

Geopolitics in the 21st century:
States, markets and power in a fractured world

Wintersemester 2023/24

Blockseminar (MA Seminar)

Dr. Johannes Petry

Tutor: Niklas Kullick

Goethe University Frankfurt

Course description

In less than a decade, world politics has radically changed. Since the Trump presidency, geopolitical tensions - especially between China and the US – have fundamentally called into question the (neo)liberal compromise between states and markets. Arguably, existing distinctions between the subdisciplines of International Political Economy and International Security/Relations no longer hold. On the one hand, markets have become subject to increasing state intervention – and have even become increasingly weaponized – in the face of rising geopolitical tensions. From sanctions to investment screening mechanisms and export controls, companies are suddenly faced with severe political constraints to their business operations. On the other hand, market actors have complicated and even undermined the geopolitical strategies of states. Despite political decoupling, US and European companies have for instance intensified their business activities in China in recent years and sanctions against Russia have arguably been rather ineffective.

How does a new cold war within global capitalism look like? Who holds *power* within this increasingly fractured world, how is it distributed and what is its source? How has the relationship between *states and markets* changed? Can we observe an end of market supremacy or the continued dominance of capitalist profit imperatives? Is US hegemony dead, and if so, what comes after? Has China risen? Are we moving towards multipolarity?

Drawing on Susan Strange's theory of structural power, this course explores the reconfigured relationship between states and markets within a world that is seemingly moving away from the neoliberal equilibrium and increasingly fractured by geopolitical tensions. The course explores four aspects of structural power – finance, production, knowledge and security – and their contemporary global reconfigurations across different geographies. Whether it be weaponised interdependence, decoupling, strategic rivalry or the stickiness of supply chains, this course aims to develop an ability to analyse, compare and critically evaluate fundamental assumptions and arguments about contemporary issues in world politics.

Course overview: Geopolitics in the 21st century

date	topic	description
20 Oct 2023 (14:00-16:00) SH 3.105	Introduction	What this course is about
15 Nov 2023	deadline discussion points (all participants)	
17 Nov 2023 (10:00-18:00) SH 3.102 (10-12) SH 3.104 (12-18)	Concepts	<p>IPE in the 20th century: States, markets & power in the global economy</p> <hr/> <p>IPE in the 21st century: How to understand the new normal?</p> <hr/> <p>How to write a research paper?</p>
19 Jan 2024	deadline working paper (Leistungsschein)	
24 Jan 2024	deadline written feedback (all participants)	
26-27 Jan 2024	presentation of working paper (Leistungsschein) / discussion of working papers (all)	
26 Jan 2023 (10:00-18:00) SH 3.103	Workshop	<p>presentation & discussion of working papers</p> <hr/> <p>finance</p> <hr/> <p>production</p> <hr/> <p>knowledge</p> <hr/> <p>security</p>
27 Jan 2023 (10:00-18:00) SH 3.105		
31 Mar 2024	deadline final research paper (Leistungsschein)	

Organisation of the Course

The aim of the course is for students to each explore one empirical dimension of the current geopolitical reconfiguration and develop a small research project (Leistungsschein) – which they (1) present as a working paper, on which they (2) receive/provide constructive feedback and then (3) revise as a final seminar paper.

This course is aimed to be inquiry-based, discussion-driven and student-led. Hence, attendance, engagement and constructive discussion are crucial. This method is intended to hone a number of skills—the ability to conduct empirical research, to practice presenting your own research, providing constructive feedback as well as academic writing and revision. The course will be held in English (including all assessments).

The course is structured as a block seminar. After the introductory session on **20 October 2023**, there will be two seminar blocks:

- a conceptual session on **17 November 2023** (10:00-18:00) and
- a workshop session on **26-27 January 2023** (10:00-18:00).

