

GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONALISM

Instructor Peter Rutland office hours (CSS room 204), Tues Thurs 10.00-12.00, class meets in CFH 106
email prutland@wesleyan.edu

Over the past 30 years globalization saw increased flows of goods, capital and people across national borders. However, the 2008 crisis, the rise of China and Covid epidemic undermined faith in a US-led global order.

Much of the literature focuses on the question of global governance, examining how international institutions like the IMF and World Bank go about their work. The focus in this course is different: we will examine how national governments respond to the challenge of globalization.

Is democracy compatible with globalization? Can social democracy and liberalism survive the challenge?
How do nationalists seek to protect economies and societies in the face of these trends?
What are the policy options at national level to deal with crises of inequality, migration and climate change?

The course is a mixture of intellectual history – examining how various authors have framed the problem – and empirical policy analysis. For your final paper you can either stick with the history of ideas approach, or move into a more empirically focused research paper, such as a case study of a particular a country, policy, or economic sector.

Assessment

This course earns you ONE CREDIT, though it only lasts for 7 weeks and meets just once per week. But you should spend as much time on this course as you spend on the two other 14 week classes you are taking this semester.

Four weekly response papers (3-4 pages long). (15% each) To be emailed as a Word document (not a pdf) to the instructor before the class meeting on the topic in question. If you write more than 4 essays the lowest grade will be discarded.

Research paper (10-12 pages long) (40%). Outline due February 28, final paper due 5.00 pm March 26.

Required books

Ulrich Beck	<i>What is Globalization?</i> 2000
David Harvey	<i>A Brief History of Neoliberalism</i> 2007 [available via Olin as an ebook]
Cas Mudde & Cristobal Kaltwasser	<i>Populism: A Very Short Introduction</i> 2017
Dani Rodrik	<i>Globalization Paradox: Democracy & the Future of the World Economy</i> 2012
Quinn Slobodian	<i>Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism</i> 2018 [available via Olin as an ebook]

All the articles in the syllabus are posted on Moodle. Those that have an [underlined title](#) are hyperlinked to the web.

The weekly papers should focus on developing a single line of argument in reaction to one or more of the assigned texts. You should certainly not try to summarize the texts, nor try to synthesize them all. The supplementary sources take the core issue in different directions. You can write your paper either about the required reading or about one or more of the supplementary readings.

You will be randomly assigned two countries, and you will incorporate each country as a case study in one of your papers. At the end of this syllabus you can find suggestions for sources for the country case studies.

Week 1
Jan 27

Climate change

Climate change is the ultimate example of what Garrett Harding called “The tragedy of the commons.”

What are the main *obstacles* to progress; and what are the grounds for *optimism* that something will be done?

What was achieved at COP 27?

Required reading

- Garrett Hardin [‘The tragedy of the commons’](#) *Science* 162 1968
Johan Rockstrom [‘10 years to transform the future of humanity’](#) Ted Talk (10 mins) 10/10/20
Damien Carrington [‘Super-tipping points could trigger cascade of climate action’](#) *Guardian* 1/20/23
David Carlin [‘COP 27 Recap: The Good, the Bad, what’s next’](#) *Forbes* 12/16/22
George Monbiot [‘Capitalism is killing the planet’](#) *Guardian* 10/30/21
Daniele Conversi [‘Nationalism and climate change’](#) *Nationalities Papers* 48 (4): 625-636, 2020

Optional supplementary sources

- Hannah Ritchie [‘How we fixed the ozone layer’](#) Works in Progress 2021
Maya Jasanoff [‘Reopening the world and ourselves’](#) *Project Syndicate* 12 January 2022.
David Held & Charles Roger [‘Three models of global climate governance’](#) *Global Policy* 9 (4): 527–536, 20
John Schwartz [‘Two climate activists on the movement’s future’](#) *New York Times* 1/18/23
William Nordhaus [‘Why climate policy has failed,’](#) *Foreign Affairs* 10/12/2021
Philip Stalley [‘In the fight against climate change China is doing more than you think’](#)
The Conversation 12/6/21

Week 2
Feb 3

Populism, nationalism and democracy

What is the state of democracy in the world today?

Is populism a lasting threat to democracy, or does it represent a renewal of democracy?
Why are populists predominantly right-wing in Europe and left wing in Latin America?
Zakaria's 1997 essay identified the problem of anti-liberal populists early on.

Look at the approach to ranking democracy around the world put out by Freedom House and V-Dem.
You should also familiarize yourself with Anthony Downs' [median voter theorem](#).

