SIS-753: GLOBAL FINANCIAL GOVERNANCE

SPRING 2022

Tuesdays, 5:30 PM to 8:00 PM Via Zoom (first three sessions)

Location: Spring Valley Building, 100

Instructor: Professor Miles Kahler

Office: SIS 319

Office hours: Tuesdays, 9:30-11:30 AM; Wednesdays, 9:30-11:30 AM, and by

appointment

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Course description and objectives: As governments have liberalized both their financial sectors and cross-border financial flows, managing the effects of financial integration has become an important agenda item for economic governance—national, regional, and global. After a brief review of global financial governance before 1945, the course will concentrate on explaining and evaluating developments in the decade since the global financial crisis of 2007-2009. The major institutions of global financial governance will be examined, as well as the relationship between global and regional financial governance and the role of new financial and economic powers, such as China. The course closes with new agenda items—the use of financial sanctions, global governance to combat illicit financial flows, the effects of new technologies, and the role of global financial governance in confronting new crises--both financial and environmental (climate change).

Through cases and other contemporary sources, the course aims to impart knowledge of the major global institutions that deal with contemporary financial governance and the practices of financial crisis management. Both explanation and evaluation of governance outcomes are part of the course. The following questions will be central to our discussions: why has global financial governance has taken its current shape? Who wins and who loses as the result of existing practices and institutions? How can global and regional institutions be improved to meet old and new challenges?

Required reading: The required reading for the course is available in one of the following sites, as indicated in the syllabus:

- Links in each course module on Canvas
- E-books that are available in the American University library (indicated on the syllabus)
- Direct links embedded in the course syllabus

"Supplementary reading" is <u>not</u> required; those sources are included for use in the second written assignment and for Ph.D. students who choose the option of a research

paper. Additional readings may be assigned throughout the course in light of developments in financial markets and financial governance.

Student learning outcomes: At the end of the course, students will have

- Obtained usable knowledge regarding global financial governance actors, issues, and institutions.
- Become capable in evaluating policy outcomes and institutional performance in this domain.
- Improved their ability to lead and participate in a small-group discussion.
- Improved their ability to write analytic papers and memoranda, individually or as part of a team.

Course requirements:

Ph.D. students enrolled in the course may complete a research paper (thirty double-spaced pages maximum) on a topic agreed with the instructor **OR** complete the course requirements below.

The following requirements apply to all other students in the course:

- (1) <u>Midterm paper</u> (5-7 double-spaced pages), submitted by 8 PM on <u>March 1</u>. This assignment will be based on course readings and class discussions. Topics will be distributed in advance.
- (2) <u>Final analytic paper or policy memorandum</u> (12-15 double-spaced pages), on a topic chosen by each student, submitted by 4 PM on <u>April 22</u>. Research for this assignment should include sources beyond the course readings. This assignment can be either an individual or a team assignment. Instructor's approval in advance of both topic and format (individual or team) is required.
- (3) <u>Presentation of the final paper or policy memorandum</u> in the final course sessions on April 12 or April 19.
- (4) <u>Leadership of discussion</u> in one or more class sessions.
- (5) <u>Completion of the required reading for all sessions and active participation in class discussions</u>. Students will also be asked to post one or two discussion questions on Canvas by 2 PM on the day of each class session.

Grading policy:

The course grade will be based on the grades received for the midterm paper (30%), the final paper (40%), presentation of final paper (10%), leadership of discussion (10%), and completion of reading/participation in class discussions (10%).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Standards of academic conduct are set forth in the University's <u>Academic Integrity Code</u>. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. Violations of the Academic Integrity Code will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should such violations occur. Please see me if your have any questions about the academic violations described in the Code in general or as they relate to particular requirements for this course.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS FOR DISRUPTION OF CLASSES

In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Canvas while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site (http://www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

STUDENT SUPPORT AT AU

AU provides numerous services to help students to be successful in their coursework: the Academic Support and Access Center, the Counseling Center, the Writing Center and the Writing Lab, and the Center for Diversity and Inclusion. Click on the name of each support service for more information.