Examination

For a '**Teilnahmeschein**', every student is asked to:

- **Attend** the whole block seminar
- **Prepare two discussion points** (200-300 words each; 15 November 2023)
- **Prepare written feedback** for two papers (500-750 words each; 24 January 2024)
- **Discuss feedback** during seminar (26-27 January 2024)

In addition, for a '**Leistungsschein**', every student is asked to also:

- **Submit a working paper** (3000 words; 19 January 2024)
- **Present their working paper** (10-15min; 26-27 January 2024)
- **Submit a final research paper** (3500 words; 31 March 2024)
- Please also include a '**guide to revisions**' with your final paper

Overall, the aim of these examinations is to imitate the social science research and writing process. Whether you want to stay in academia, work at a think tank, NGO, consultancy or administration, the ability to conduct empirical research and then write, present, discuss and revise papers/texts based on this research is an important and transferable skill.

Discussion points

The conceptual session is about rethinking IPE in the context of geopolitical competition and is divided into two parts. First, we discuss conventional concepts and theories for understanding states, markets and power within the global economy (20th century IPE). Second, we explore novel empirical insights, conceptual tools and theoretical debates that aim to better understand how state-market configurations are changing within this new context (21st century IPE). This session will be the theoretical starting point for the empirical research projects.

The aim of preparing discussion points is to get everyone to properly engage with the readings for this session in order to facilitate lively discussions and interactions during the actual session. For each of these two parts (20th and 21st century IPE), the lecturer will pose a set of open questions (uploaded on OLAT).

Please *pick and discuss one question for each part* in the form of short replies (200-300 words) based on the seminar readings. Submit these via OLAT by 15 November 2023.

Working paper

Students doing a 'Leistungsschein' are expected to develop a small research project. This means exploring a particular topic within the scope of this seminar and to write up the results in a research paper. In the first stage, students will write a working paper which – after receiving substantial feedback – will then be revised and re-submitted as the final research paper.

Regarding the research topic of your paper, you can *choose from a list of topics/questions* provided by the lecturer. Alternatively, you can also *develop your own research project* but only after consulting the lecturer. A list of topics will be provided during the conceptual session.

The working paper has a length of 3,000 words (+/-10%, excluding references, abstract, figures and tables). The aim of this working paper is to present your research and the argument that you have consequently developed in a clear and concise fashion. Usually this requires you to edit your paper after the initial writing process, (re)evaluating which aspects of your text are crucial for your argument and which can be omitted as they are only tangential or unnecessary. You might decide to delete (or add) parts of/entire paragraphs to streamline or support your argument, or to write more concisely by deleting filler words.

It is therefore important to note that while shorter than your average term paper ('Hausarbeit'), this does not mean that this paper is less work. While it is titled working paper, the expectation is that this paper fulfils all the standards of a proper term paper. Working paper need to be submitted by **19 January 2024**.

Peer review

The whole idea behind this exercise is to take a normal term paper to the next level. Within the academic publishing process this is usually achieved through peer review, i.e. written and oral feedback provided by other scholars who have actively read and engaged with your work. The objective is to really *engage with others' research* and point out ways of how the paper could be improved.

As our PhD programme director always used to say, you should thereby 'criticise with kindness'. While it is essential to point out flaws, inconsistencies or potential of a paper in this process, always be mindful of the work that people put into their research and provide constructive feedback to address the issues you identified.

You will be assigned two papers that you need to review which involves both written and oral feedback. Please write up the feedback (500-750 words each) on your designated papers by **24 January 2024**.

An example of an academic review will be provided via OLAT. During the workshop you will then have the chance to directly discuss your comments with the authors.

Presentation

The next step is the workshop where everything comes together. Authors will present their papers in a short presentation, reviewers will summarise the key points of their comments, and the audience will have chance to ask additional questions.

Your peers' research papers are the readings for this workshop session. The assumption is that people will have read all papers – and not just the ones for which they provided feedback.

Rather than a longer, more comprehensive format, during the workshop authors will give *short presentations (5min)*. These are meant to be brief, offering a summary of your research and its key findings. This is followed by a discussion with reviewers and audience (**time tbd**; depending on the total number of paper presentations).

