

## RECOMMENDED PRE READING & BIBLIOGRAPHY

While it is difficult, if not impossible, to compile a short list that captures the tremendous analysis and thinking that's relevant to our discussion on the global political economy of AI and digital technologies, we offer the following recommended pre-readings. We will be providing a longer bibliography at the convening, organized by topic area.

[AI Now's Landscape Summary](#) is a key foundational piece that provides an overview of the moment and how any discussion on political economy and tech needs to grapple with the concentrated economic power in the sector (the analysis is expanded in their recent complication on [AI and industrial policy](#)).

To ground in some of the core dynamics playing out with worker's rights and labor market transformations, we offer IT for Change's [overview of platform worker's rights](#), James Muldoon, Callum Cant, Boxi Wu, and Mark Graham, Big Data & Society, "[A typology of artificial intelligence data work](#)"; UNI's Global Union [Algorithmic Management: Opportunities for collective action](#); and Uma Rani, AI-enabled business model and human-in-the-loop (deceptive AI): implications for labor (see email for link).

Francesca Bria's [Digitization: Big Democracy to Overcome Big Tech and the Big State](#) covers a framework for public digital infrastructure opportunities in Europe that are useful for considering alternative digital infrastructures globally.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Additionally, sharing here a list of articles, reports, and books recommended by participants roughly organized by category.

AI and Political Economy:

1. [Surveillance Capitalism or Democracy? The Death Match of Institutional Orders and the Politics of Knowledge in Our Information Civilization, Shoshana Zuboff.](#)
2. [Digital Empires. The Global Battle to Regulate Technology. Anu Bradford](#)
3. [Technological Revolutions and Financial Capital. by Carlota Perez.](#)
4. [Power and Progress, by Acemoglu and Johnson.](#)
5. [The New Economics of Industrial Policy by Dani Rodrik](#)
6. Artificial Intelligence and Inequality in the Middle East: The Political Economy of Inclusion. Nagla Rizk. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3659290](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3659290))
7. [\(PDF\) La Economía Política del Capitalismo Digital en España](#)
8. Verdegem, Pieter. "Dismantling AI capitalism: the commons as an alternative to the power concentration of Big Tech." *AI & society* (2022): 1-11. Available in: <https://www.scopus.com/record/display.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85127684375&origin=scopusAI>.
9. [The Opaque Investment Empire Making OpenAI's Sam Altman Rich - WSJ](#)
10. [Cisco launches \\$1 billion AI fund and makes first investments | Reuters](#)
11. Emily Jones, Digital disruption: artificial intelligence and international trade policy, *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Volume 39, Issue 1, Spring 2023, Pages 70–84, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grac049>
12. [Hegemony Now: How Big Tech and Wall Street Won the World \(And How We Win it Back\) | Verso Books](#)
13. [These are the problems we'll be lucky enough to have if AI doesn't kill everyone \(and what to do about them\)](#)
14. [Steven Vogel. "Market Governance as a Balance of Power." \*Politics and Society\* \(September](#)

- [2023](#)).
15. [Steven Vogel, "Level Up America: The Case for Industrial Policy and How to Do it Right." Niskanen Center \(April 28, 2021\).](#)
  16. [Tyson and Zysman, "Automation, AI & Work," Daedalus \(Spring 2022\), 256-71.](#)
  17. [Sitaraman and Narechania, "Antimonopoly Tools for Regulating Artificial Intelligence," Vanderbilt Policy Accelerator \(2023\).](#)
  18. [Loukides and O'Reilly, "AI's Copyright Problem is Fixable," Project Syndicate, December 8, 2023.](#)
  19. [Iason Gabriel, "Toward a Theory of Justice for Artificial Intelligence," Daedalus \(Spring 2022\), 218-31.](#)
  20. [Kelly Born, "Will Generative AI Make or Break Democracy?," Project Syndicate, August 20, 2023.](#)
  21. "A new Dependency Theory moment". In: The Ideas Letter, April 18 2024  
<https://theideasletter.substack.com/p/a-new-dependency-theory-moment>

#### AI Governance and Regulation:

1. [A new data deal: the case of Barcelona](#)
2. [Governing Urban Data for the Public Interest](#)
3. [Towards Sovereign AI: Europe's Greatest Challenge](#)
4. [Key Themes in AI Regulation: The local, regional, and global in the pursuit of regulatory interoperability](#)
5. [OECD \(2024\). "Artificial intelligence, data and competition". OECD Artificial Intelligence Papers, No. 18. OECD Publishing, Paris.:](#)
6. [Inteligência Artificial e Geopolítica do G20: o Brasil e a incorporação do Mercosul](#)
7. Plurality, by Audrey Tang and Glen Weyl. <https://www.plurality.net/>
8. [Foxglove + coalitions submissions to the EU and CMA about why the Microsoft / OpenAI "partnership" should be highly scrutinised](#)
9. VENTURINI, J. (2024) Inteligencia artificial más allá de la polarización. Derechos Digitales. Disponible en: <https://www.derechosdigitales.org/23564/inteligencia-artificial-mas-alla-de-la-polarizacion/>
10. VENTURINI, J. (2023) AI governance for and from the Global South. Derechos Digitales. Disponible en: <https://medium.com/opendatacharter/ai-governance-for-and-from-the-global-south-07326645b053>