- Academic Support and Access Center (x3360, MGC 243) In addition to using the
 resources available in this department, all students may take advantage of
 individual academic counseling, skills workshops, tutor referrals, Supplemental
 Instruction, and writing appointments in the Academic Support and Access
 Center.
- Students with Disabilities: If you wish to receive accommodations for a disability,
 please notify me with a letter from the Academic Support and Access Center. As
 accommodations are not retroactive, timely notification at the beginning of the
 semester is requested, if possible.

- Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.
- Writing Center in 228 Battelle-Tompkins offers free, individual coaching sessions to all
 AU students. In your 45-minute session, a student writing consultant can help
 you address assignments, understand the conventions of academic writing, and
 learn how to revise and edit your own work. The Center offers appointments on
 the hour from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Thursday; 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.
 Friday, and 3 to 6 p.m. on Sundays. Call 202- 885- 2991 to arrange a session. For
 information, click here.
- Center for Diversity & Inclusion is dedicated to enhancing LGBTQ, Multicultural, First Generation, and Women's experiences on campus and to advance AU's commitment to respecting & valuing diversity by serving as a resource and liaison to students, staff, and faculty on issues of equity through education, outreach, and advocacy. It is located on the 2nd floor of Mary Graydon Center: 202-885-3651, email is cdi@american.edu.

CLASS SCHEDULE:

i. January 11 Introduction: Financial integration and global financial governance, past and present

Maurice Obstfeld and Alan M. Taylor, *Global Capital Markets: Integration, Crisis, and Growth*, pp. 4-41.

Eric Helleiner, "The Development Mandate of International Institutions: Where Did it Come From?" Studies in Comparative International Development, 44 (2009): 189-211.

Case: The Great Depression

Liaquat Ahamed, *Lords of Finance* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), chapter 20 (pp. 393-448)

Supplementary reading:

Davide Furceri, Prakash Loungani, and Jonathan D. Ostry, "The Aggregate and Distributional Effects of Financial Globalization: Evidence from Macro and Sectoral Data," *Journal of Money Credit and Banking*, 51, 1 (December 2019): 163-198.

Eric Helleiner, Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

Miles Kahler, "Bretton Woods and Its Competitors: The Political Economy of Institutional Choice," in David M. Andrews, C. Randall Henning, and Louis W. Pauly, editors, *Governing the World's Money*, pp. 38-59.

Beth A. Simmons, "Why Innovate? Founding the Bank for International Settlements," *World Politics*, 45, 3 (April 1993), pp. 361-405.

ii. January 18: Explaining global financial crises and their effects

Adam Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, pp. 72-90, 143-165, 202-219.

Adam Tooze, Shutdown: How COVID Shook the World's Economy, skim pp. 95-129 (chapter 5); read pp. 111-130 (chapter 6). [E-book available at the AU Library]
Carmen M. Reinhart, "The Quiet Financial Crisis," Project Syndicate, 7 January 2021.
Anna Hirtenstein, "Turkey's Woes Haven't Spread to Broader Emerging Markets," Wall Street Journal, 8 December 2021.

Case: Policy coordination during the Global Financial Crisis and the corona virus pandemic

Neil Irwin, *The Alchemists: Three Central Bankers and a World on Fire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013), pp. 144-165 **OR**

- J. Lawrence Broz, "The Politics of Rescuing the World's Financial System: The Federal Reserve as a Global Lender of Last Resort," *Korean Journal of International Studies*, 13, 2 (August 2015): 323-351 **OR**
- Edward M. Truman, "International Coordination of Economic Policies in the Global Financial Crisis: Successes, Failures, and Consequences," PIIE Working Paper 19-11 (July).

AND

Segal, Stephanie. 2020. "Dollar Swap Lines: Welcome Support but Only Part of the Solution." CSIS, 19 March **OR**

Collins, Christopher G., Simon Potter, and Edwin M. Truman. 2020. "Enhancing Central Bank Cooperation in the COVID-19 Pandemic." Peterson Institute for International Economics, 9 April.

