



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

INTP441 INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

2009 TRIMESTER 1 AND 2

2 March to 15 November 2009

Lecturer: Dr Ben Thirkell-White

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Office hours: Monday 1-2pm Tuesday 10-11am

Seminar time: Thursday 3.10-5pm

Seminar venue: Hunter 317

Course Delivery

The course has one seminar per week. The seminar is scheduled for two hours. It will involve class discussions and will conclude with a short mini-lecture introducing the following week's topic

The examination period for this course is from 27 October to 14 November.

Communication of additional information

Information on any changes will be posted on Blackboard.

Course content

This course covers the main theoretical perspectives and issue areas involved in studying international political economy (IPE) and supports student-led research into a more specific topic in IPE. The course concentrates on the political factors that shape international economic processes but also explores some of the social consequences of the development of capitalism. Empirically, it includes a historical overview of international economic relations in the twentieth century and an overview of the international politics of trade, finance, multinational production and development. It also introduces prominent theoretical approaches to the study of IPE: economic liberalism, economic nationalism, realism, some currents of Marxism, constructivist and feminist economics.

Learning objectives

Students passing the paper will:

1. Acquire a broad understanding of the history of international economic relations across the 20th century
2. Acquire a solid knowledge of the most important contemporary 21st century issues in the international politics of trade, finance, multinational production and development
3. Acquire a critically engaged understanding of the most important theoretical perspectives in the study of international political economy
4. Complete a research paper on a topic of their own choosing within the sub-discipline of international political economy
5. Learn how to choose a research project, select appropriate sources, critically engage with those sources and assemble them into a coherent and credible argument
6. Acquire and develop presentation skills
7. Build on their existing essay-writing skills to produce a longer piece of research work, learning new ways of structuring and presenting longer, sustained written arguments.

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 9 hours per week for reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes 2 hours of seminars per week.

Group work

There is no assessed group work as a part of this course, although seminars will involve group discussions.

Presentations

Seminar participants will be expected to regularly attend seminars and be active discussants. They will also be assigned various seminar tasks in the first session. In addition to general participation in class, students will be required to give one 20 minute presentation on their research topic in the second semester (to get feedback on their project before the final due date). This presentation is not assessed.

Readings

Essential texts:

There is no essential text for this course, although there are texts that you may find helpful (see recommended reading). The most important resource for this course is your Book of Reading, which contains compulsory readings. The Book of Reading also contains additional related readings; make sure you check the course outline at the end of this course booklet to determine which are compulsory.

Books of Reading are distributed from the Student Notes Shop on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays), 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays, Phone: 463 5515

Recommended Reading:

Particularly for those unfamiliar with international political economy, textbooks may provide useful support for your learning. Good IPE textbooks include:

- Balaam, David & Veseth, Michael *Introduction to International Political Economy* (4th Edition) (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall) 2008
Ravenhill, John (Ed) *Global Political Economy* (2nd Edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 2008
Frieden, Jeffrey & Lake, David *International Political Economy : Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth* (3rd Edition) (Boston : Bedford/St. Martin's) 2000
Gilpin, Robert *Global Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 2001
O'Brien, Robert and Williams, Marc *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics* (2nd Edition) (Basingstoke: Palgrave) 2007
Stubbs, Richard and Underhill, Geoffrey *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (3rd Edition) (Ontario, Oxford University Press) 2006
Cohn, Theodore *Global Political Economy* (4th Edition) (New York, Pearson/Longman) 2008

Assessment requirements

The assessment for this course comprises one research proposal (10%), one research paper (50%), and a final exam (40%).

The research proposal is due on Friday 22 May and acts as preparation for the research paper due in the following semester. Students will be required to formulate their own research topic pertaining to the course content. The research proposal will include a summary of the project and a two-page bibliography. More detailed guidelines will be posted on blackboard in the first two weeks of the course.

The research paper is due Monday 12 October and is to be 8000 words in length.

The final examination will be a 3-hour closed book exam scheduled in the examination period 27 October to 14 November 2009.

Both the research paper and the exam assess student ability to critically engage with the key themes of the course. By the end of the course students are expected to be familiar with key debates about international political economy, as outlined in the learning objectives above.

Return of assignments

The research project will be returned during office hours, within three weeks of the due date. An email will inform students when it is ready to be collected.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work), and sit the final exam.