It is advisable to practice your presentation and delivery to make sure you bring across the most important points. When using PowerPoint, please use slides sparingly to summarise key aspects or for visual support (figures etc).

Final paper

‘So, you’ve finished writing something? Congratulations! Now revise it! Revising isn’t just correcting typos; it’s the essential stage in taking your writing from good to better.’

William Germano (2021: 9)

As the famous author and editor William Germano put it in his book *On Revision*, revising a text is ‘the only writing that counts’. There is usually a mismatch between our thoughts and what we bring to paper. And often our arguments evolve, become more refined and nuanced, we learn about new literature, conceptual advancements and empirical developments that all push further the research process. Consequently, the original text needs to be adapted. So, after receiving feedback from your peers, it is time to revise your paper and bring the best out of it.

Final papers are slightly longer than working papers, counting 3,500 words (again, +/- 10%; excluding references, abstract, figures and tables). Here again, you will probably add or rewrite more than just 500 words, so make sure to go back to your text and the substantial revisions, polish it and cut it to size. Final research papers have to be submitted by **31 March 2024**.

Please also include a **‘guide to revisions’** document that outlines how you responded to the reviewer comments. This makes it much easier to see whether and how you engaged with the feedback you received. Check out OLAT for an example.

If you want to learn more/refreshen your knowledge about academic writing, material will be uploaded in a special OLAT folder. But we will also discuss this during the conceptual session.

A note on style

The aim is for your paper to look more or less like an academic article, including:

- (1) a title page with name, title, abstract, keywords
- (2) structuring your paper through sections (usually, an introduction, discussion of existing literature, concepts/theory and/or methods, followed by your empirical analysis¹ (not description), a conclusion and references) and
- (3) following the general style of journal articles with respect to how to properly cite your sources, formatting etc.

Please save your files as a word document in this format before submitting it via email: 'Last Name_Topic(short)_workingpaper' (e.g. Petry_China_sanctions_workingpaper)

You can find all core readings and suggestions for advanced readings on OLAT. Here, you will also upload all other documents (discussion points, working papers, reviewer feedback, final papers).

On using AI

Please use it but make it transparent! The general rule of thumb is that you can use AI to help you with your work but it should not do the work for you. Since you have to conduct your own empirical research for your papers, this should not be that big of an issue.

And please add a short reflection on whether you used AI, how you did so, and if it was any good. For this, please use the following template:

AI tool	How was it used?	Where in research?	comments
DeepL	Translation of regulatory documents in Chinese	Empirical analysis (section 4)	Worked very well for X, I double checked the results with Y; I also tried Z but this didn't work
ChatGPT 3.5	Proof-reading and cutting words	Whole paper	Good for editing, but results needed careful editing as my own writing style got lost
...			

¹ Analysis not description; your empirical work needs to be guided by your theoretical/conceptual approach.

Readings for this course

There are three sets of readings for this course:

- *Core readings* for the conceptual session
- *Advanced readings* for the conceptual session
- *Working papers* for the workshop session

The ‘**core readings**’ are provided via OLAT. All students are expected to read these texts as they are the basis for the discussion during the conceptual session. If you want to gain a deeper understanding of a topic, I encourage you to have a look at the ‘advanced readings’ for which a reference list is provided (see end of document).

All other documents will also be uploaded via OLAT (discussion points, working papers, reviewer comments etc.).

Part 1: IPE in the 20th century

Babic, M. (2019). Actors, not markets: Bringing corporate power back in international studies. *International Studies Review*, 21(1), 175-176.

Dutta, S. (2018). *Financialization: A Primer*. Transnational Institute, Amsterdam (only 1-16).

McGrew, A. (2020). The logics of economic globalization. In: J. Ravenhill (ed.) *Global Political Economy*. Oxford University Press (no need to read as closely as the rest).