AND at least two of the following:

<u>G20 Rome Leaders' Declaration</u> (skim) or "<u>G20: what did world leaders agree at the summit in Rome"</u>? (*The Guardian*, 31 October 2021)

Jim O'Neill, "Does the G20 Still Matter?" (16 July 2019)

David A. Welch, <u>"Five Reasons Why We Shouldn't Write Off the G20 Summit,"</u> (4 July 2019)

Kevin Carmichael, <u>"The G20 Can Keep a Candle Lit for Global Cooperation,"</u> (3 July 2019) Mark Sobel, <u>"G20 Is Not up to Today's Policy Challenges,"</u> (29 October 2021)

Supplementary reading:

- Tamim Bayoumi, *Unfinished Business: The Unexplored Causes of the Financial Crisis and the Lessons Yet to Be Learned*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Daniel Drezner," The System Worked: Global Economic Governance During the Great Recession," *World Politics* 66, no. 1 (2014): 123-164
- Nicola Gennaioli and Andrei Shleifer, A Crisis of Beliefs: Investor Psychology and Financial Fragility. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Thorvaldur Gylfason, "Iceland: How Could This Happen?" CESifo Working Paper No. 4605 (January 2014).
- Homi Kharas and Domenico Lombardi, *The Group of Twenty: Origins, Prospects and Challenges for Global Governance*, Brookings Institution, August 2012
- IMF, Independent Evaluation Office, *IMF Performance in the Run-Up to the Financial and Economic Crisis: IMF Surveillance in 2004-2007* (January 2011), pp. 1-30.
- William Quinn and John D. Turner, *Boom and Bust: A Global History of Financial Bubbles*. Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Carmen Reinhart, "Financial Crises: Past and Future," Harvard Kennedy School, Faculty Research Working Paper Series (January 2019, RWP19-005)

Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth S. Rogoff, *This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*.

David Wessel, In Fed We Trust: Ben Bernanke's War on the Great Panic.

iii. January 25: International collaboration and financial regulation—the Bank for International Settlements and the Financial Stability Board

Beth A. Simmons, 'The International Politics of Harmonization: The Case of Capital Market Regulation,' *International Organization*, 55,3 (Summer 2001), 589-620.

David Andrew Singer, Regulating Capital: Setting Standards for the International Financial System? (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 114-127.

Daniel W. Drezner, All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes, pp. 63-88.

Case: The Global Financial Crisis and its regulatory effects: is the global financial system less prone to crises?

Adam Tooze, Crashed, pp. 291-317.

Read at least two of the following:

Patrick Bolton, Stephen Cecchetti, Jean-Pierre Danthine, and Xavier Vives, Sound at Last? Assessing a Decade of Financial Regulation. (Centre for Economic Policy Research, 2019), pp. xv-xix, 1-22.

"Ten Years After the Great Financial Crisis: What Has Changed?" BIS Papers No. 103 (June 2019), pp. 1-10.

Hillary J. Allen, "Driverless Finance," (2020). Articles in Law Review and other Academic Journals. 695.

Gillian Tett, "Better Data on Modern Finance Reveals Uncomfortable Truths," Financial Times, 13 October 2019.

Financial Stability Board, <u>Enhancing the Resilience of Non-Bank Financial</u> Intermediation: Progress report. 1 November 2021.

Simon Clark and Caitlin Ostroff, <u>"Banks Oppose Strict Basel Rules Targeting Cryptocurrencies,"</u> *Wall Street Journal*, 21 September 2021.

Reports on the World Economy 11, ICMB and CEPR, 2009.

Amara Omeokwe, "U.S. Regulators Raise Concern With Stablecoin Digital Currency," Wall Street Journal, 17 December 2021.

Supplementary reading:

Sirio Aramonte, Andreas Schrimpf, and Hyun Song Shin, "Non-bank financial intermediaries and financial stability," BIS Working Papers, No. 972 (October 2021) Markus Brunnermeier et al. *The Fundamental Principles of Financial Regulation* Geneva

