canvas by **Tuesday 21 April**

In relation to one country in the global North and one country in the global South, describe the benefits and drawbacks of globalization since the end of the Cold War. What different policies could the governments of those countries have adopted to enhance the benefits and mitigate the drawbacks?

### Course Outline

**Week 1:            Overview and Introduction**

The course will begin with a discussion of the popular debate over globalization. It would be useful if students could read the short Naim and Friedman articles to assist them to participate in this discussion. The direction of the course will be mapped out and the assignments explained.

Moisés Naim (2009) "Globalization" *Foreign Policy* 171 (Mar/Apr 2009) 28-34

Thomas Friedman (1999) "Dueling Globalizations" *Foreign Policy* 116 (Fall 1999) 110-127

## **Week 2: Archaic and Islamic Globalization**

While some scholars consider today's globalization to be unprecedented, historians point to previous episodes and concepts in world history that approximate today's phenomenon. Adopting the latter view, students of globalization will be able to track the rise and fall of previous manifestations and the reasons for their success and eventual failure. Interestingly, Islamic conceptual globalization in the form of the *ummah* has made a resurgence.

C.A. Bayly (2002) "'Archaic' and 'Modern' Globalization in the Eurasian and African Arena, c. 1750-1850", A.G. Hopkins (ed.) *Globalization in World History*, London, Pimlico, 50-73

Amira K. Bennison (2002) "Muslim Universalism and Western Globalization", A.G. Hopkins (ed.) *Globalization in World History*, Pimlico, London, 74-88

Michael Cook (2003) *A Brief History of the Human Race*, Norton, NY, 278-294

## **Week 3: Colonial Globalization**

A possible precursor to today's globalization was the mercantilism of the colonial age. The major colonial nations like Britain and the Netherlands generated at least as large a percentage of their national income through colonialism as the modern entities gain through globalization today. As recently as immediately after WWII, the Dutch Prime Minister, arguing for the return of colonialism, said "If the bonds which attach the Netherlands to the Indies (Indonesia) are severed there will be a permanent reduction in the national income of the Netherlands which will lead to the country's pauperization." Many critics see globalization as a form of neo-colonialism.

Michael Cook (2003) *A Brief History of the Human Race*, Norton, NY, 295-324

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson (2012) *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, Crown, NY, 245-273

Those interested in further reading on neo-colonial theories can consult:

Nagesh Rao (2000) "'Neocolonialism' or 'Globalization'? Postcolonial Theory and the Demands of Political Economy" *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 2000) 165-184

## **Week 4: Bretton Woods Globalization**

We tend to think of the modern era as being inaugurated by the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations, but there is a strong argument that the true driver was its economic flip side – the Bretton Woods institutions and the system they nurtured. Learning from the lessons of the gold standard era, the United States and its allies shaped a post-WWII world economy based on capitalism but respectful of sovereignty.

Dani Rodrik (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, Norton, NY, 67-88

Stephen Meardon (2013) "On Kindleberger and Hegemony: From Berlin to M.I.T. and Back" Bowdoin Digital Commons, 16-19

<http://digitalcommons.bowdoin.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=econpapers>

Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr (1998) "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age" *Foreign Affairs* Volume 77 No. 5, 81-94

### **Week 5: Hyper Globalization**

Freed of the constraints of the Cold War, the "victorious" anti-Soviet allies embarked on the next phase of globalization – ever freer movement of goods; including services as part of the new freedoms; and, crucially, requiring finance to enjoy similar freedoms. The world embarked on a period of hyper globalization carefully surveying the economic impacts but generally oblivious of its political effects.

Dani Rodrik (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, Norton, NY, 112-134

Ruchir Sharma (2016) *The Rise and Fall of Nations: Forces of Change in the Post-Crisis World*, Norton NY, 1-21

Mark Lagon (2003) "Visions of globalization: Pretexts for prefabricated prescriptions--and some antidotes" *World Affairs* 165.3 (Winter 2003): 142-148

### **Week 6: Theories of Globalization 1: Explanatory Theories**

The Bretton Woods theoretical approach was based on a concept of development as modernization. Modernization was equated with the successful capitalist countries of the global North. It follows that one theory of globalization parallels the perspective of neo-colonialism focusing on center-periphery relations and dependency. Wallerstein's systems approach is a Marxist take on the phenomenon seeing in globalization the logical extension of capitalism's spread around the world. Giddens also sees globalization as a central driving force progressively reshaping the world.

Andrew Jones (2010) *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 19-71

### **Week 7: Theories of Globalization 2: Transformational Theories**

Without needing to take a position on whether today's globalization is unprecedented, certain theorists point to its remarkable depth and breadth. Castells information revolution is more than a simple quantitative change but a transformational change in human society through interconnectivity. Held also examines the degree to which globalization is not only reshaping individual societies but also the global order. The popular sage of the transformational school is Friedman.

