Focus on the Global South
and
Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute

International Course on
Globalization and Social Transformation
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand

November 3 – 21
2008
Course description

The course seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the theoretical approaches to, and the main empirical issues related to economic globalisation and social transformation. It will highlight the relationship between globalisation’s winners and losers, its enforcers and the many forms of resistances against its current form. It will explore the many forms of collective action that endeavour to create an alternative globalisation.

Course Objectives

1. Deepen understanding of the characteristics of the current neoliberal globalisation, and its impacts to developing countries, the resulting macroeconomic and social policy options for governments and their implications to people’s lives and livelihood;
2. Deepen understanding of democracy and social transformation
3. Explore the spaces and opportunities for civil society advocacy for global and national economic justice in relation to issues concerning trade, finance, environment, gender equality and human security;
4. Explore and assess the actors, forces and processes that lead to political and social change;
5. Share and formulate strategies for collective action.

Requirements from participants:

1. Read course literatures and participate in the discussions;
2. Present an oral report/summary (at least once) of own understanding about the assigned readings for a particular session;
3. Make a short, informal presentation about an economic or political policy problem that is connected to any of the topic/s covered in Part I or 2 of the course;
4. After the course, write an essay (between 1,250 - 5000 words) that relates to the topics covered in the course to your own work using rigorous theory from the discussions, empirical evidence and concrete advocacy experiences to back up your arguments. This can be featured in Focus’ online newsletter or public media in your own country.

Course Coordinators: Ms. Dorothy Guerrero
Dr. Richard Westra (Pukyong National University)

Invited Lecturers/Facilitators:

Mr. Christophe Aguitton (ATTAC France)
Dr. Chris Baker (freelance writer, researcher, editor)
Dr. Patrick Bond (University of KwaZulu-Natal, SA)
Ms. Nicola Bullard (Focus on the Global South)
Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi (Focus on the Global South)
Ms. Dorothy Guerrero (Focus on the Global South)
Dr. Richard Westra (Pukyong National University)
Dr. Surichai Wun’Gaeo, (Chulalongkorn University)
### Course Outline

**November 2**
Arrival of Participants to the Pinnacle Hotel
Pinnacle Lumpini Hotel and Spa
17 Soi Ngam Dupli Rama 4 Road
Sathorn district, Bangkok 10120
Phone: (+66-2) 287 0111-31

**November 3**

#### Orientation Day

**Morning**
CUSRI Conference Room
4th floor of CUSRI Bldg
Visit Prachuabmoh Bldg. Chulalongkorn University
Henry Dunant Road, Bangkok

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 – 11:00</td>
<td>Introduction by course participants and Focus Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 – 13:00</td>
<td><strong>The Current Situation in Thailand</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Chris Baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freelance writer, researcher and editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00 – 14:00</td>
<td>Welcome Reception</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Afternoon

**Course Opening**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 15:30</td>
<td><strong>Welcome Remarks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Surichai Wun’Gaeeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Director, Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Chanida Bamford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinator, Focus on the Global South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30 – 17:00</td>
<td><strong>Course Introduction, Expectations, Course Requirements</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Dorothy Guerrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Course Co-ordinator, Focus on the Global South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00 – 18:00</td>
<td>Chulalongkorn University Tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Led by Ms. Tu Wenwen and Su Yutin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus on the Global South</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Day 1 (Nov. 4)  
Part I: Introduction to Global Political Economy and Macroeconomic Process

Whole Day  
What is Capitalism? Nature, Definitions and Phases of Capitalism

To properly deal with the pressing issues of today – such as those surrounding globalization, the prospects for development of the global south, and the current financial and economic malaise – it is imperative that we ground our thinking in a solid understanding of that major economic force which has impacted human life over the past several centuries: capitalism. Capitalism, as all other types of human society that have existed across the sweep of human history, necessarily has at its core key operative principles through which it is able to guarantee the material economic reproducibility of human society. We shall look carefully at what the particular principles of operation of capitalism are. And we will think clearly about differences between capitalism and other forms of human society that have existed in history. Finally, when we have established what capitalism is, or defined it, we will examine the way capitalism has been transformed in each of its world historic phases or stages of development. Our discussion will conclude with questions of the limits to capitalism in history.

Dr. Richard Westra  
Assistant Professor  
Division of International and Area Studies  
Pukyong National University, South Korea

Readings:


Day 2 (Nov. 5)

Morning  
10:00 – 13:00  
Approaches to Economic Development and their Policy Implications from the post-war period to the present

Development studies had its birth as an academic discipline in Western academies following the Second World War. The impetus to its growth as an academic discipline was the wholesale decolonization and unravelling of pre-war imperialist empires and the emergence of host of “new” states on the global stage. In this seminar we will look at
the three central paradigms of development theory: the Modernization approach, theories of “dependency” and “world systems”, and the perspective of “global fordism” and the new international division of labour” (NIDL). Our discussion will focus on the way in which each of these dominant paradigms in development studies draw empirically upon the development experiences of particular regions of the global south: and how they extrapolate from their analysis, varying policy implications. We will conclude by examining the way in which Modernization theory, the formative development paradigm, largely discredited in the 1960s and 70s, was reborn in the 1990s under the rubric of neoliberal policy.