- Mark S. Copelovitch and David A. Singer, "Tipping the (Im)balance: Capital Inflows, Financial Market Structure, and Banking Crises," *Economics and Politics*, 29,3, (2017): 179-208.
- Howard Davies and David Green, *Global Financial Regulation: The Essential Guide*. Timothy Geithner, "Are We Safe Yet? How to Manage Financial Crises," *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2017), pp. 54-72.
- Eric Helleiner, "What Role for the New Financial Stability Board? The Politics of International Standards after the Crisis," *Global Policy*, 1, 3 (October 2010), pp. 282-290
- Eric Helleiner and Stefano Pagliari, "The End of an Era in International Financial Regulation? A Postcrisis Research Agenda," *International Organization*, 65, 1 (Winter 2011), 169-200.
- Miles Kahler and David Lake, "Economic Integration and Global Governance: Why So Little Supranationalism?" in Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods, editors, *The Politics of Global Regulation*, pp. 242-275.
- Andrew Sheng, From Asian to Global Financial Crisis: An Asian Regulator's View of Unfettered Finance in the 1990s and 2000s.
- Andrew Walter, Governing Finance: East Asia's Adoption of International Standards.

 Duncan Wood, Governing Global Banking: The Basel Committee and the Politics of
 Financial Globalisation

iv. February 1: The International Monetary Fund and global financial governance

Students will choose <u>one</u> of the following:

Mark Copelovitch, "Master or Servant? Common Agency and the Political Economy of IMF Lending," *International Studies Quarterly*, 54, 1 (2010): 49-77.

OR

Tamar Gutner, "When "Doing Good" Does Not: the IMF and the Millennium Development Goals," in Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, editors, Who Governs the Globe?, pp. 266-291

OR

Jeffrey M. Chwieroth, "Normative Change from Within: The International Monetary Fund's Approach to Capital Account Liberalization," *International Studies Quarterly*, 52, 1 (March 2008), pp. 129-158

OR

- Randall Stone, Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy, pp. 49-75, 145-168
- Philip Y. Lipscy and Haillie Na-Kyung Lee, "The IMF As a Biased Global Insurance Mechanism: Asymmetrical Moral Hazard, Reserve Accumulation, and Financial Crises," *International Organization*, 73, 1 (Winter 2019): 35-64.

- José De Gregorio, Barry Eichengreen, Takatoshi Ito and Charles Wyplosz, *IMF Reform: The Unfinished Agenda*. [Geneva Reports on the World Economy 20]. International Center for Monetary and Banking Studies (ICMB), 2018, pp. 19-42, 71-77.
- Edwin M. Truman, "IMF Quota and Governance Reform Once Again." Peterson Institute for International Economics, Policy Brief 18-9 (March 2018).
- IMF, Independent Evaluation Office. <u>IMF Financial Surveillance Evaluation Report</u>. 29 January 2019. (skim). <u>OR</u>
- IMF, Independent Evaluation Office. Working with Partners: IMF Collaboration with the World Bank on Macro-Structural Issues. 24 November 2020 (skim).

Supplementary reading:

- <u>Background:</u> The International Monetary Fund Factsheets: <u>"The IMF at a Glance," "IMF</u> Lending," and "IMF Surveillance."
- J. Lawrence Broz and Michael Brewster Hawes, "US Domestic Politics and International Monetary Fund Policy," in Darren G. Hawkins et al., eds., *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, pp. 77-106
- IMF, Independent Evaluation Office, *IMF Response to the Financial and Economic Crisis* [http://www.ieo-imf.org/ieo/pages/CompletedEvaluation227.aspx]
- IMF responses to the IEO report: Executive Board; Management and Staff
- Miles Kahler, "Defining Accountability Up: The Global Economic Multilaterals," Government and Opposition, 39:2 (Spring 2004), pp. 132-158
- Miles Kahler, *Leadership Selection in the Major Multilaterals*, Washington DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2001.
- Ruben Lamdany and Leonardo Martinez-Diaz, editors, Studies of IMF Governance.
- Beth A. Simmons (2000), 'The Legalization of International Monetary Affairs,' *International Organization*, 54 (3), Summer, 573-602

v. February 8: The International Monetary Fund in action: conditionality and crisis management

- Adam Tooze, *Shutdown: How COVID Shook the World's Economy,* pp. 155-173. [E-book available in the AU Library]
- Lisa L. Martin, "Distribution, Information, and Delegation to International Organizations: the Case of IMF Conditionality," in Darren G. Hawkins et al., eds., *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, pp. 140-164.
- IMF, Independent Evaluation Office, *Growth and Adjustment in IMF-Supported Programs* (Evaluation Report 2021), pp. 1-34, 79-85.
- International Monetary Fund, Covid-19 Financial Assistance and Debt Service Relief.

