

POLI 4050, Fall 2018

Globalization & Politics

Tuesday and Thursday 10:30 – 11:50 am, 129 Allen

Prof. Wonik Kim, wkim@lsu.edu

Office Hours: 3:00 – 4:00 pm, Tuesday and Thursday or by appointment

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All that is solid melts into air.

Marx & Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)

Laissez-faire was planned; planning was not.

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (1944)

The crux of the current global capitalist system is the “trinity of capital-nation-state” (Karatani 柄谷行人, 2010). The critical elements of the trinity are capital/market (economic domain), nations/society (sociocultural domain), and the state/inter-state system (political domain). These elements are heterogeneous by their origins and fundamentally contradict with each other. But they got linked as a seemingly unified entity only recently through a series of historical flukes. They became strangely complementary to each other as one system during the long 19th century and generated unprecedented synergy, which made “the gale of creative destruction” and enabled the “great divergence” of the world. Hence, globalization is the making of the trinity – the formation and integration of the modern system on a global scale. The nature of this process is “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1989).

Since the late 20th century after *les trente glorieuses*, however, the holy [*sic*] modern trinity has metamorphosed into something unholy. The global capitalist system has begun to crumble. The painful break-up of the trinity has been synchronized by the emergence of neoliberal globalization, the birth of the precariat around the world, the creation of the burn-out society, the deepening of the subaltern’s identity politics, democratic backsliding, increasingly disastrous climate change, and the advent of the second machine age. As Parkinson (1957) argues, “perfection of planned layout is achieved only by institutions on the point of collapse,” and this system may be falling into ruin just as it becomes complete. So, we now have a radically different meaning of globalization: the unmaking of the trinity – the transformation and disintegration of the modern system.

In this course, we go beyond the conventional approach and take globalization as a set of processes which embodies both expansion and transformation of the trinity of capital-nation-state. As such, our central question throughout the course is: If globalization is transformative and inexorable, what will be (should be) a new sociopolitical economic system? In searching for an answer, we need to understand this phenomenon in terms of political, economic, and social/cultural transformations. This upper-level undergraduate course has two main purposes: to equip students with a solid understanding of the origins, historical developments, and consequences of globalization, and to understand diverse ontological positions on globalization.

READINGS

Each student is expected to read (before class) all the required readings for each session (see the reading assignments below). Required books are:

- 1) Steger, Manfred. 2017. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- 2) Baldwin, Richard. 2016. *The Great Convergence*. Harvard University Press.
- 3) Polanyi, Karl. 2001[1944]. *The Great Transformation*. Beacon Press.
- 4) Standing, Guy. 2016. *The Precariat*. Bloomsbury.
- 5) Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. 2015. *Globalization and Culture*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- 6) Singer, Peter. 2016. *One World Now*. Yale University Press.

There are additional readings. These readings are posted on Moodle. All students should have a LSU account for access to Moodle.

REQUIREMENTS

- 1) In-class midterm examination (25%)

The emphasis is on important concepts and competing explanations of globalization. Knowledge of some relevant historical facts is required as well.

- 2) Take-home final examination (25%)

The test will be given in class on the 29th of November (Thursday). Students will have approximately four days to complete the test and should email the instructor their answers in a word document by **5:00 pm on the 7th of December (Friday)**. The format of the test will be explained in class.

- 3) Attendance and participation (20%)

It is extremely important to come to class. Attendance will be taken for each class. Students may earn credit for their attendance at each class, while repeated and unexcused absence will cause deduction in student's total grade. In addition, students are highly encouraged to ask and answer questions, and to make appropriate comments on issues covered in class.

- 4) Five reaction papers (6% each, total 30%): You will write total five reaction papers in this course on Baldwin, Polanyi, Standing, Pieterse, and Singer. A reaction paper is a short paper (approximately two or three double-spaced pages), discussing some aspect of the book. In the reaction paper you must briefly summarize and critique the text. Note: "critique" does not mean negative criticism. It means that you must identify some central aspect of the author's analysis, explain why you think this aspect is interesting and important, and present *your own thoughts* about the author's position. You must try to make an argument. Simply asserting your agreement or disagreement will not be sufficient. A reaction papers is due in class on the date scheduled for discussion of the book (or, put it in my mailbox in the political science department before 10:30 am on the due date if you have to miss a class). You should submit a hard copy. Late papers will not be accepted.