Oatley, T. (2017). The political economy of hegemony: The (surprising) persistence of American hegemony. In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Panitch, L., & Gindin, S. (2012). *The making of global capitalism: The political economy of American empire*. London: Verso, Chapter 1.

Strange, S. (1991). Big business and the state. *Millennium*, 20(2), 245-250.

Strange, S. (1997). *States and Markets* (2nd edition). London: Pinter (only 23-32).

Strange, S. (1997). The future of global capitalism; or, will divergence persist? In: C. Crouch & W. Streeck (eds.) *Political economy of modern capitalism: Mapping convergence and diversity*. London: SAGE Publications.

Underhill, G.R.D. (2000). State, market, and global political economy: Genealogy of an (inter-?) discipline. *International Affairs*, 76(4), 805-824.

Key concepts:

Globalisation	US hegemony	Financialization
Neoliberalism	Global value chains	Business power
Structural power	Convergence	Global capitalism

Part 2: IPE in the 21st century

- Babić, M., Dixon, A.D., & Liu, I.T. (2022). Geoeconomics in a changing global order. In: M. Babić, A.D. Dixon & I.T. Liu (eds.), *The political economy of geoeconomics: Europe in a changing world*. Cham: Springer.
- Choer Moraes, H., & Wigell, M. (2022). Balancing dependence: The quest for autonomy and the rise of corporate geoeconomics. In M. Babić, A.D. Dixon & I.T. Liu (eds.), *The political economy of geoeconomics: Europe in a changing world*. Cham: Springer.
- de Goede, M., & Westermeier, C. (2022). Infrastructural geopolitics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(3), sqac033.
- Gertz, G., & Evers, M.M. (2020). Geoeconomic competition: Will state capitalism win? *The Washington Quarterly*, 43(2), 117-136.
- Farrell, H. & A.L. Newman (2019) Weaponized interdependence: How global economic networks shape state coercion. *International Security*, 44(1): 42-79.
- Luttwak, E.A. (1990) From Geopolitics to Geo-Economics. Logic of Conflict, Grammar of Commerce. *The National Interest*, 20 (Summer), 17-23.
- Schindler, S., Alami, I., DiCarlo, J., Jepson, N., Rolf, S., Bayırbağ, M. K., . . . Zhao, Y. (2023). The second cold war: US-China competition for centrality in infrastructure, digital, production, and finance networks. *Geopolitics*, 1-38.

Key concepts:

Geoeconomics	Great power rivalry	Multipolarity
Infrastructures	Statecraft	Deglobalization
Weaponized Interdependence	Second Cold War	Industrial strategy

Part 3: Academic writing/research process

- Broome, A. (2019) *Academic Writing: A Basic Survival Guide for Students*, pp.9-18.
- Germano, W. (2021) *On Revision. The only writing that counts*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, Chapter 2.

I also uploaded an example of this academic process; this is a short commentary that I (1) recently wrote myself for the journal *Finance & Space*, (2) received extensive feedback on from reviewers and editors, and (3) correspondingly revised on this basis with an (4) explanation of what I changed and why (not). The result is a much better paper.

Therefore, please read the files in the ‘an example of how to revise a paper’ sub-folder.

Advanced readings on writing/research process

Booth, W.C., G.G. Colomb, J.M. Williams, J. Bizup, and W.T. Fitzgerald (2016). *The craft of research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Germano, W. (2021) *On Revision. The only writing that counts*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Oshima, A. and A. Hogue (2007) *Introduction to Academic Writing*. White Plains: Pearson Longman.

Sword, H. (2012) *Stylish Academic Writing*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Thomson, P. (2022) *Refining Your Academic Writing: Strategies for Reading, Revising and Rewriting*. London: Routledge.

Zinsser, W. (2012) *On Writing Well: An Informal Guide to Writing Nonfiction*. New York: HarperCollins.

Part 4: Readings for workshop session

Please read *all working papers* that have been uploaded to OLAT. This is essential to ensure a fruitful discussion. There are no additional readings for this session.

