Barnard College, Columbia University Political Science V3615, M-W 2:40-355 Fall 2010, Diana Center 504

#### "Globalization and International Politics"

Alexander Cooley 414 Lehman Hall (Barnard Library) Tel: (212) 854-9544

e-mail: acooley@barnard.edu

Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 11:00-12:00pm and by appointment.

PREQUISITES: None, though an introductory course in Political Science and/or Economics would serve as useful background.

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course explores the impact of globalization on contemporary international politics. Globalization is a complex phenomenon and it influences many different aspects of domestic and international political, economic and social life. It can be fruitfully studied by a number of different disciplines, but in this particular course we will use the perspectives developed in political science and international relations theory. Specifically, we will study how globalization affects the structure and functions of the international economy, international organizations, security, state sovereignty, and international society. We will also consider the implications of these issues for the development of international governance and accountability within global organizations. Finally, we will consider the political backlash, at both the domestic and international levels, engendered by globalizing processes. The first half of the course will focus upon the economic dimensions of globalization. The second part of the course will analyze the security and social dimensions.

Classes will consist mostly of lectures. Students majoring in disciplines other than political science are free to take the course, but will have to familiarize themselves with writings in various political science subfields as the semester progresses.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES: The course will introduce students to the major debates on globalization within the international relations field. Students who complete the course will learn how to:

- 1. Distinguish among the various processes, actors and institutions described by the term "globalization."
- 2. Identify the major theoretical debates and arguments within the globalization literature.
- 3. Evaluate the merits and shortcomings of these positions in writing.
- 4. Assess the quality of evidence and methodology employed by authors in support of their theoretical claims.
- 5. Apply the concepts and analytical constructs learned in this course to related methodological and theoretical questions in the political science discipline and the social sciences, more broadly.
- 6. Analyze and assess popular and journalistic writings on globalization, classify their analytical approaches and critically evaluate their claims.

REQUIREMENTS: Given the course's broad scope and heavy reading load, it is <u>ESSENTIAL</u> to keep up with the weekly reading assignments, as the readings are designed to be building blocks for understanding topics in subsequent weeks. Lectures will complement, not substitute for, the readings and regular class attendance is imperative. Students are encouraged to seek help from the instructor and teaching assistants during office hours or to make individual appointments. In addition, students are required to complete:

- 1. One Short Paper (5 pages) Assignment (due Oct. 4, 2010)
- 2. First in-class Midterm exam (Oct. 20, 2010)
- 3. One 10-page Final Paper assignment (due Dec. 1, 2010)
- 4. Second in-class Midterm exam. (Dec. 13, 2010)

The short paper topic and guidelines will be distributed on Monday, September 20. Final paper topics and guidelines will be distributed after the first midterm. All students, regardless of institutional affiliation, must adhere to the Barnard College Academic Honor Code.

GRADING: Grades will be calculated as follows: Short paper (10%); Final Paper (30%); First Midterm Exam (30%); Second Midterm (30%).

I will grant Incompletes or extensions only in the case of a documented medical emergency. Otherwise, all late work will be downgraded.

READINGS: The following books are required and are available for purchase at the Columbia University bookstore:

Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press, (revised) 2007.

Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemoe and Susan Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Middle of a Big One*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

The rest of the readings are journal articles that are available through the E-Journals tab on Columbia University's LibraryWeb. To find an article, simply type in the journal title and follow the appropriate link based on your citation information (volume, date). Readings should also be available through Courseworks. Students are encouraged to download and keep personal copies of these readings. If you still have problems obtaining the readings even after you've followed these procedures, please let one of us know ASAP.

# **I. Introduction: Overview, Definitions and Theoretical Approaches**

Class 1 (Sept 8) and Class 2 (Sep 13) Course Overview and Introduction

Jagdish Bhagwati, In Defense of Globalization, Chapt. 1-4.

Nayan Chanda, "Coming Together: Globalization means reconnecting the human community." November 19, 2002. Available on-line at YaleGlobal <a href="http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/about/essay.jsp">http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/about/essay.jsp</a>

Roger Altman, "Globalization in Retreat: Further Geopolitical Consequences of the Financial Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 88, No. 4 (July/August 2009), pp. 2-7.