Penalties

There is a uniform deadline for the final submission of all written in-term work (including research papers) for honours courses. Students are advised that this deadline will be firmly adhered to; extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions

stipulated in Victoria University's aegrotat regulations. Extensions must be approved by the Honours Coordinator (Professor Stephen Levine) in advance of the deadline. In 2009 the deadline will be 5 p.m. on **Monday 12 October**. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

Statement on the use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University Calendar or go to:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The website includes information on the following topics:

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support.

INTP 441 Seminar schedule and set readings

March 12: Free Trade and Classical economics

From both compulsory readings:

Why do most economists think free trade is best?

What are the disadvantages of restricting imports?

What is the doctrine of comparative advantage?

Are there good arguments for protection? (Frieden)

What are the core arguments in favour of markets? What is good about them? (Smith)

From Frieden

Which countries in the pre-war period were most and least enthusiastic about free trade?

Why?

Which groups of people within countries were most enthusiastic about free trade? Why?

Some economists think that politics tends to lead to irrational interference with good policy.

Does Frieden's brief review support that view?

Compulsory Reading

Smith, Adam *The Wealth of Nations* Book I Chapter 1 (Division of Labour) and Book IV, Chapter 2 (Restraints importing foreign goods)

Frieden, Jeffrey *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London, W.W.Norton) 2006 pp30-33, 39-43, 45-50, All of Chapter 3 and pages 105-111

Other Reading

For introductions to the economics of trade try:

Gilpin *Global Political Economy*

Williams & O'Brien *Global Political Economy* (2nd Edition) (Basingstoke: Palgrave) 2007 pp139-147

On the argument that trading primary commodities makes countries lose out ('declining terms of trade'), see Maureen Mackintosh 'Gaining From Trade?' in Bromley et al. *Making the International: Economic Interdependence and Global Order* (London: Pluto/OUP) 2004

And on infant industry protection, then and now, Levi-Faur 'Economic Nationalism: From Friedrich List to Robert Reich', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.23 No.3 1997

For classic and influential orthodox arguments about the political economy of free trade

The trade chapters in Frieden & Lake *International Political Economy*

On liberal economic thought

Beetham, David, *Democracy and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Polity) 1999 Chapter 3 'Market Economy and Democratic Polity'

O'Neill, John *The Market: Ethics, Knowledge and Politics* (London: Routledge) 1998

Sen, A, Williams, B *Utilitarianism and Beyond* (Cambridge: CUP) 1982

Stiglitz, J *Whither Socialism?* (Cambridge: MIT Press) 1994 (sometimes too technical but the critique of the 'first fundamental theorem of welfare economics' is good)

Trentmann, Frank (1998) 'Political Culture and Political Economy: Interest, Ideology and Free Trade', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.5 No.2, 217-251.

Watson Matthew, (2003) 'Ricardian Political Economy and the 'Varieties of Capitalism' Approach: Specialisation, Trade and Comparative Institutional Advantage', *Comparative European Politics*, Vol.1 No.2, 227-240.

Walter, Andrew 'Adam Smith and The Liberal Tradition in International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (1996), Vol.22 No.1, pp. 5-28.

Wheelan, Charles *The Naked Economist: Undressing the Dismal Science* Chapter 1 (though the rest is also readable and helpful)

March 19: Money and governance

From the inflation reading:

What reasons do economists have for being sceptical about letting politicians control monetary policy?
Are they good reasons?

From the more international reading,

Why might domestic monetary preferences come into conflict with international stability?
Why might 'coordination' help?
Why is monetary coordination (especially) difficult?
Why do ideas about good policy (as opposed to 'the truth') have a particular impact on monetary relations?

Compulsory Reading

Kirshner, J 'The Political Economy of Low Inflation' *Journal of Economic Surveys* Vol.15 No.1 2001

Kirshner, J 'Money is Politics' *Review of International Political Economy* Vol.10 No.4, 2003 (on blackboard, or available electronically through the library pages)

Additional Reading

The chapters on finance in most good IPE textbooks are good for this week.
Especially Frieden & Lake and Gilpin.

Cohen, B 'Phoenix risen: the resurrection of global finance' *World Politics*_ 48, January 1996

Ingham, Geoffrey *Capitalism* Cambridge: Polity 2008 Chapters 4 and 7

If you have an economic background or want to get excited about the technical stuff, Krugman & Obstfeld *International Economics: Theory and Policy* is my favourite international macro textbook.