- Abdelal, R. 2007. *Capital rules: The construction of global finance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Amoore, L. & P. Langley, 2003. Experiencing globalization: Active teaching and learning in international political economy. *International Studies Perspectives*, 2 (1), 15-32.
- Babb, S. & A. Kentikelenis, 2018. International financial institutions as agents of neoliberalism. In: D. Cahill, M. Cooper, M. Konings & D. Primrose, eds. *The sage handbook of neoliberalism*. London: SAGE, 16-27.
- Babb, S. & A. Kentikelenis, 2021. Markets everywhere: The washington consensus and the sociology of global institutional change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 47 (1), 521-541.
- Babic, M., Fichtner, J., & Heemskerk, E. M. (2017). States versus corporations: Rethinking the power of business in international politics. *The International Spectator*, 52(4), 20-43.
- Babic, M., Huijzer, J., Garcia-Bernardo, J., & Valeeva, D. (2022). How does business power operate? A framework for its working mechanisms. *Business and Politics*, 24(2), 133-150.
- Bell, S., 1997. Globalisation, neoliberalism and the transformation of the Australian state. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 32 (3), 345-368.
- Block, F., 2016. The contradictory logics of financialization. *Politics & Society*, 44 (1), 3-13.
- Bohle, D. & B. Greskovits, 2009. Varieties of capitalism and capitalism « tout court ». *European Journal of Sociology*, 50 (3), 355-386.
- Brenner, N., J. Peck & N.I.K. Theodore, 2010. Variegated neoliberalization: Geographies, modalities, pathways. *Global Networks*, 10 (2), 182-222.
- Büthe, T., 2010. Global private politics: A research agenda. *Business and Politics*, 12 (3), 1-24.
- Carruthers, B.G., 2015. Financialization and the institutional foundations of the new capitalism. *Socio-Economic Review*, 13 (2), 379-398.
- Cerny, P.G., 1997. Paradoxes of the competition state: The dynamics of political globalization. *Government & Opposition*, 32 (2), 251-274.
- Clift, B., 2021. *Comparative political economy: States, markets and global capitalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clift, B., P.M. Kristensen & B. Rosamond, 2022. Remembering and forgetting IPE: Disciplinary history as boundary work. *Review of International Political Economy*, 29 (2), 339-370.
- Crouch, C., 2011. *The strange non-death of neoliberalism*. London: Polity.
- Dafe, F., S.B. Hager, N. Naqvi & L. Wansleben, 2022. Introduction: The structural power of finance meets financialization. *Politics & Society*, 50 (4), 523-542.
- Davis, A. & C. Walsh, 2017. Distinguishing financialization from neoliberalism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 34 (5-6), 27-51.
- Deeg, R. & M.A. O'sullivan, 2009. The political economy of global finance capital. *World Politics*, 61 (4), 731-763.