#### AI and Geopolitics:

1. [AI Nationalism\(s\): Global Industrial Policy Approaches to AI](#)
2. [A New Tech 'Cold War?' Not for Europe. - AI Now Institute](#)
3. [Computational Power and AI Archives - AI Now Institute](#)
4. The AI NOW industrial strategy collection - <https://ainowinstitute.org/ai-nationalisms>
5. [Europe's Third Way to Technological Sovereignty. A Critique](#)
6. [Spanish Fake Sovereignty: From Privatising the Nation-State to Becoming a Digital Colony Ekaitz Cancela & Jule Goikoetxea](#)

#### AI and Data:

1. [Salome Viljoen on data as relational theory](#)
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<https://doi.org/10.1177/20539517241229696> (on public data enclosure)
  4. Rotta, T. N.; Paraná, E. (2022). Bitcoin as a digital commodity, *New Political Economy*, 27:6, 1046-1061, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2022.2054966> (on overall data commodification)
  5. [On the Societal Impact of Open Foundation Models](#)
  6. [Combating Harmful Hype in Natural Language Processing](#)
  7. Preparing Ghana for the Artificial Intelligence Ghanaians Want  
<https://ojs.stanford.edu/ojs/index.php/grace/article/download/3227/1617/10175>
  8. [La cuestión de los datos. Plusvalía de vida, bienes comunes y Estados inteligentes](#)  
<https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/argentinien/16371.pdf>

#### AI and Public Sector:

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<https://www.derechosdigitales.org/18378/inteligencia-artificial-en-la-funcion-publica-judicializacion-del-acceso-a-beneficios-sociales-y-datos-sucios/>
2. The Simple Macroeconomics of AI <https://www.nber.org/papers/w32487>
3. Are Large Language Models a Threat to Digital Public Goods? Evidence from Activity on Stack Overflow <https://arxiv.org/abs/2307.07367>
4. [DOI:The Productivity J-Curve: How Intangibles Complement](#) General Purpose Technologies as an example of a literature that shows that to understand the macroeconomic effects of AI, one needs to think carefully about how output and inputs are measured.
5. La question de la dependencia, Estado empresario, planificación constitucional de datos, Consejo Económico y Social inteligente  
<https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/argentinien/18548.pdf>

#### AI and Inequality:

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<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/impact-artificial-intelligence-marginalised-groups-jansen-reventlow/>
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#### AI and Monopoly:

1. [The AI Octopus by Eric Posner - Project Syndicate](#)
2. [Think capitalism is terrible? This economist says it's already dead.](#)
3. [Democracy must set the standard](#)
4. [Open Markets Institute – AI in the Public Interest: Confronting the Monopoly Threat](#)
5. [AI Now Institute – AI and Industrial Policy: Challenging the Current Paradigm](#)
6. [An Antimonopoly Approach to Governing Artificial Intelligence – Ganesh Sitaraman and Tejas Narechania](#)

7. [Monopoly Power Is the Elephant in the Room in the AI Debate – Max von Thun for Tech Policy Press](#)
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3. Avoiding an AI dystopia for workers, Veronica Nilsson <https://www.ips-journal.eu/topics/future-of-social-democracy/avoiding-an-ai-dystopia-for-workers-7202/>
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9. "Why AI Needs Ethics from Below Julian Posada," AI Now: <https://ainowinstitute.org/publication/a-new-ai-lexicon-labor>
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2. Mejias, U. A. (2023). Sovereignty and Its Outsiders: Data Sovereignty, Racism, and Immigration Control. *Weizenbaum Journal of the Digital Society*, 3(2). <https://doi.org/10.34669/WI.WJDS/3.2.7>
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3. Digital Colonialism, Analysis of Europe's trade agenda <https://www.tni.org/es/publicaci%C3%B3n/colonialismo-digital?translation=en>
4. Digital Trade Rules, A disastrous new constitution for the global economy written by and for Big Tech, Deborah James, [https://ourworldisnotforsale.net/2020/Digital\\_trade\\_rules.pdf](https://ourworldisnotforsale.net/2020/Digital_trade_rules.pdf)
5. CROSS-BORDER DATA FLOWS AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS <https://dtalliance.org/2024/01/05/cross-border-data-flows-and-free-trade-agreements/>
6. SOURCE CODE DISCLOSURE AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS <https://dtalliance.org/2023/08/04/source-code-disclosure-and-free-trade-agreements/>
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9. [BACKGROUNDER: Undermining AI Regulation in the U.S. and Abroad: The "Digital Trade" Secrecy Ploy](#)
10. [REPORT: "Digital Trade" Doublespeak: Big Tech's Hijack of Trade Lingo to Attack Anti-Monopoly and Competition Policies](#)
11. ANALYSIS: International Preemption by "Trade" Agreement: Big Tech's Ploy to Undermine Privacy, AI Accountability, and Anti-Monopoly Policies <https://rethinktrade.org/reports/international-preemption-by-trade-agreement/>
12. TECHPOLICY OPED: AI --Trade Pacts Should Not Have Special Secrecy Guarantees for Source Code & Algorithms <https://www.techpolicy.press/trade-pacts-should-not-have-special-secrecy-guarantees-for-source-code-algorithms/>

#### Democracy:

1. ["Metrics, Analytics, and Parties in Digital Democracy". Chapter 3 of: Limits of Democracy: From the June 2013 Uprisings in Brazil](#)