March 26: Capitalism and 'the social'

What are some of the social conditions that need to be in place for a capitalist economy to function?

How might those differ from 'traditional' relationships in smaller-scale village based subsistence economies (or indeed under Mediaeval feudalism)?

In what ways might capitalism continue to shape our ideas, behaviour and relationships?

In what ways might capitalism work against other social values?

Is capitalist development worth its social costs? If not, is there a more plausible alternative?

Compulsory Reading

Ingham, Geoffrey *Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity) 2008 Chapter 1 Smith, Marx, Weber (on blackboard)

and either

Block, Fred 'Introduction' *The Great Transformation by Karl Polanyi* (Beacon: Boston 2001) (about the social embeddedness of capitalism)

or

Georgina Waylen (1997) 'Gender, Feminism and Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, Vol.2 No.2, 205-220. (on the various ways in which capitalism is gendered)

Additional Reading

Classics

Giddens, A *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: an Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim* (Cambridge: CUP) 1971

Marx – try a selected works, such as David McLellan's (in Vic library at [HX39.5 A25 1977](#))

Good places to start are *The Communist Manifesto* and the *Historical and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (sometimes called the 'Paris' manuscripts).

Polanyi, K *The Great Transformation*

So, Alvin *Social Change and Development: Modernisation, Dependency and World-Systems Theories* (California: Sage) 1990 (not a classic, but the modernisation section shows how some classical sociological perspectives found their way into development theory in the post-War era.)

Weber, M *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

Capitalism, feminism and the family

Hiroko, Takeda 'Structural Reform of the Family and the Neoliberalisation of Everyday Life in Japan' *New Political Economy* Vol. 13 No. 2, June 2008

Jill Steans, "The Private is Global: Feminist Politics and Global Political Economy," *New Political Economy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1999, pp. 113-128.

Georgina Waylen (1997) 'Gender, Feminism and Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, Vol.2 No.2, 205-220.

Fiona Robinson (1997) 'Feminist IR/IPE Theory: Fulfilling its Radical Potential?', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.4 No.4, 773-781.

Sandra Whitworth, 'Theory and Exclusion: Gender, Masculinity, and International Political Economy', in Richard Stubbs and Underhill (eds), *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (Toronto: OUP) 2000 (2nd edn), pp. 91-101.

Some other examples of contemporary writing

Amoore & DeGoede 'Transactions After 9/11: The Banal Face of the Pre-Emptive Strike,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (2), 2008, 173-185.

Best, J 'Moralizing Finance: the New Financial Architecture as Ethical Discourse' *New Political Economy* Vol.10 No.3

Bevir, Mark & Trentmann, Frank 'Civic Choices: Retrieving Perspectives on Rationality, Consumption, and Citizenship' *mimeo* 2006 (on Blackboard)

Cameron & Palan *Imagined Economies of Globalization* (London: Sage) 2004

De Goede (ed) *International Political Economy and Post-Structural Politics*

Hobson, J, Seabrooke, L *Everyday Politics of the World Economy* (Cambridge: CUP) 2007

Langley Paul 'The Making of Investor Subjects in Anglo-American Pensions', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. Vol. 24, No. 6, 2006 pp. 919-934.

April 2: From Gold Standard to Great Depression

What caused the Great Depression?

What kinds of international politics were at play?

What were some of the international consequences?

Could it happen again?

Does it have any relevance to the current crisis?

Required Reading

Frieden chapters 6-9 (If you have time, chapter 10 is also highly relevant and 1-5 provide useful background)

Ferguson, N 'Sinking Globalization' *Foreign Affairs* Vol.84 No.2 March/April 2005

Additional Reading

Block, Fred *The Origins of International Economic Disorder* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), chapters 1-5.

Cohen, Benjamin *Organising the World's Money* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

Costigliola, F "Anglo-American Financial Rivalry in the 1920's" in *Journal of Economic History* Vol. 37, 1977.

Cox, Robert W. *Production, Power, and World Order*, Columbia University Press, 1986,

Eichengreen, Barry 'The Political Economy of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff', Ch. 2 in Jeffrey Frieden & David Lake (eds.) *International Political Economy* (Wadsworth, 2000)

Eichengreen, Barry *Globalizing Capital: a History of The International Monetary System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1998

Ferguson, Niall .Sinking Globalization.,. *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2005), 64-77.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20051201faessay84711/niall-ferguson/sinking-globalization.html>

Gourevitch, Peter "International Trade, Domestic Coalitions, and Liberty: Comparative Responses to the Crisis of 1873-1896" in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, 1977, pp. 281-313.