Required reading

Cas Mudde *Populism: A Very Short Introduction* 2017
Cass Mudde [‘Why copying the populist right is not going to save the left’](#) *Guardian* 5/14/2019
Jedediah Britton-Purdy [‘The Republican Party is succeeding because we are not a true democracy’](#) *NYTms* 1/3/22

Optional supplementary sources

Cas Mudde ‘Populism an ideational approach’ *Oxford Handbook of Populism* 2017 27-47 [ebook]
Freedom House [Democracy Under Siege](#) 2021
Varieties of Democracy [Authoritarianism Turns Viral](#) 2021
Tomas Homer Dixon [‘The American polity is cracked’](#) *Globe and Mail*, 12/31/21
Polity 5 [Regime narratives](#) 2018
Francis Fukuyama [‘30 years of world politics: what has changed?’](#) *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1) 2020
Fareed Zakaria [‘The rise of illiberal democracy’](#) *Foreign Affairs* 76/6 1997
Ronald Inglehart & Pippa Norris [‘Trump and populist authoritarian parties’](#) *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (2): 443-54 2017

Week 3
Feb 10

What is globalization?

The 1980s saw a rapid rise in international trade, followed in the 1990s by increasing flows of financial capital across international borders. This process produced rising wealth, but also rising inequality.

Economic globalization was seen as a threat to national sovereignty and to the preservation of distinct national cultures and identities. What is nationalism? Did globalization weaken, or strengthen, the appeal of nationalism?

How do governments respond to the challenge of globalization?

Required reading

- Ulrich Beck *What is Globalization?* (2000)
Containerization Check out these two [short videos](#) (10 mins)
Hans Rosling '200 countries, 200 years, 4 minutes' [BBC 4](#) 11/26/2010. Short video.
Arun Ghosh '[Capitalism, nation state and development in a globalised world](#)'
Economic and Political Weekly 32 (14): 683-686 1997
Dylan Matthews '[The elephant chart](#)' *Vox* 2/2/2018
Aaron Friedberg '[The growing rivalry between America and China and the future of globalization](#)'
Texas National Security Review 5 (1) 2022
Peter Rutland '[Nationalism](#)' *International Encyclopedia of Political Science* 2010

Optional supplementary sources

- Peter Rutland 'Resource nationalism: risks and rewards.' In Andreas Pickel (ed.) *Handbook on Economic Nationalism*, 2022, 123-136.
Paul James & Manfred Steger '[A genealogy of "Globalization"](#)' *Globalizations* 11:4 2014: 417-434
T.X. Hammes '[The end of globalization?](#)' *War on the Rocks* 2016
Francis Fukuyama '[The end of history?](#)' *National Interest* 1989
Samuel Huntington '[The clash of civilizations](#)' *Foreign Affairs* 1993
Benjamin Barber et al '[Jihad, McWorld and Modernity: Intellectuals debate "The Clash of Civilizations"](#)'
Salmagundi 150 2006: 85-220

Week 4
Feb 17

Neoliberalism in power

This week we look at the domestic politics behind the rise of globalization in the 1970s-80s.

Harvey offers a Marxist account of the breakdown of the post-war Keynesian consensus and the rise of neoliberalism under Thatcher and Reagan: a strategy to restore to break the power of organized labor and weaken the state's capacity to regulate capital.

Blyth (2013) takes the story through the 2008 crisis and subsequent austerity campaigns.

To some extent 'neoliberalism' has now become a generic term of abuse, or just a synonym for capitalism. It is important to distinguish between different variants of capitalism, different policy options.

Shafik proposes a new social contract for labor.

Required reading

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|-----------------|--|
| David Harvey | <i>A Brief History of Neoliberalism</i> 2007 [ebook through Olin] |
| Mark Blyth | ' The austerity delusion ' <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 92 (3) 2013: 41-46. |
| Sheri Berman | <i>Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe</i> 2019 ch 18. Lessons from Europe. [ebook] |
| Daniel Rodgers | ' The uses and abuses of neoliberalism ' <i>Dissent</i> 2018 |
| Adam Tooze | ' Has Covid ended the neoliberal era? ' <i>The Guardian</i> 9/2/2021 |
| Minouche Shafik | ' Capitalism needs a new social contract ' <i>Oxford Rev of Econ Policy</i> 37(4): 758-72 2021 |

Optional supplementary sources

Babb analyses the Washington Consensus.

Blyth (2016) reviews the current state of capitalism and expands on his critique of austerity (2013).

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| Sarah Babb | ' The Washington Consensus as transnational policy paradigm '
<i>Review of International Political Economy</i> 20 (2): 268-293, 2013 |
| Mark Blyth | ' Capitalism in crisis: What went wrong and what comes next '
<i>Foreign Affairs</i> 95 (4): 172-179 2016 |
| Mark Blyth | ' Austerity as ideology ' <i>Comparative European Politics</i> 11 (6): 737-751 2013 |

Week 6
Mar 3

Globalization and its critics

The last 30 years has seen rising living standards, falling poverty, but also rising inequality within individual countries. In explaining these trends it is hard to separate the impact of technological change from the impact of globalization.

Rodrik argues that the free trade in goods and services does promote growth, but the free flow of capital across national borders is not necessarily a good thing. He also notes that the benefits of trade are unequally distributed. He identifies a trilemma of sovereignty, democracy and globalization, and is skeptical about the possibility of creating effective (or democratic) governance structures at global level. How convincing is his analysis? What is missing from Rodrik's account?