Jonathan Wheatley and Colby Smith, "IMF allocates \$650bn to boost pandemic-hit economies," Financial Times, 2 August 2021.

Cases: The IMF and countries in crisis—Argentina and Zambia

Choose either the Argentina case or the Zambia case.

Argentina

Paul Blustein, *And the Money Kept Rolling In (And Out).* New York: Public Affairs, 2005: pp. 87-114 (chapter 5) **OR**

Michael Mussa, Argentina and The Fund: From Triumph to Tragedy: chapter 5 [Lessons for the Fund] **OR**

IMF, Independent Evaluation Office, *The IMF and Argentina*, 1991-2001, pp. 3-7, 64-76.

IMF, Independent Evaluation Office, IMF Interactions with Member Countries, pp. 1-33.

IMF, Argentina: Ex-Post Evaluation of Exceptional Access under the 2018 Stand-By Arrangement--Press Release and Staff Report. IMF Country Report No. 21/279 (December 2021).

Ryan Dube and Santiago Pérez, <u>"Argentina Defaults on Sovereign Debt Amid Coronavirus Crisis,"</u> Wall Street Journal, 22 May 2020.

Benedict Mander and Colby Smith, "Argentina clinches a near-unanimous backing for debt restructuring," Financial Times, 31 August 2020.

Benedict Mander, "Argentina seeks to buy more time to make debt payment," Financial Times, 13 May 2021.

Michael Stott and Lucinda Elliott, "Argentina and the IMF: the looming clash over its \$57bn bailout," Financial Times, 10 November 2021.

Zambia

The Economist, "Lungu's Largesse," 2 May 2020.

Robin Wigglesworth, "Zambia's debt crisis casts a long global shadow," Financial Times, 16 November 2020.

Joseph Cotterill, "Zambia's opposition leader wins presidential election," Financial Times, 16 August 2021.

David Pilling and Joseph Cotterill, "Zambia's new president tackles debt mountain and empty treasury," Financial Times, 10 November 2021.

Joseph Cotterill, <u>"Zambia agrees \$1.4bn bailout with IMF,"</u> Financial Times, 3 December 2021.

"<u>Updated: IMF Staff Reaches Staff-Level Agreement on an Extended Credit Facility</u>
Arrangement with Zambia," 6 December 2021.

Supplementary reading:

Graham Bird and Thomas D. Willett, "IMF Conditionality, Implementation and the New Political Economy of Ownership," *Comparative Economic Studies*, 46 (2004): 423-450

- Jeffrey M. Chwieroth and Andrew Walter, The Wealth Effect: How the Great Expectations of the Middle Class Have Changed the Politics of Banking Crises. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- Institute for International Finance, <u>Draft Voluntary Principles for Debt Transparency</u>, May 2019.
- Mark Plant, "Principles for Debt Transparency: A Few Steps Forward, A Few Questions Linger," Center for Global Development, 29 May 2019.
- Joseph E. Stiglitz, Globalization and its Discontents.
- Randall Stone, Lending Credibility: The International Monetary Fund and the Post-Communist Transition.
- James Vreeland, The IMF and Economic Development.

vi. February 15: The World Bank and regional development banks

- Sebastian Mallaby, *The World's Banker* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), pp. 232-260 (chapter 9).
- Rush Doshi, Judith D. Kelley, and Beth A. Simmons, "The Power of Ranking: The Ease of Doing Business Indicator and Global Regulatory Behavior," *International Organization*, 73,3 (Summer 2019): 611-43.
- Jonathan Wheatley, "How China's global ambitions almost unseated an IMF chief," Financial Times, 19 December 2021. **OR**
- Justin Sandefur, "The Data Manipulation Scandal That Could Topple the Heads of the World Bank and IMF, Explained," Center for Global Development, 7 October 2021.
- Phillip Y. Lipscy, *Renegotiating the World Order: Institutional Change in International Relations*, pp. 22-33,51-59, 63-90. [Available as e-book at AU Library]
- Natalie Lichtenstein, "AIIB at Three: A Comparative and Institutional Perspective," *Global Policy*, 10, 4 (November 2019), pp. 582-586.
- Hongying Wang, "The New Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: China's Ambiguous Approach to Global Financial Governance," *Development and Change*, 50 (1): 221-244.
- <u>Multilateral Leaders Task Force on COVID-19 Vaccines, Therapeutics, and Diagnostics</u> (skim).
- Arvind Subramanian and Justin Sandefur, <u>"The World Bank as a Cash Transfer Algorithm,"</u> *Project Syndicate*, 20 October 2021.