GRADING SCALE

A+	100 ~ 97	B+	89 ~ 87	C+	79 ~ 77	D+	69 ~ 67	F	59 ~ 0
A	96 ~ 93	B	86 ~ 83	C	76 ~ 73	D	66 ~ 63		
A-	92 ~ 90	B-	82 ~ 80	C-	72 ~ 70	D-	62 ~ 60		

IMPORTANT DATES

Midterm examination	Thursday, October 11	10:30 – 11:50 am
Take-home final examination	Friday, December 7	5:00 pm via email
1 st Reaction paper on Baldwin	Tuesday, September 18	In class or before
2 nd Reaction paper on Polanyi	Tuesday, October 2	In class or before
3 rd Reaction paper on Standing	Tuesday, October 23	In class or before
4 th Reaction paper on Pieterse	Thursday, November 8	In class or before
5 th Reaction paper on Singer	Tuesday, November 27	In class or before
Fall Break	Tuesday, October 4	No class meeting
Conference	Tuesday, November 20	No class meeting
Thanksgiving Holiday	Thursday, November 22	No class meeting

SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS

I. THE MEANING OF GLOBALIZATION			
1	August	21-23	Introduction and Some Important Facts
2	August	28	The Conception of Globalization
2	August	30	The Trinity of Capital-Nation-State
II. GLOBALIZATION AS COMPLETING THE TRINITY			
3	September	4	Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age
3-4	September	6-11	The Formation of the Modern Nation-State
4	September	13	New Epoch: Industrial Civilization
III. GLOBALIZATION AS THE GREAT CONVERGENCE?			
5	September	18-20	Economic Globalization as Lowering Transaction Costs
6	September	25-27	What's Really New about New Globalization?
INTERMEZZO: A POLANYIAN PROBLEMATIC			
7-8	October	2-9	The Myth of the Liberal History of Globalization
7	October	4	Fall Break (no class meeting)
8	October	11	Midterm Examination, 10:30 – 11:50 am
9	October	16-18	Double Movement and the Great Transformation
IV. GLOBALIZATION AS BREAKING UP THE TRINITY			
10-1	October	23-25-30	The Rise of the Precariat under Neoliberal Globalization
11-2	November	1-6	Globalization's Backlash and the Future of Democracy
12-3	November	8-13-15	Cultural Globalization
14	November	20-22	Conference and Thanksgiving Holiday (no class meeting)
15	November	27-29	Is One World a Better World?

PART I. THE MEANING OF GLOBALIZATION

Week 1 (08/21-23) Introduction and Some Important Facts

Scope and roadmap of the course. What is globalization? Facts and trends about global capitalist developments. Great divergence. Great convergence. Global inequality. Cosmopolitanism vs. ethnic nationalism. Fundamental question concerning technology on our existence à la Heidegger.

No required reading.

Week 2 (08/28) The Conception of Globalization

Conventional approaches. Lowering transaction costs. Periodization of globalization. Hyperglobalist vs. skeptical vs. transformationalist views. Turning points in history. Time-space compression. Panopticon.

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 1.

Osterhammel, Jürgen, and Niels Petersson. 2005. *Globalization: A Short History*, Chapter 1-2.

Week 2 (08/30) The Trinity of Capital-Nation-State

Global capitalist system as the trinity of capital-nation-state. The rise of bourgeois civilization. Melting vision. Dual revolution. *Citoyen*. Globalization as completing and universalizing the trinity. Modernity. Globality. Primitive accumulation. Flexible accumulation. Globalization as breaking up the trinity. Structure and agency. Inevitability and contingency. The role of politics.

Recommended: Karatani, Kojin. 2017. "Empire and Nation," *Nation and Aesthetics*.

PART II. GLOBALIZATION AS COMPLETING THE TRINITY

Week 3 (09/04) Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age

Global historical perspective. Early modern period. Cross-cultural exchange and long-distance trade. Biological old regime and advanced organic societies. Polycentric world. Malthusian vs. Smithian vs. Schumpeterian growth.

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 2.

Marks, Robert. 2015. "The Material and Trading Worlds, circa 1400," *The Origins of the Modern World*.

Week 3-4 (09/06-11) The Formation of the Modern Nation-State

Weber's conception + Bourdieu's perception (state + nation = the modern nation-state). Origins and expansion of the European inter-state system. *Ständestaat*. Nationalism as the spirit of capitalism. Do nations have navels? Print-capitalism. Conception of "meanwhile." Imagining, re-imagining, and re-presenting. Centrist liberalism triumphant. Universalism as ideology.

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 4.

Goldstone, Jack. 2015. "Political Trajectories Compared," *The Cambridge World History, Volume VI: The Construction of a Global World, 1400 – 1800 CE, Part I Foundation*.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*, Chapter 1-3.