Wolf provides a crisp summary of the impact of globalization on the developed economies.

Slobodian looks back at the intellectual origins of neoliberalism in the 1920s-50s, and comes up with some surprising arguments, about how the Austrian school were not anti-government across the board, but understood the importance of some political institutions – preferably at global level – to enforce property rights and promote competition. Their vision was only partly realized in the GATT/Bretton Woods institutions, and in the European Common Market.

Required reading

Dani Rodrik	<i>The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy</i> 2012
Martin Wolf	' Why rigged capitalism is damaging liberal democracy ' <i>Financial Times</i> 9/18/19
Martin Wolf	' Inequality is a threat to our democracy ' <i>Financial Times</i> 12/19/17
Quinn Slobodian	<i>Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism</i> 2018 [ebook]
Quinn Slobodian	'Making sense of neoliberalism' Harvard University Press blog , 2018.

Optional supplementary sources

Rodrik (2018) updates his analysis with a very rich account of the economics of populism and (2013) provides a crisp and focused analysis of the role of the nation-state.

Cerny offers his own take on the roots of neoliberalism in European ordoliberalism and the rise of the 'competition state'. Evans is a classic political science analysis of the state in the modern era.

David Autor	' Trade and labor markets: lessons from China's rise ' IZA 2018.
Joseph Stiglitz	<i>Globalization and its Discontents</i> (2017)
Dani Rodrik	' Populism & the economics of globalization ' <i>International Business Policy</i> 1: 2018 12-33
Dani Rodrik	' Who needs the nation state? ' <i>Economic Geography</i> 89 (1) 2013: 1-19
Philip G. Cerny	' In the shadow of ordoliberalism ' <i>European Review of International Studies</i> 3 (1) 2016: 78-91
Peter Evans	' The eclipse of the state? Reflections on stateness in an era of globalization ' <i>World Politics</i> 50 (1) 1997: 62-87

Tuesday, Feb 28

Outline of final research paper due. 1-2 pages of bullet points will suffice.

Week 7
Mar 10

The role of multinational corporations

Multinational corporations are key players in the globalization debate, but few academics study them.

To what extent are MNCs tied to a specific nation? What does an MNC need from the nation-state?

How can nation-states individually or collectively tax and regulate the MNCs?

How does the EU tackle the challenges of globalization?

The Covid epidemic disrupted supply chains and led to some 'reshoring' of manufacturing. Will this trend persist?

Clausing, a liberal defender of free trade, nevertheless recognizes the need to regulate MNCs.

Gereffi uses the commodity chain/value chain approach to explore structural changes in the nature of business.

We can also take a look at neoliberalism in countries that are resource dependent, and in nations like India, China and Russia that have a long history of trying to insulate themselves from global capitalism.

Required reading

- Kimberly Clausing 'Multinational corporations,' ch 7, 138-177, in *Open. The Progressive Case for Free Trade, Immigration and Global Capital* 2019 [[ebook](#) via Olin]
- Gary Gereffi '[Global value chains in a post-Washington Consensus world](#)' *Review of International Political Economy* 21 (1): 9-37 2014
- Dayen, David '[How we broke the supply chain](#)' *American Prospect* Feb 2022

Optional supplementary sources

- World Bank [World Development Report 2020. Trading in the Age of Global Value Chains](#) 2021
- Priya Chacko '[The right turn in India: Authoritarianism, populism and neoliberalisation](#)' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 48 (4): 541-656 2018
- Peter Rutland '[Neoliberalism in Russia](#)' *Review of International Political Economy* 20 (2): 332-62 2013
- Catherine E. de Vries '[Globalization and the EU: threat or opportunity?](#)' *EU Opinions* 01/12/2018
- Richard Stubbs '[Whatever happened to the East Asian developmental state?](#)' *Pacific Review* 22 (1) 2009
- He Li '[The Chinese model of development and its implications](#)' *World Journal of Social Science Research* 2 (2): 128-138 2015

Research paper (10-12 pages long) due 5.00 pm March 26.

SOURCES FOR THE COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

The best source for analysis of contemporary politics is newspapers like *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, and the BBC web site. Search those sites for articles on your country from the past couple of years.

You can also look for articles through [Google scholar](#) – an invaluable search engine for finding recent academic articles on any topic. It shows you the most widely-cited articles, and shows you the other articles that cited them.

Here is a list of some of the most useful web sites.

Freedom House	Annual country reports (click on the country name to see the report)
BBC country profiles	Archive of articles on each country and a chronology of major political events.
Library of Congress Country Studies	Detailed descriptions of institutions and recent events
CIA World Factbook	Key facts and good socio-economic data on each country; top right search box.
Encyclopedia Britannica	Access it through Olin library website. Type in a country's name and you will find articles on government and history.
The Economist	File of articles on individual countries, search through index or on Olin site .
Open Democracy	European site with lively articles about democratic prospects around the world.
Human Development Report	Development reports and country data , from the UN Development Project.
Gapminder	A striking graphics program using HDR data to show the rate of development in all countries of the world across various socio-economic indicators.