Kindleberger, Charles *The World in Depression 1929-39* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973)

Kindleberger, Charles "The Rise of Free Trade in Western Europe 1820-1875" in *Journal of Economic History* 35, 1975, pp. 20-55.

Silver, B.J. and Arrighi, G. "Polanyi's 'double movement': the belle époque of British and U.S. hegemony compared" *Politics and Society*, Jun 2003, Vol.31, No.2, pp.325-355

Walter, Andrew *World Power and World Money: the Role of Hegemony and International Monetary Order* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

April 9: The Bretton Woods settlement

The immediate post-Bretton Woods settlement is often looked back on as a 'Golden Age'.

What (if anything) was so good about it?

What kinds of international politics put it together?

How important did security considerations (or American Hegemony, if you prefer) play in maintaining it?

Why did it collapse?

What can we learn about international relations from the collapse?

Required Reading

Frieden chapters 11, 12, 15

Ruggie, J 'International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic System' *International Organization* Vol.36 No.2

Additional Reading

Clark, Ian *Globalisation and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997),

Cohen, Benjamin "Balance of payments financing: evolution of a regime," *International Organisation* Vol. 36, No. 2, 1982 pp. 457-78.

Corbridge, Stuart "Bretton Woods Revisited", *Environment and Planning*, Vol.26 No.12, 1994.

Eichengreen, Barry *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System* (Princeton:Princeton University Press) 1998

Gardner, Richard *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy in Current Perspective: The Origins and Prospects of Our International Order* (New York: Columbia University Press) 1980.

Gowa, Joanne *Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) 1983, ch.3.

Hay, Colin 'Globalization's impact on states' in John Ravenhill, *Global political economy* (ed),(Oxford: Oxford University Press) 2005.

Helleiner, Eric *States And the Re-Emergence of Global Finance: From Bretton Woods to The 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) 1994

Ikenberry, John "A world economy restored: expert consensus and the Anglo-American postwar settlement", *International Organization* Vol 46, No 1, 1982: 289-321.

Markwell, Donald (ed) *John Maynard Keynes and International Relations; Economic Paths to War and Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,) 2006

Milward, Alan *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-1951* (London: Methuen) 1984, Conclusion.

Pitruzzello, Salvatore 'Trade, Globalisation, Economic Performance and Social Protection: 19th Century British Laissez-Faire and Post World War II 'US Embedded Liberalism'', *International Organisation*, Vol 58, 2004, pp. 705-744.

Walter, Andrew *World Power and World Money: the Role of Hegemony and International Monetary Order* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf) 1993.

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK

April 30: Realism, liberalism and World Order

How might economic relationships shape the international security structure?
 How might security relationships shape economic policy-making?
 Are there good reasons for thinking that free trade leads to peace?
 Are there good reasons for thinking that international organizations can create a fairer and more rational international economic order?
 What is the relationship between economic nationalism and realism? How are they similar and how do they differ?

Required Reading

Moran, T 'Grand strategy: the pursuit of power and the pursuit of plenty' *International Organisation* Vol.50 No 1, 1996

Keohane, R 'International Liberalism Reconsidered' in Dunn, J (ed) *The Economic Limits To Modern Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) 1990

Economic nationalism (more economics driven) and economic realism (more security driven)
 Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939* (1939 & 1946), pp. 113-32.

Crane, George 'Economic Nationalism: Bringing the Nation Back In' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* , Vol. 27, No. 1, 1998 pp. 55-76

Crawford, B 'Hawks, Doves, but No Owls: International Economic Interdependence and Construction of the New Security Dilemma' in Lipschutz (ed) *On Security....*available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/lipschutz/lipschutz16.html>

Friedberg, A 'The Changing Relationship Between Economics and National Security' *Political Science Quarterly* Vol.105 No.2, 1991 pp265-276

Hall, Derek 'Japanese Spirit, Western Economics: the Continuing Salience of Economic Nationalism in Japan' *New Political Economy*, Vol.9 No.1, 2004 pp.79-99

Harlen, Christine 'A Reappraisal of Classical Economic Nationalism and Economic Liberalism' *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 43 No.4, 1999 pp733-744

Helleiner, Eric 'Economic Nationalism as a Challenge to Economic Liberalism? Lesson from the 19th Century' *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.46 No.3, 2002 pp 307-29

Hont, Istvan *Jealousy of Trade* (Cambridge, Bellknap Press,) 2005

Jones, R.J.Barry 'Economic Realism, Neo-Ricardian Structuralism and the Political Economy of Contemporary Neo-Mercantilism', in Jones (ed.), *The Worlds of Political Economy* 1988, pp. 142-68.