Supplementary reading:

- "China Development Banks Expand Links with Foreign Lenders," Financial Times, 15 July 2018.
- Axel Dreher, Jan-Egbert Sturm, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2009. Development Aid and International Politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence

- World Bank decisions? Journal of Development Economics 88 (1): 1-18.
- Tamar L. Gutner, Banking on the Environment: Multilateral Development Banks and Their Environmental Performance in Central and Eastern Europe. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2002.
- Tamar Gutner, "Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," *Global Environmental Politics* 5, no. 2 (2005): 10-37.
- Chris Humphrey, "The politics of loan pricing in multilateral development banks," *Review of International Political Economy*, 21 (3): 611-639.
- Natalie Lichtenstein, A Comparative Guide to the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- David Phillips, *Reforming the World Bank: Twenty Years of Trial-and Error*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ibrahim F. I. Shihata, The World Bank Inspection Panel: In Practice
- Catherine Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Matthew S. Winters, "The World Bank and the Global Financial Crisis: The Reemergence of Lending to Middle-Income Countries," Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations 12, no. 2 (2011): 57-72.
- Ngaire Woods, The Globalizers: The IMF, The World Bank, and Their Borrowers.

vii. February 22: Governing foreign direct investment

- Helen Milner, "Introduction: The Global Economy, FDI, and the Regime for Investment," and Beth A. Simmons, "Bargaining Over BITS, Arbitrating Awards: The Regime for Protection and Promotion of International Investment," *World Politics*, 66, 1 (January 2014), pp. 1-46.
- Rachel L. Wellhausen, "Recent Trends in Investor-State Dispute Settlement," *Journal of International Dispute Settlement*, 7 (2016): 117-135.
- Krzysztof J. Pelc, "What Explains the Low Success Rate of Investor-State Disputes?" *International Organization* 71, Summer 2017, pp. 559-583.
- UNCTAD, "National Security-Related Screening Mechanisms for Foreign Investment," *Investment Policy Monitor*, December 2019.
- Martin Chorzempa, "New CFIUS Regulations: More Powerful, Transparent, and Complex" (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 10 October 2019).

 , "Complying with New Foreign Investment Rules Will Pose a Complex Challenge," PIIE Charts, 17 October 2019.
- UNCTAD, <u>World Investment Report</u>, Chapter III ("Recent Policy Developments and Key <u>Issues"</u>), pp. 108-121 (skim), pp. 122-133.
- Kiran Stacey, "US regulators launch crackdown on Chinese listings," Financial Times, 30 July 2021.

- Kate O'Keeffe, "U.S. Should Restrict Investment in China Due to Security Concerns, Panel Says," Wall Street Journal, 17 November 2021.
- Ryan McMorrow and Sun Yu, "China to tighten rules for tech companies seeking foreign funding," Financial Times, 7 December 2021.

Supplementary reading:

- Anders Aslund, "The World Needs a Multilateral Investment Agreement," Peterson Institute for International Economics Policy Brief (January 2013).
- Jannick Damgaard and Thomas Elkjaer, "The Global FDI Network: Searching for the Ultimate Investors," IMF Working Paper (WP/17/258), November 2017.
- Peter T. Muchlinski, "The Rise and Fall of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment: Where Now?" *The International Lawyer*, 34, 3 (Fall 2000), pp. 1033-1053.
- Rachel L. Wellhausen, "International Investment Law and Foreign Direct Reinvestment," *International Organization*, 73, 4 (Fall 2019), pp. 839-858.