Andrew Jones (2010) *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 72-90; 130-147

Thomas Friedman (2006) *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, NY, 505-514

### **Week 8: Theories of Globalization 3: Critical Theories**

The critics of globalization have tended to focus on the power of global elites and the zero-sum effect on hapless locals. The issues they raise concern social justice, environment protection and increasing income inequality. Naomi Klein has become a champion of this perspective. Others tend to focus their criticism on neo-liberalism which they see as synonymous with globalization. Curiously, the same sort of critics that champion the local against the global on capitalism, tend to champion the global against the local on human rights. There is also a middle ground, seeking to reform globalization best exemplified by the work of Stiglitz and Rodrik.

Benjamin Barber (2008) "Shrunken Sovereign: Consumerism, Globalization, and American Emptiness" *World Affairs* 170.4 (Spring 2008) 73-81

Andrew Jones (2010) *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 168-208

### **Week 9: Impacts of Globalization in the Global North**

The 2016 American election campaign provided a primer on the claimed negative impacts of globalization with its simplistic attacks on free trade agreements and globalization. Globalization certainly presages change and accordingly some have benefited and others not. The major question for developed economies is whether the process can be "turned around", "tamed" or "harnessed" or whether it now has a logic and momentum of its own beyond the control of even the largest national economies.

David Reynolds (2002) "American Globalism: Mass, Motion and the Multiplier Effect", A.G. Hopkins (ed.) *Globalization in World History*, London, Pimlico, 243-260

Steven Weber, Barma Naazneenn, Matthew Kroenig, Ely Ratner (2007) "How Globalization went Bad" *Foreign Policy* 158 (Jan/Feb 2007) 48-54

### **Week 10: Impacts of Globalization in the Global South**

The first impacts of globalization in the global South were seen as positive in the emergence of the Asian tiger economies. But it soon became clear that these examples could not easily be

replicated. Various ideas and fashions were tested in countries of the global South without conclusive results. Even in the successful Asian economies, there were serious setbacks caused by events beyond their control. Anecdota points to success stories as well as failures.

Dani Rodrik (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, Norton, NY, 159-183

Naomi Klein (2007) *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, Picador, NY, 332-353

Ted Piccone (2016) *Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order*, Brookings, DC, 24-30

### **Week 11: Impact of Globalization on China**

No country of the global South has played a larger role in the globalization phenomenon than China. The decision by Deng Hsiao-Ping to integrate China to the world economy came as globalization was taking off and has resulted in a massive transformation of China's economy, society and its place in the global order. While its impact on the world economy is undoubted, the impact within China is being debated, even among its leaders, as the Zhao Ziyang memoir demonstrates.

Fareed Zakaria (2008) *The Post-American World*, Norton, NY, 87-128

Zhao Ziyang (2009) *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Premier Zhao Ziyang*, Simon and Shuster, NY, 101-110, 134-158

Xi Chen (2013) "The Rising Cost of Stability", Andrew Nathan, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.) *Will China Democratize?* Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 279-286

### **Week 12: Reforming Globalization Economically**

The basic theme of the reformers is that just as economic activity needs to be regulated domestically so must globalization come under some form of rule based process. The problem rests with the relative weakness of the global institutions of regulation, though the WTO panels and IMF conditionality point to the possibility of arming such bodies with teeth. An accompanying reform is to adopt coordinated domestic processes that achieve similar outcomes. A messy mix of these methods is the likely outcome.

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson (2012) *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, Crown, NY, 446-462

Andrew Jones (2010) *Globalization: Key Thinkers*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 148-168

### **Week 13: Reforming Globalization Democratically**

Attempting to reform the economic aspects of globalization cannot be the whole story. As an analogy with domestic economics demonstrates, democratic processes are required as a

constant corrective to economic forces. Once again, there needs to be a mix of control through domestic politics and a newly emerging control through international civil society politics.

Joseph Stiglitz (2006) *Making Globalization Work*, Penguin, NY, 269-292

Sidney Tarrow (2006) *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge University Press, ch 10, 11

Jagdish Bhagwati (2007) *In Defense of Globalization*, Oxford University Press, ch. 4

#### **Week 14: The Future of Globalization**

Post-Brexit and Trump, globalization is under challenge. Will the world return to old forms of economic nationalism and rebuild barriers to trade and investment or will a reformed globalization win sufficient confidence to continue its trajectory? Will the future be cosmopolitan or corporatist or a mix of both?

Dani Rodrik (2011) *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, Norton, NY, 251-284

Robert Went (2010) "Economic globalization plus cosmopolitanism?" *Review of International Political Economy* 11:2, 337-355

Jagdish Bhagwati (2007) *In Defense of Globalization*, Oxford University Press, ch 15

#### **Academic Integrity Policy**

Academic integrity means, among other things that you as a student must:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with the instructor. Students are also advised to consult the following links that provide more information and plagiarism tutorials:

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/>

<http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/>

[http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid\\_plagiarism](http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism)

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students/>

### **Other Academic Support Services**

Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check

<http://www.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support>

Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check <http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more here: <http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>