Jayasuriya, Kanishka 'Embedded Mercantilism and Open Regionalism' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24 No.2, 2003 pp 339 - 355

Kirshner, J 'Political Economy in Security Studies After the Cold War', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.5 No.1 1998 pp.64-91.

Knorr, Klaus and Trager, Frank N (eds), *Economic Issues and National Security* (1977), chs 1 and 2.

Levi-Faur. 'Economic Nationalism: from Friedrich List to Robert Reich', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.23 No.3 1997

Mastanduno, M 'Economics and security in statecraft and scholarship' *International Organization* Vol.52 No.4 pp 835-854

Moran, T (1996) 'Grand strategy: the pursuit of power and the pursuit of plenty' *International Organisation* Vol.50 No.1, 1996

Strange, S 'Protectionism and World Politics' *International Organization* Vol.50 No.1, 1985 pp233-259

Viner, J 'Power versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *World Politics* Vol.1 No.1 1948

Hegemonic stability theory

Eichengreen, Barry 'Hegemonic Stability Theories of the International Monetary System', *Brookings Papers on International Economics*, No.54 1988.

Gilpin, Robert *The Political Economy of International Relations* (1987), ch 3.

Grunberg, Isabelle 'Exploring the "Myth" of Hegemonic Stability', *International Organization*, vol. 44, no. 4 1990 pp. 431-78.

Kindleberger, Charles *The World in Depression 1929-1939* (1973 & 1986),

Lake, David A 'Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?' *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.37, No.4 1993, pp. 459-89.

Milner, Helen V. 'International Political Economy: Beyond Hegemonic Stability,' *Foreign Policy*, No. 110 1998, pp. 112-23.

Susan Strange, 'The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony', *International Organization* Vol. 41, No. 4 1987, pp. 551-74.

International Institutions

Grieco 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism' *International Organization* Vol.42, Summer 1998, pp485-508

Gruber *Ruling the World* (Princeton: Princeton) 2000

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton) 1984

Krasner, S *Structural Conflict: the Third World Against Global Liberalism* (Berkeley, University of California Press) 1985

Krasner, S 'Global communications and national power: life on the Pareto frontier' *World Politics* 42, April pp336-66

Krasner (ed) *International Regimes* (also special issue of *International Organization* Spring 1982)

Martin & Simmons 'Theories and empirical studies of international institutions' *International Organisation* Vol.52 No.4 pp729-757

Moravcsik, Andrew 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' *International Organization* Vol.51, No. 4 1997 513-53

May 7: Development, dependency, and multinational corporations

In Wallerstein's world systems theory, through what mechanisms does integration into the world economy damage developing countries' prospects?

In more optimistic liberal writing, what does the global economy have to offer developing countries?

What role might multinational corporations play in each of these perspectives?

What does the short NAFTA debate tell you about the two different arguments?

Is there anything developing country governments might do to try and get a better deal from multinational corporations? What are the prospects for success?

Compulsory Reading

Thirkell-White, B 'Globalization and Development' in Imber & Salmon (eds) *Issues in International Relations* (2nd Edition) London, 2008

Wallerstein, I 'The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol.16 No.4 September 1974

Cavanagh et al. 'Debate: Happily Ever NAFTA?' *Foreign Policy* No.132

Additional Reading

A helpful positive view of the potential of globalization for development

DfID *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalization Work for the Poor* White Paper, 2000, available at <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/whitepaper2000.pdf>

Textbook writings on dependency and MWS

Randall & Theobald *Political change and underdevelopment* (Durham: Duke University Press) Chapter 4

So, A *Social change and development: modernization, dependency and world systems theories* (Newbury: Sage) 1990 (largely ignore writing on modernization)

Martinussen *Society state and market: a guide to competing theories of development* (London, Zed Books) 1997 Chapter 7

Some original dependency texts

Dos Santos 'The structure of dependence' *American economic review* Vol.60 No.2

Cardoso and Falletto *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley, University of California Press) 1979

André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* 1969/1971

Some critical assessment and modern applications of dependency theory

Blaney, David 'Reconceptualizing Autonomy: The Difference Dependency Theory Makes', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 459-97.