Week 4 (09/13) New Epoch: Industrial Civilization

Braudel's theory of the triptych. Market economy \neq [capitalism \equiv the state]. *Contre-marché*. Industrialism. Modern growth. Importance of the 19th century. Capitalism and territorialism. Free trade. New imperialism and colonialism. Global crises in the early 20th century. *Les trente glorieuses* (the Golden Age). The 1970s as the turning point.

Braudel, Fernand. 1977. *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*, Chapter 2-3.

PART III. GLOBALIZATION AS THE GREAT CONVERGENCE?

Week 5 (09/18-20) Economic Globalization as Lowering Transaction Costs

The history of globalization revisited. Three-cascading-constraints. Steam revolution. First unbundling. World trade regime. Exchange rate regimes. Gold standard. Bretton Woods system. Asian miracle. GATT and WTO. ICT Revolution. Second unbundling.

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 3.

Baldwin, *The Great Convergence*, Chapter 1-4.

Week 6 (09/25-27) What's Really New about New Globalization?

Denationalization of comparative advantage. Global value chains (GVCs). Fragmentation. Smile curve. Elephant curve. Financial globalization. Thick vs. thin globalizations. Rethinking policies. Individualization of civil society. Neoliberalism. Premature deindustrialization.

Baldwin, *The Great Convergence*, Chapter 5-10.

INTERMEZZO: A POLANYIAN PROBLEMATIC

Week 7-8 (10/02-09) The Myth of the Liberal History of Globalization

Polanyi's problematic. Meaning of critique. Modes of integration. Hundred years' peace. *Haute finance*. Self-regulating market. Fictitiousness. Embeddedness. Shifting place of the economy in human society. One big market. Liberal doctrine. "Perfect markets are for the poor" (Reinert, 2007).

Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Chapter 1-10.

Week 7 (10/04) Fall Break

No class meeting.

Week 8 (10/11) Midterm Examination

10:30 – 11:50 am.

Week 9 (10/16-18) Double Movement and the Great Transformation

Self-preserving society. Market economy and market society. Fundamental liberal dilemma. Strong state. Disruptive strains. Origins of fascism. Benjamin's insight. Collective action problems: latent and actual countermovement. Polanyian (trembling hand) equilibria: subtle balance between political power (state), capital power (market), and social force (civil society). Three routes. Polanyi's vision.

Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Chapter 11-21.

PART IV. GLOBALIZATION AS BREAKING UP THE TRINITY

Week 10-11 (10/23-25-30) The Rise of the Precariat under Neoliberal Globalization

Liberalism and neoliberalism. Mont Pèlerin Society. Trilateral Commission. Excessive inequality. Financialization. New dangerous class. Class-in-itself and class-for-itself. Class-for-others à la Sartre. Class politics vs. identity politics. High-risk society. Burn-out (fatigue) society. Panopticon revisited.

Standing, *The Precariat*.

Week 11-12 (11/01-06) Globalization's Backlash and the Future of Global Democracy

Polanyian problematic revisited. Repoliticization or depoliticization? Structural dependence of the state on capital. Strange non-death of neoliberalism. Déjà vu of the 1930s? Democratic incapacity? Power of ideology. Are we all neoliberals now? Political trilemma of the world economy.

Kuttner, Robert. 2018. "Preface," *Can Democracy Survive Global Capitalism?*

Kim, Wonik. 2016. "Economic Globalization, Inequality, and Protest Movements under Capitalist Democratic Regimes." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 57(5): 267-287.

Rodrik, Dani. 2011. "The Political Trilemma of the World Economy," *The Globalization Paradox*.

Week 12-13 (11/08/13/15) Cultural Globalization

Migration and human integration. Clash of civilizations. Glocalization and globalization. McDonaldization. Globalization of nothing? Hybridization. Global mélange. Anti-hybridity backlash. Nationalism and ethnocentrism. Identity politics revisited. Islam. China. Classical liberal solution. Scope of reciprocity.

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 5.

Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture*.

Week 14 (11/20) Conference

No class meeting.

Week 14 (11/22) Thanksgiving Holiday

No class meeting.

Week 15 (11/27-29) Is One World a Better World?

Cosmopolitanism = liberalism; internationalism = socialism? Ethics of globalization. Global citizenry. Nations and nationalism revisited. Heideggerian question revisited. Human history "revealed" by technology? (fn. 4, Ch. 15, in *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1). Second machine age. "Is there anything more dangerous than dissatisfied and irresponsible gods who don't know what they want?" (Harrari, 2015).

Steger, *Globalization: A Short Introduction*, Chapter 6-8.

Singer, *One World Now*.