Class 3 (Sep 15) International Organizations in Global Politics

Robert Wade, "US Hegemony and the World Bank: the Fight over People and Ideas," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 215-243.

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organization* Vol. 53, No. 4 (Autumn 1999), pp. 699-732.

Jason Sharman, "The Bark is the Bite: International Organizations and Blacklisting," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 2009), pp. 573-596.

**Class 4** (Sep 20) The Sources of Global Governance, Authority and Accountability

Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan Sell, *Who Governs the Globe?* Chapter 1. Ruth W. Grant and Robert Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 99, No. 1 (February 2005), pp. 29-43.

Mlada Bukovansky, "The Hollowness of Anti-Corruption Discourse," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 13, No. 2 (May 2006), pp. 181-209

Distribution of Short Paper Assignment, due Monday, October 4.

### **II. Globalization and the International Economy**

Class 5 (Sep 22) The Evolution of the Global Economy: An Overview

Charles Kindleberger, *The World in Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984 [1973])), Chapters 1, 14.

Barry Eichengreen and Peter Temin, "The Gold Standard and the Great Depression," *Contemporary European History* Vol. 9, No. 2 (July 2000), pp. 183-207.

John Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization* Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982).

Recommended: Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy*. Princeton University Press, 2001. Chapters 8-9 (The Trading System, The International Monetary System). Multiple copies available at Lehman Reserves.

## **Class 6** (Sep 27) The Globalization of Production and its Consequences

Robert Reich, "Who is US?" Harvard Business Review (Jan/Feb 1990), pp. 53-64.

Jagdish Bhagwati, In Defense of Globalization, Chapter 12.

Daniel Drezner, "The Outsourcing Bogeyman," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 83, No. 3 (May/June 2004), pp. 22-43.

Thomas Friedman, "It's a Flat World After All," *New York Times* April 3, 2005, p. F33. <a href="http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1165116452&sid=2&Fmt=10&clientId=15403&RQT=309&VName=HNP">http://ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1165116452&sid=2&Fmt=10&clientId=15403&RQT=309&VName=HNP</a>

Pankaj Ghemawat, "Why the World Isn't Flat," *Foreign Policy* No. 159 (March/April 2007), pp. 54-60.

## Class 7 (Sep 29) The Politics of Global Trade and the WTO

Jagdish Bhagwati, In Defense of Globalization, Chapts. 5-8 and 10-11.

Robert Wade, "What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of the 'Development Space," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Nov 2003), pp. 621-644.

Ken Conca, "The WTO and the Undermining of Global Environmental Governance," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 7, No. 3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 484-494.

### **Class 8** (Oct 4) The Politics of Global Finance and Financial Crises

#### **Short Paper Assignment Due Today!**

Jagdish Bhagwati, In Defense of Globalization, Chapt. 13.

Dani Rodrik, "How Far will International Economic Integration Go?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Winter 2000), pp. 177-186.

Rawi Abdelal, "Writing the Rules of Global Finance: France, Europe and Capital Liberalization," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 13, No. 1 (Feb 2006), pp. 1-27.

Robert Wade, "The Asian Debt-and-Development Crisis of 1997: Causes and Consequences," *World Development* Vol. 26, No. 8 (Aug. 1998), pp. 1535-53.

#### Recommended:

Jobst, Andreas, "What is Securitization", *International Monetary Fund*, September 2008. Available at: <a href="http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2008/09/pdf/basics.pdf">http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2008/09/pdf/basics.pdf</a>

**Class 9** (Oct 6) Private Actors and the Global Economy: Credit Rating Agencies and Legal Arbitration

Christopher Brunner and Rawi Abdelal, "To Judge Leviathan: Sovereign Credit Ratings, National Law, and the World Economy," *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol. 25, No. 2 (August 2005), pp. 191-207.

- Walter Mattli, "Private Justice in the Global Economy: From Litigation to Arbitration," *International Organization* Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 919-947.
- Gus Van Harten, "Private Authority and Transnational Governance: The Contours of the International System of Investor Protection," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 12, No. 4 (2005), pp. 600-623.