Brewer A., *Marxist Theories of Imperialism* (Routledge,1980) (technical but excellent)

Brenner, R (1977) 'The Origins of Capitalist Development: a Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism' *New Left Review* No.104

Kay Cristóbal and Gwynne, Robert N (2000), "Relevance of Structuralist and Dependency Theories in the Neoliberal Period: A Latin American Perspective," *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.16 No.1 2000: 49-69.

Leys, Colin (1996) *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (London, James Currey) 1996

The evolution of development thinking

Gore, C 'The rise and fall of the Washington Consensus as a paradigm for developing countries' *World Development* Vol.28 No.5 pp789-804

Grugel, Jean Riggirozzi, Pia & Ben Thirkell-White, 'After the Washington Consensus? Asia and Latin America in search of more autonomous development paradigms', *International Affairs* Vol.84, No.3, (2008),

Multinationals generally

Dicken, P *Global Shift*_ Especially chapter on 'conflict and collaboration' states and firms and the last part (chapter titles vary between editions)

Relevant chapters in the IPE texts by Gilpin and Frieden & Lake

Multinationals and NAFTA

Hanson, G 'What has happened to wages in Mexico since NAFTA' NBER working paper No 9563 (available online at <http://papers.nber.org/papers/w9563>)

Lederman & Serven Lessons from NAFTA for Latin America and the Caribbean countries: a summary of research findings (World Bank publication available in library or via

<http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC14015.htm> - click on 'read full text') See particularly, the Executive summary, chapter 1, sections 4.4, 4.7 and maybe Chapter 5

Lustig, N 'Life is not easy: Mexico's Quest for Stability and Growth' *Journal of economic perspectives* Vol.13 No.1 pp85-106

Pastor, R 'North America's Second Decade' *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2004

Multinationals and Asian development

Bernard & Ravenhill 1995 Beyond product cycles and flying geese: regionalization, hierarchy and the industrialization of East Asia' *World Politics* Vol.47 No.2 1995 pp179-210

Yun, Chunji 'International Production Networks and the Role of the State: Lessons from East Asian Developmental Experience' *European Journal of Development Research* Vol.15 No.1

Felker, G 'Southeast Asian industrialisation and the changing global production network' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24 No.2

For an overview of Asian industrial policy, see

Chang Ha-Joon 'The political economy of industrial policy in Korea' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* Vol.17 No.2 1993

Cummings, Bruce 'Webs with no spiders, Spiders with no webs: the geneology of the developmental state' in Woo-Cummings (Eds) *The Developmental State* Ithaca, Cornell 1999

May 14: Globalisation: technical inevitability or neo-Gramscian hegemony?

What is the relationship between globalization and neoliberal economic policy?

What caused globalization?

Was it technical necessity, political developments or some combination of the two?

Is Neo-Gramscian theory useful for understanding world order? Is it useful for deciding how to change it?

Compulsory Reading

Geoffrey Garrett 'Global Markets and National Politics: Collision Course or Virtuous Circle?' *International Organization* Vol.52 No.2 1998 pp787-824

Cox, Robert 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol.12 No.2 1983 pp.162-75

Additional Reading

A small subset of books and papers on the technical arguments

Andrews & Willett 'Financial Interdependence and the State: International Monetary Relations At Century's End' *International Organization* Vol.51 No.3 1997

Cerny P 'Globalization and the changing logic of collective action' *International Organization* Vol.49 No.4 1995 pp595-625

Evans, Peter 'The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization', *World Politics* Vol.50 No 1 1997 pp62-87.

Hay, Colin 'Globalization's Impact on States' in Ravenhill, J (ed) *Global Political Economy* (Oxford, OUP) 2008

Held et al *Global Transformations* (Cambridge, Polity) 1999

Helleiner, E *States and the Re-Emergence of Global Finance* (Ithaca, Cornell) 1994

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson, "Globalisation and the Future of the Nation State", *Economy and Society*, vol. 24, no.3 (1995).