viii. March 1: Emerging powers and global financial governance

- Alexandros Tokhi, "The Contestation of the IMF," in Matthew D. Stephen and Michael Zürn, eds., *Contested World Orders*, pp. 82-123. [E-book available in AU Library]
- Cynthia Roberts, Leslie Elliott Armijo, and Saori N. Katada, *The BRICS and Collective Financial Statecraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 67-108, 167-181 [E-book available in the AU Library]
- Andrew Walter, <u>"Emerging Countries in Global Financial Standard Setting: Explaining Relative Resilience and its Implications, "</u> CIGI Special Report, November 2019.
- Barry Eichengreen, Arnaud Mehl, and Livia Chitu, *How Global Currencies Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018): 181-193 (chapter 11: Prospects for the Renminbi). [E-book available in AU Library] **OR**
- Eswar Prasad, *Has the Dollar Lost Ground as the Dominant International Currency?*Washington DC: The Brookings Institution, September 2019.
- Anna Gelpern et al., How China Lends: A Rare Look into 100 Debt Contracts with Foreign Governments, PIIE Working Paper 21-7 (May 2021), pp. 3-9, 21-44.
- Stephen B. Kaplan, Globalizing Patient Capital, pp. 292-330.
- Bonnie S. Glaser, <u>"The Impact of Covid-19 on China's Belt and Road Initiative: A Conversation with Agatha Kratz,"</u> CSIS ChinaPower Podcast, 30 March 2021.

Supplementary reading:

Daniel W. Drezner. "Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial Influence in Great Power Politics." *International Security*, 34, 2 (Fall 2009), pp. 7-45

- Daniel Drezner, "BRIC by BRIC: The Emergent Regime for Sovereign Wealth Funds," in in Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper, editors, *Rising States, Rising Institutions*, pp.218-239
- Jonathan Hillman, "China's Belt and Road Is Full of Holes," CSIS Brief, September 2018.

 "The Secret History of Hambantota," CSIS Reconnecting Asia, 26
 August 2021.
- Sebastian Horn, Carmen M. Reinhart, and Christoph Trebesch, "China's Overseas Lending," NBER Working Paper 26050, July 2019.
- Ammar A. Malik et al., <u>Banking on the Belt and Road</u>, AidData at William and Mary, September 2021.
- Rakesh Mohan and Muneesh Kapur, "Emerging Powers and Global Governance: Whither the IMF?" IMF Working Paper (WP/15/219), October 2015.
- Arvind Subramanian, Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China's Economic Dominance.
- Edwin M. Truman, "Sovereign Wealth Funds: Is Asia Different?" Peterson Institute for International Economics, WP 11-12 (June 2011)

Edwin M. Truman, Sovereign Wealth Funds: Threat or Salvation?

[March 8: Spring Break]

ix. March 15: The Eurozone and regional financial arrangements

- Ashoka Mody, *Eurotragedy: a drama in nine acts*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), chapters 6 and 7 (E-book available in the AU Library).
- C. Randall Henning, *Tangled Governance: International Regime Complexity, the Troika, and the Euro Crisis*, pp. 148-183, 233-259. [E-book available at AU Library]
- Nicolas Véron, "Memo to the Commissioner responsible for financial services," in "Braver, Greener, Fairer: Memos to the EU Leadership, 2019-2024," Bruegel, September 2019.
- Paolo Gentiloni, "The EU's Pandemic Response: Tackling COVID-19, Building the Future," *Intereconomics* 55: 342-343.
- C. Randall Henning, "Global and Regional Financial Governance: Designing

 Cooperation," Discussion Paper Series on Global and Regional Governance, Council on Foreign Relations, September 2016 OR
- José De Gregorio, Barry Eichengreen, Takatoshi Ito and Charles Wyplosz, *IMF Reform: The Unfinished Agenda*. [Geneva Reports on the World Economy 20]. International Center for Monetary and Banking Studies (ICMB), 2018, pp. 43-56. [Reading available on Canvas, Week 3]

Supplementary reading:

Liaquat Ahamed, On Tour with the IMF (Visual Editions, 2014)

- John D. Cioricari, "Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization," *Asian Survey*, 51, 5 (September/October 2011): 926-952
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