#### Class 10 (Oct 11) The Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2010

- Jacqueline Best, "The Limits of Financial Risk Management: Or What We Didn't Learn from the Asian Crisis," *New Political Economy* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2010), pp. 29-49.
- Timothy Sinclair, "Round Up the Usual Suspects: Blame and the Subprime Crisis," *New Political Economy* Vol. 15, No. 1 (2010), pp. 91-107.
- Linn, Johannes F. and Homi Kharas, "Hypocrisy in Financial Crisis Response: East Asia 1998 vs. the USA 2008," *The Brookings Institution*, April 2008.

Available at: <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2008/04">http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2008/04</a> global governance linn.aspx

Nayan Chanda, "Lessons from Athens" Businessworld May 12, 2010.

Available at: http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/lessons-athens

Dani Rodrik, "Greek Lessons for the World Economy" Project Syndicate, May 11, 2010.

Available at: <a href="http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/rodrik43/English">http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/rodrik43/English</a>

### **Class 11** (Oct 13) *New Challenges to the Liberal Economic Order?*

- Robert Kimmit, "Public Footprints in Private Markets: Sovereign Wealth Funds and the World Economy," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 87, No. 1 (January/February 2008), pp. 119-130.
- Daniel Drezner, "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics," *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 7-45.
- Moses Naim, "Rogue Aid," Foreign Policy. No. 159 (March/April 2007), pp. 96, 95.
- Ngaire Woods, "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance," *International Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 6 (November 2008), pp. 1205-1221.

### **Class 12** (Oct 18) The Politics of Off-Shore Money and Tax Havens

- Jason Sharman, "Offshore and the New International Political Economy," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 17, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 1-19.
- Ronen Palan, "Tax Havens and State Sovereignty," *International Organization* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Winter 2002), pp. 151-176.
- Michael C. Webb, "Defining the Boundaries of Legitimate State Practice: Norms, Transnational Actors and the OECD's Project on Harmful Tax Competition," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct 2004), pp. 787-827.

#### Class 13 Mon. Oct 20, MIDTERM EXAM, In-class. Classes 1-12.

#### **Class 14** (Oct 25) *The Politics of the Global Illicit Economy*

- Moises Naim, "It's the Illicit Economy, Stupid: How Big Business Taught Criminals to Go Global," *Foreign Policy* No. 151 (Nov/Dec 2005), pp. 95-96.
- Peter Andreas, "Illicit International Political Economy: The Clandestine Side of Globalization," *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 11, No. 3 (2004), pp. 641-652.

# **III Globalization and International Security**

### Class 15 (Oct 27) Globalizing Processes and International Security

- Jonathan Kirshner, "Globalization, American Power, and International Security," *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 123, No. 3 (2008), pp. 363-89.
- Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," *International Security* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000-2001), pp. 5-53.
- Michael Klare, "The New Geography of Conflict," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 80, No. 3 (May-June 2001), pp. 49-61.

Recommended: David Rowe, "The Tragedy of Liberalism: How Globalization Caused the First World War," *Security Studies*. No. 14, No. 3 (2005), pp. 407-447.

#### **Monday Nov. 1 Academic Holiday**

### **Class 16** (Nov 3) The Rise of New Media, the Internet and State Power

- Evgeny Morozov, "Think Again: The Internet" *Foreign Policy* No. 179 (January/February 2010), pp. 40-44.
- Daniel Drezner, "The Global Governance of the Internet: Bringing the State Back In," *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 119. No. 4 (Fall 2004), 477-498.
- Guobin Yang, "Online Activism," Journal of Democracy Vol. 20, No. 3 (July 2009), pp. 33-36.
- Rebecca MacKinnon, "Flatter World and Thicker Walls: Blogs, Censorship and Civic Discourse in China" *Public Choice*, No. 134 (2005), pp. 31-46.