Mosley L *Global capital and national governments* (Cambridge CUP)

A small subset of neo-Gramscian writing and critical commentary

Birchfield, V 1999 'Contesting the Hegemony of Market Ideology: Gramsci's "Good Sense" and Polanyi's "Double Movement"', *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol.6 No.1 1999, 27-54.

Burnham, P 'Marx, International Political Economy and Globalisation', *Capital and Class*, No.75 2001, pp. 7-16.

Burnham, P 'Neo-Gramscian Hegemony and the International Order', *Capital and Class*, No. 45 1991, pp. 73-93.

Cox, R (1981) 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory' *Millennium* Vol 10

Cox & Sinclair (eds) *Approaches to world order* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1996 (a collection of Cox's writing)

Cox & Schechter (eds) *The Political Economy of a Plural World : Critical Reflections on Power, Morals and Civilization* London, Routledge

Stephen Gill and David Law, 'Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4 1989, pp. 475-99.

Randall D. Germain and Michael Kenny, 'Engaging Gramsci: International Relations Theory and the New Gramscians,' *Review of International Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1998, pp. 3-21.

Gramsci Selections from the Prison Notebooks

Mark Neufeld (2001) 'Theorising Globalisation: Towards a Politics of Resistance – a Neo-Gramscian Response', *Global Society*, Vol.15 No.1, 93-106

Kees van der Pijl (1997) 'The History of Class Struggle: From Original Accumulation to Neoliberalism', *Monthly Review*, Vol.49 No.1, 28-44.

Kees van der Pijl, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class* (1984), ch 1.

Justin Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society: A Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations* 1994,

Murphy, Craig 'The Promise of Critical IR, partially kept' in Thirkell-White & Rengger (eds) *Critical International Relations Theory After 25 Years* Cambridge: CUP 2007

May 21: India's liberalisation (a 'country in the world' + revisiting some theory)

Thinking back to last time, can you see what is 'Gramscian' about Kaviraj's story of political change in India?

How important are culture and ideas in promoting economic change? Are they more necessary for some kinds of change than others?

Do you think domestic or international factors had a bigger role in India's embrace of liberalisation?

Compulsory Reading

Kaviraj, S 'The Politics of Liberalization in India' in Simon Bromley et al (eds) *Making the International: Economic Interdependence and Political Order* London 2004 pp133-71

Wyatt, A '(Re)imagining the Indian (Inter)national Economy' *New Political Economy* Vol.10 No.2 (on Blackboard)

Additional Reading

On constructivist IR

Blyth, Abdelal & Parsons *Constructing the International Political Economy* (unpublished manuscript, on Blackboard)

On Indian Reform

Corbridge & Harriss *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge, Polity) 2000

Herring, R (1999) 'Embedded Particularism: India's Failed Developmental State' in Woo-Cummings (ed) *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, Cornell) 1999

Huang & Khanna 'Can India overtake China?' *Foreign Policy* July-August 2003 p74

Jenkins, R *Democratic politics and economic reform in India* (New York, CUP) 1999

Jenkins, R 'International Development Institutions and National Economic Contexts: Neo-Liberalism Encounters India's Indigenous Political Traditions' *Economy and Society* Vol.32 No.4 2003 584-610

Jenkins, R 'The ideologically embedded market: political legitimation and economic reform in India' in Bevir & Trentmann' (eds) *Markets in historical context: ideas and politics in the modern world* (Cambridge, CUP)

Kohli A 'The politics of economic liberalisation in India' *World Development* Vol.17 No.3 1989

Kolodner, Eric 'The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall (?) of Hindu Nationalism', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol.25 No.2, 1995, pp. 233-253.

Nayar, B *Globalization and Nationalism: the changing balance of India's economic policy* (Delhi, OUP) 2001

Nayar, B 'Policy and performance under democratic coalitions: India's United Front government and economic reforms, 1996-98' *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* Vol 37, No 2 pp 22-56, 1999.

J Pedersen and J Dige "Explaining economic liberalization in India: state and society perspectives" *World development*, Vol 28, No.2, 2000 pp.65-82,

Srinivasan, T 'Indian economic reforms: a stocktaking' *Stanford Centre for International Development, Working Paper No.190* (2003) <http://scid.stanford.edu/pdf/credpr190.pdf>
Stern, R *Changing India: bourgeois revolution on the subcontinent* Cambridge, CUP 2003
Weiner, M 'The Political Economy of Industrial Growth in India' *World Politics* Vol.38 No.4

May 28: The World Trade Organisation: trade and international governance

Why do we need a WTO?