- Dierckx, S., 2013. After the crisis and beyond the new constitutionalism? The case of the free movement of capital. *Globalizations*, 10 (6), 803-818.
- Dore, R., 2008. Financialization of the global economy. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 17 (6), 1097-1112.
- Engelen, E. & M. Konings, 2010. Financial capitalism resurgent: Comparative institutionalism and the challenges of financialization. In: G. Morgan, J.L. Campbell, C. Crouch, O.K. Pedersen & R. Whitley, eds. *The oxford handbook of comparative institutional analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 601-624.
- Evans, P. (1997). The eclipse of the state? Reflections on stateness in an era of globalization. *World Politics*, 50(1), 62-87.
- Evans, P., 1997. The eclipse of the state? Reflections on stateness in an era of globalization. *World Politics*, 50 (1), 62-87.
- Evans, P.B. & W.H. Sewell, 2013. Neoliberalism. In: M. Lamont & P.A. Hall, eds. *Social resilience in the neoliberal era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 35-68.
- Fichtner, J. (2017). Perpetual decline or persistent dominance? Uncovering Anglo-America's true structural power in global finance. *Review of International Studies*, 43(1), 3-28.
- Gill, S., 1995. Globalisation, market civilisation, and disciplinary neoliberalism. *Millennium*, 24 (3), 399-423.
- Harmes, A., 1998. Institutional investors and the reproduction of neoliberalism. *Review of International Political Economy*, 5 (1), 92-121.
- Harvey, D., 2005. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hay, C. (2020). Globalization's impact on states. In: J. Ravenhill (ed.) *Global Political Economy*. Oxford University Press.
- Helleiner, E., 1995. Explaining the globalization of financial markets: Bringing states back in. *Review of International Political Economy*, 2 (2), 315-341.
- Johnson, J., D. Mügge, L. Seabrooke, C. Woll, I. Grabel & K.P. Gallagher, 2013. The future of international political economy: Introduction to the 20th anniversary issue of ripe. *Review of International Political Economy*, 20 (5), 1009-1023.
- Konings, M., 2010. Neoliberalism and the American state. *Critical Sociology*, 36(5), 741-765.
- Konings, M., 2016. Governing the system: Risk, finance, and neoliberal reason. *European Journal of International Relations*, 22 (2), 268-288.
- Krippner, G.R., 2005. The financialization of the american economy. *Socio-Economic Review*, 3 (2), 173-208.
- Lapavistas, C., 2011. Theorizing financialization. *Work, employment and society*, 25 (4), 611-626.
- Larner, W. & W. Walters, 2004. Globalization as governmentality. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 29 (5), 495-514.

- Linsi, L. & D.K. Mügge, 2019. Globalization and the growing defects of international economic statistics. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1-23.
- Mikler, J., 2018. *The Political Power of Global Corporations*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Montgomerie, J., 2008. Bridging the critical divide: Global finance, financialisation and contemporary capitalism. *Contemporary Politics*, 14 (3), 233-252.
- Nölke, A., M. Heires & H.-J. Bieling, 2013. Editorial: The politics of financialization. *Competition & Change*, 17 (3), 209-218.
- Peck, J. & A. Tickell, 2002. Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode*, 34 (3), 380-404.
- Peck, J. & N. Theodore, 2007. Variegated capitalism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31 (6), 731-772.
- Peck, J., N. Theodore & N. Brenner, 2012. Neoliberalism resurgent? Market rule after the great recession. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111 (2), 265-288.
- Porter, T., 2005. *Globalization and finance*. London: Polity.
- Radice, H., 2000. Globalization and national capitalisms: Theorizing convergence and differentiation. *Review of International Political Economy*, 7 (4), 719-742.
- Rodrik, D., 2011. *The globalization paradox: Democracy and the future of the world economy* New York: Norton.
- Sawyer, M., 2013. What is financialization? *International Journal of Political Economy*, 42 (4), 5-18.
- Seabrooke, L. & K.L. Young, 2017. The networks and niches of international political economy. *Review of International Political Economy*, 24 (2), 288-331.
- Slobodian, Q., 2018. *Globalists: The end of empire and the birth of neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Soederberg, S., G. Menz & P. Cerny, 2005. *Internalizing globalization: The rise of neoliberalism and the decline of national varieties of capitalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Starrs, S., 2014. American economic power hasn't declined—it globalized! Summoning the data and taking globalization seriously¹. *International Studies Quarterly*, 57 (4), 817-830.
- Strange, S., 1987. The persistent myth of lost hegemony. *International Organization*, 41(4), 551-574.
- Strange, S., 1995. The defective state. *Daedalus*, 124(2), 55-74.
- Strange, S., 1996. *The retreat of the state: The diffusion of power in the world economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Der Zwan, N., 2014. Making sense of financialization. *Socio-Economic Review*, 12 (1), 99-129.
- Venugopal, R., 2015. Neoliberalism as concept. *Economy and Society*, 44 (2), 165-187.