## Class 17 (Nov 8) The Politics of US Power and Global Hegemony

- Christopher Layne, "The Waning of US Hegemony- Myth or Reality," *International Security* (July 2009) Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 147-72.
- Robert Pape, "Soft-Balancing Against the United States," *International Security* Vol. 30, No. 1 (September 2005), pp. 7-45.
- Daniel Nexon and Martin Wright, "What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate?" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 101, No. 2 (May 2007), pp. 253-271.
- Alexander Cooley, "Cooperation Gets Shanghaied: China, Russia and the SCO," *Foreign Affairs* (online) December 14, 2009. Available at:

### **Class 18** (Nov 10) The Rise of Private Security Actors

- Peter Singer, "Corporate Warriors: the Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and its Ramifications for International Security," *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 3 (Winter 2001/02), pp.186-220.
- Deborah Avant, "The Implications of Marketized Security for IR Theory: The Democratic Peace, Late State-Building, and the Nature and Frequency of Conflict," *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 4, No. 3 (Sept. 2006), 507-528.

### **Class 19** (Nov 15) The Politics of Global Terrorism I

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 30–58.
- Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Calvert Jones, "Assessing the Dangers of Illicit Networks: Why al-Qaida May be Less Threatening than Many Think," *International Security* Vol. 33, No. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 7-44.
- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97, No. 3 (August 2003), pp. 343-361.
- Michael Mousseau, "Market Civilization and its Clash with Terror," *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/2003), pp. 5-29.

### Class 20 (Nov 17) The Global Arms Trade, Politics and Corruption

No Assigned Reading (you should be working on your papers!). Today we will watch the Frontline documentary "Black Money" about BAE Systems and allegations of bribery in its dealings with international governments.

#### Class 21 (Nov 22) The Politics of Global Terrorism II: Local-Global Linkages

David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Middle of a Big One*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Selections.

#### Wed. Nov 24 No Class – Wednesday before Thanksgiving

#### IV Globalization, Law and International Society

#### Class 22 (Nov 29) The Politics of Global Justice

- Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 5-44.
- Allison Danner and Erik Voeten, "Who is Running the International Criminal Justice System?" in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 35-71.
- Henry A. Kissinger, "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 80, No. 4 (Jul/Aug 2001), pp. 86-96.

### Class 23 (Dec 1) Global Social Movements: The Rise of NGOs and Advocacy Networks

### Final Papers due Today!

- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal* Vol. 51, No. 159 (March 1999), 89-101.
- Clifford Bob, "Packing Heat: Pro-Gun Groups and the Governance of Small Arms," in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 183-201.
- Charli Carpenter, "Governing the Global Agenda: 'Gatekeepers' and 'Issue Adoption' in Transnational Advocacy Networks," in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 202-237.
- Virginia Haufler, "Corporations in Zones of Conflict: Issues, Actors, and Institutions," in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 102-130.

Recommended: Tim Buthe, "The Power of Norms; the Norms of Power: Who Governs International Electrical and Electronic Technology?" in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 292-332.

#### Class 24 (Dec 6) NGO Performance and the Transnational Sector Reconsidered

- Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Survival and Transnational Action," *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 1 (Summer 2002), pp. 5-39.
- Susanne K. Sell and Aseem Prakash, "Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks and Intellectual Property Rights," *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 48, No. 2 (2004), pp. 143-175.
- Deborah Avant, "Conserving Nature in the State of Nature: The Politics of INGO Policy Implementation," *Review of International Studies* Vol. 30, No. 3 (2004), pp. 361-382.
- Alexander Cooley, "Outsourcing Authority: How Project Contracts Transform Global Governance Networks" in *Who Governs the Globe*, pp. 238-265.

#### **Class 25** (Dec 8) *Identity and the Cultural Consequences of Globalization*

- David Held, "Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?" *Review of International Studies* Vol. 29, No. 4 (2003), pp. 465-480.
- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49.
- Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff, "Digital Diasporas and Conflict Prevention: The Case of Somalinet.com," *Review of International Studies* Vol. 32, No. 1 (2006), pp. 25-47. "The Brave New World of E-Hatred: Cybernationalism," *The Economist* July 26, 2008.
- **Class 26** (Dec 13) Second Midterm EXAM, in-class. Classes 13-25. No alternate dates will be accommodated. No exam substitutions.