What kinds of institutional arrangements within the WTO make negotiation harder for developing countries than it otherwise might be?

Is it reasonable for us to expect a fairer WTO?

What is (was?) at stake in the Doha Round?

On what grounds might citizens want to have more say over WTO decision-making?

Would that be good or bad for developing countries?

Compulsory Reading

Narlikar, A 'The politics of participation: decision-making processes and developing countries in the world trade organization' *The Round Table* Vol.364, 2002, pp171-85

Wilkinson, R 'The WTO in Hong Kong: What it Really Means for the Doha Development Agenda' *New Political Economy* Vol.11 No.2

Additional Reading

Reading on the WTO is basically endless, so treat these as suggestions

Basics

Gilpin *Global political economy* Chapter 8

Hocking & McGuire *Trade politics* (various chapters, especially Part II)

Wilkinson, R 'The World Trade Organization' *New Political Economy* Vol.7 No.1

Balaam & Veseth *Introduction to International Political Economy* (Chapter 6 in either 2nd or 3rd edition)

Oxfam *Rigged Rules and Double Standards: trade, globalisation and the fight against poverty*, available online at <http://www.maketradefair.com/> (click on 'research')

The WTO website is also useful (<http://www.wto.org> - I am familiar with '10 benefits' and '10 common misunderstandings' documents so read more than just that!)

O'Brien et al *Contesting global governance* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) especially chapter 4

More advanced

Bhagwati, J *In defense of globalization* (2004, OUP)

Ford, Jane *Social theory of the WTO: trading cultures*

Hoekman & Kostecky *The political economy of the world trading system: the WTO and beyond* (Oxford, OUP) 2001

Kelly, Duncan and Grant, Wyn (Eds) *Politics of International Trade in the Twenty-First Century: actors, issues and regional dynamics* Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2005

Narlikar, Amrita *International trade and developing countries: bargaining coalitions in the GATT and WTO* London, Routledge 2005

Narlikar, Amrita and Wilkinson, Rorden 'Collapse at the WTO: a Cancun post-mortem' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.25, No.3

Steinberg, R 'In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO' *International Organization* No.56 2002
On Seattle, see *Millennium*_Vol.29 No.1 (again, various)
Wilkinson, R *WTO: Crisis and the Governance of Global Trade* London, Routledge 2006
Wilkinson, R & Lee, D (Eds) *WTO after Hong Kong: Progress in and prospects for the Doha Development Agenda* London, Routledge 2007

See also the articles in *Review of International Political Economy* Vol.11 No.3 (August 2004)

Sources for more theoretical perspectives

Gruber *Ruling the World* (chapters 1-5)

Kapoor, Ilan 'Deliberative democracy and the WTO' *Review of International Political Economy* Vol.11 No.3 August 2004 pp522-541

Krasner, S *Structural conflict: the Third World against global liberalism*

Keohane, R *After Hegemony*

Murphy, C 'Global governance: poorly done and poorly understood' *International Affairs* Vol. 76 No.4 pp789-803

Murphy, C *Global, Institutions, Marginalization and Development* London, Routledge

Nanz & Steffek 'Global governance, participation and the public sphere' in *Government and Opposition* Vol. 39 No.2

Strange, S 'Protectionism and World Politics' *International Organization* Vol 39, No2 1985

MID-YEAR BREAK

July 16: The Credit Crunch

What caused the credit crunch?

What kinds of public interest are at stake?

Is an *international* response necessary? If so, of what kind? What are its prospects?

Does the crisis have any implications for the future of capitalism? Should it have?

Compulsory Reading

Wade, R 'Financial Regime Change?' *New Left Review* No.53 Sept/Oct 2008

Eichengreen and Baldwin (Eds) *Rescuing our jobs and savings: what G7/8 leaders can do to solve the global credit crisis* CEPR/VoxEU, London 2008

HM Government *The Road to the London Summit* January 2009

Additional Resources

I will obsessively upload items onto blackboard over the course of the year

July 23: Student presentations

July 30: Student presentations

August 6: Student presentations

August 13: Student presentations

August 20: Student presentations

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK

September 10 – October 8: Class suspended (to enable work on projects)

October 15: Final class – revision session