

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

#### POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

#### **INTP441 INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY**

#### 2011 TRIMESTER 1 AND 2

28 Feburary to 12 November 2011

#### **Trimester Dates**

Trimester One

Teaching dates: 28 February to 3 June 2011 Mid-trimester break: 18 April to 1 May 2011

Study week: 6-10 June 2011

Examination/Assessment period: 10 June to 2 July 2011

Trimester Two

Teaching dates: 11<sup>th</sup> July 2011 to October 14<sup>th</sup> 2011

Mid-trimester break: August 22<sup>rd</sup> 2011 to September 4th 2011

Study week:17<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> October

Examination period: 21st October 2011 – 12<sup>th</sup> November 2011

Note: This course is partly assessed by an examination which will take place in the examination period in Trimester Two. Attendance at the examination is compulsory and students who are not available for the whole of the examination period (21st October – 12<sup>th</sup> November) should not enrol for this course.

#### Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at <a href="http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawlsrefunds.aspx">http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawlsrefunds.aspx</a>

#### **Names and Contact Details**

Lecturer: Dr. Ben Thirkell-White

Room: Murphy 533 Phone: 463 5796

Email: ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz

Office hours for trimester one: Monday 4-5pm, Wednesday 10-11am

**Class Times and Location** 

Seminar time: Monday 2.00pm to 4.00pm

Seminar venue: Murphy 401

#### **Course Delivery**

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

### **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 and 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 course will:

- 1. Acquire a broad understanding of the history of international economic relations across the 20<sup>th</sup> century
- 2. Acquire a solid knowledge of the most important contemporary 21<sup>st</sup> 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 a total of 300 hours to the course. This includes time in seminars.

#### **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 a presentation on their research topic in the second trimester (to get feedback on their project before the final due date). This presentation is not assessed.

#### Readings

#### **Essential texts:**

There is no set text for this course. Readings with be posted on blackboard.

#### **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* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition) (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall) 2008

Ravenhill, John (Ed) *Global Political Economy* (2<sup>nd</sup> 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* (**2**<sup>nd</sup> **Edition**) (Basingstoke: Palgrave) 2007

Stubbs, Richard and Underhill, Geoffrey *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (3<sup>rd</sup> **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 20th May and acts as preparation for the research paper due in the following trimester. 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 proposal should be emailed to <a href="mailto:ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz">ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz</a>

The research paper is due by 4.30pm on 14th October and is to be 8 000 words in length (including footnotes but not including bibliography). It should be printed double-spaced (or 1.5). Please hand in one paper copy to Dr Thirkell-White's essay box on 5<sup>th</sup> floor Murphy Building (by the office) and upload one electronic copy to Blackboard.

The final examination will be a 3-hour closed book exam scheduled in the examination period 21<sup>st</sup> October to 12<sup>th</sup> November 2011.

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.

Marking criteria for essays and exams

I use the following categories to decide what grade to award.

Does the essay answer a clearly defined question?

Is it well written in a way that communicates clearly to the reader?

Does it demonstrate that the student fully understands the research topic?

Does it do a good job of introducing evidence that effectively supports the claims being made? (Is there enough evidence to justify claims made in the essay? Has the student thought about how persuasive the evidence is and addressed any flaws or weaknesses in it?) Does the essay show that the student has done enough research?

(For an 8,000 word essay at this level, I expect a large number of references. The best essays often refer to around 50 sources, though it depends a little on the balance between books and journal articles. I expect most of a student's sources to come from academic journals, not pieces in newspapers, textbooks or random web pages. Textbooks can get you started and newspapers can provide good evidence on recent events but *most* of your evidence should come from academic sources).

Does the essay show that the student has analysed their different sources, deciding whether they are more or less persuasive, accounting for different views and drawing together the information into a credible answer to the set question?

Does the student's analysis show critical engagement with the material and an 'original' argument? (ie. a position on the question that is clearly the students' own)

### **Return of assignments**

The research project will be returned at the same time as final Honours marks are released.

### **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 – Friday 14<sup>th</sup> October. 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 (Dr Jon Johansson) in advance of the deadline. Work not submitted by this deadline will not be taken into consideration when determining final results.

## **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: <a href="http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx">http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx</a>

#### **Use of Turnitin**

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <a href="http://www.turnitin.com">http://www.turnitin.com</a>. 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.

#### WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study</a>. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress</a>. Most statutes and policies are available at <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress</a>. Most statutes and policies are available at <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/sbout/policy">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/sbout/policy</a>, except qualification statutes, which are available via the <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx</a> (See Section C). Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at <a href="https://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\_victoria/avcacademic">www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\_victoria/avcacademic</a>.

### **INTP 441 Seminar schedule and set readings**

### March 7th: 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* (**2<sup>nd</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> No class. Dr Thirkell-White in Montreal for the US International Studies Association conference. An extra class will be added in trimester 2 to compensate

# March 21<sup>st</sup>: 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 28th: Capitalism and 'the social'

What are the 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 <u>HX39.5 A25 1977</u>) 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 (2<sup>nd</sup> 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 4<sup>th</sup>: From Gold Standard to Great Depression

What is 'hegemonic stability theory'?

Does it help us to understand the Great Depression?

What other factors were at play?

### Required Reading

Robert Gilpin (2001) *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order* pp93-102 (on 'hegemonic stability theory)

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

### Additional Reading

#### 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.

Snidal, Duncan 'The limits of hegemonic stability theory' *International Organization* Vol.39 pp579-614

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

#### The pre-war period

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 Jeffry Frieden & David Lake (eds.) *International Political Economy* (Wadsorth, 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 époques 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: Harverster Wheatsheaf, 1993).

# April 11<sup>th</sup>: 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.

Pitruzello, Salvatore 'Trade, Globalisation, Economic Performance and Social Protection: 19<sup>th</sup> 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: Harverster Wheatsheaf) 1993.

# April 18<sup>th</sup> & 25<sup>th</sup> mid-trimester break

## May 2<sup>nd</sup>: 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://wwww.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 19<sup>th</sup> 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

#### 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 9<sup>th</sup>: 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* (2<sup>nd</sup> 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 <a href="http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/whitepaper2000.pdf">http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/whitepaper2000.pdf</a>

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 <a href="http://papers.nber.org/papers/w9563">http://papers.nber.org/papers/w9563</a>)

Lederman & Serven <u>Lessons from NAFTA for Latin America and the Caribbean countries: a summary of research findings</u> (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 16<sup>th</sup>: 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 23<sup>rd</sup>: 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

Contemporary Asia, Vol.25 No.2, 1995, pp. 233-253.

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* 

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

# July 11<sup>th</sup>: 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 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> edition)

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

The WTO website is also useful (<a href="http://www.wto.org">http://www.wto.org</a> - 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 & Kostecki *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

# July 18th: 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 25: Student presentations

**August 1**<sup>st</sup>: Student presentations

August 8<sup>th</sup>: Student presentations

August 15<sup>th</sup>: Student presentations

Mid-trimester break

**September 5**<sup>th</sup>: Student presentations

Class is then suspended to allow students to work on their research essays. The five weeks September 5th to 12 October can be used for optional review meetings, additional meetings and individual consultations with the lecturer about the research essay which you should be writing and revising during this period.