- Alami, I., Dixon, A. D., Gonzalez-Vicente, R., Babic, M., Seung-Ook, L., Medby, I. A., & Graaff, N. d. (2022). Geopolitics and the 'new' state capitalism. *Geopolitics*, 27(3), 995-1023.
- Apeldoorn, B. van, Veselinović, J. & de Graaff, N. (2023) *Trump and the Remaking of American Grand Strategy: The Shift from Open Door Globalism to Economic Nationalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Armijo, L.E. & S.N. Katada, eds., (2014) *The financial statecraft of emerging powers: Shield and sword in Asia and Latin America*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Babic, M. (2020). Let's talk about the interregnum: Gramsci and the crisis of the liberal world order. *International Affairs*, 96(3), 767-786.
- Babic, M. (2023). State capital in a geoeconomic world: Mapping state-led foreign investment in the global political economy. *Review of International Political Economy*, 30(1), 201-228.
- Babić, M., Dixon, A.D. & Liu, I.T. (eds) (2022) *The Political Economy of Geoeconomics: Europe in a Changing World*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baldwin, D.A., 2020. *Economic statecraft: New edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Balmas, P. & S. Dörry, 2022. The geoeconomics of Chinese bank expansion into the european union. In: M. Babić, A.D. Dixon & I.T. Liu, eds. *The political economy of geoeconomics: Europe in a changing world*. Cham: Springer.
- Beeson, M., 2018. Geoeconomics with Chinese characteristics: The BRI and China's evolving grand strategy. *Economic and Political Studies*, 6 (3), 240-256.
- Blanchard, J.-M.F. & C. Flint, 2017. The geopolitics of China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative. *Geopolitics*, 22 (2), 223-245.
- Breslin, S. (2021). *China risen? Studying Chinese global power*. Policy Press.
- Chin, G.T., 2015. China's bold economic statecraft. *Current History*, 114 (773), 217-223.
- Cohen, E.A. (2023) The Return of Statecraft: Back to Basics in the Post-American World. *Foreign Affairs*, 19 April.
- Cooley, A., & Nexon, D. (2020). *Exit from hegemony: The unraveling of the American global order*. Oxford University Press.
- Drezner, D. W. (2015). Targeted sanctions in a world of global finance. *International Interactions*, 41(4), 755-764.
- Drezner, D. W. (2019). Counter-hegemonic strategies in the global economy. *Security Studies*, 28(3), 505-531.
- Eichengreen, B., 2023. International finance and geopolitics. *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 1-17.
- Flint, C. & C. Zhu, 2019. The geopolitics of connectivity, cooperation, and hegemonic competition: The Belt and Road Initiative. *Geoforum*, 99, 95-101.
- Germann, J. (2023). Global rivalries, corporate interests and Germany's 'national industrial strategy 2030'. *Review of International Political Economy*, 30(5), 1749-1775.

- Germann, J. (2023). Wrestling with unevenness: Sino-American rivalry, state strategy and the reformation of German capitalism. *Global Political Economy*, 2(1), 77-97.
- Giumelli, F., & Onderco, M. (2021). States, firms, and security: How private actors implement sanctions, lessons learned from the Netherlands. *European Journal of International Security*, 6(2), 190-209.
- Goh, E. (2019). Contesting hegemonic order: China in East Asia. *Security Studies*, 28(3), 614-644.
- Henry Farrell & Abraham L. Newman (2021) *The uses and abuses of weaponized interdependence*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Hopewell, K., 2020. *Clash of powers: US-China rivalry in global trade governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ikenberry, G. J., & Nexon, D. H. (2019). Hegemony studies 3.0: The dynamics of hegemonic orders. *Security Studies*, 28(3), 395-421.
- Kim, D. J. (2021). Making geoeconomics an IR research program. *International Studies Perspectives*, 22(3), 321-339.
- Mastanduno, M. (2019). Partner politics: Russia, China, and the challenge of extending US hegemony after the cold war. *Security Studies*, 28(3), 479-504.
- Miller, C. (2022) *Chip War: The Fight for the World's Most Critical Technology*. Simon & Schuster.
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