Dr. Richard Westra

Readings:


Day 3 (Nov. 6)  
Morning  
10:00 – 13:00  
Globalization: Consensus and Differences

Two major perspectives on the world historic phenomenon of globalization dominates current discussion and debate. The first is the “hyperglobalization thesis”. This perspective, in both its neo-liberal and “postmodernist”/neo-Marxist representations adverts quite simply to the view that the multiplication and cross-cutting of cross-border transnational production, financial and trading linkages and networks has ushered in a new historical epoch in which the notions of a national economy and the Westphalia nation-state system itself have been rendered obsolete. Neo-liberal contributions, it may be noted, resurrect the core tenets of the old modernization theory; that globalization realizes world economic neo-classical “perfect” market integration as well as a convergence of market systems and, of course, manifests an inexorable telos. Radical hyperglobalist approaches, on the other hand, emphasize the ascendancy and triumph of a “global capitalism” and the “powerlessness” of the state and its policy arsenal in the face of it.

The second perspective is the “skeptical thesis”, which strives to counter the hyperglobalist position at every turn through extensive empirical evidentialization. Skeptics, for example, hold that the realities of the world economy, far from constituting a monolithic global capitalism or perfect market integration, in fact involve extreme asymmetries.
They cite the growing disparities of wealth including the absolute impoverishment and marginalizing of whole regions despite world economic interpenetration – including the waves of “liberalization” and “openings” enforced by international institutions such as the IMF and World Bank. Skeptics also demonstrate that strategic patterning of transnational corporate (TNC) production, finance and trade, if remarkable in any novel way in the latter quarter of the past century reflects “regionalization” rather than globalization. That is, varying forms of capitalist investment tend to both emanate from and concentrate in a triad of capitalist blocs – North America, the European Union (EU) and Japan/North East Asia – and if there exist any significant extra-triad investment flow it has been into the wider area of East Asia.

The skeptical thesis interrogates hyperglobalist claims through comparative studies of levels of internationalization of trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) flows and internationalization of finance across capitalist history, though particularly in comparisons of the periods of the first quarter and last quarter of the past century, only to discover much “hot air”. That is, in aggregate terms, so the argument goes, the former period was significantly more ‘global’.

However, it is accepted that if there exists one component of the hyperglobalist package that should be taken into account in differentiating the internationalization of the current conjuncture it is the revolutionary mechanisms of globalised finance – information technology, novel financial instruments such as derivatives and so on.

Let us have an exciting debate over which of these perspectives on globalization best captures its operation? Or, are both of them lacking? And do we need another theory of globalization to better grasp what is going on in our world today?

One hour input by Richard Westra and then “Meaning of Globalization debate”

Readings:


David Harvey, From Globalization to the New Imperialism, in Critical Globalization Studies (Appelbaum and Robinsons, eds), New York and London: Routledge, 2005 pp. 91-100


Afternoon
14:00 – 17:00

Globalization and the Global Trade Regime

Many multilateral institutions and agreements serve as the main mechanisms of economic globalization by putting in the policy architecture for trade, investment and financial deregulation and privatization. Because of the very slow process of the Doha Round of negotiations in the World Trade Organization due to the irreconcilable positions of the rich and poor countries, the powerful countries are turning to bilateral and regional agreements to push for economic dominance.

This session will discuss the framework, mandate and elements of the new generation of free trade agreements and identify critical issues facing peoples in the wake of increasing push for trade and investment liberalization and the strong push for FTAs

Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi
Focus on the Global South

Readings:


Evening
18:00
Film Showing
Battle in Seattle

Day 4 (Nov. 7)

Part 2: The Global Crises: How did we get here?

Whole Day

Part 1: Environmental Politics, Climate Change and other Discourses

It is now universally acknowledged that the climate is changing rapidly as a result of human activity. However the policies and institutions to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions causing climate change remains elusive and
there is overwhelming evidence that current international climate policy is not working to reduce global emissions. This session will look at the limits to the solutions being offered by institutions and the market. It will also look deeply at the impacts of climate change and the options available, especially to developing countries.

Ms. Nicola Bullard
Focus on the Global South

Readings:

Alex Evans and David Steven, Climate change: the state of the debate, Center on International Cooperation and the London Accord 2, 2007
Walden Bello, “Will Capitalism Survive Climate Change?” Focus on Trade #138, Focus on the Global South, 2007

WEEK END Saturday Visit to Moang Boran
Led by Wenwen Tu and Yutin Su

Day 5 (Nov. 10)
Whole Day
10:00 – 13:00
The Byzantine world of Private Finance and the Current Financial Crisis

The dominant characteristics of economic globalization are the unrestrained power of private financial and capital flows, the expansion and explosion of financial markets, the increasing sophistication and complexity of financial instruments, and the growing disconnect between the real economy and financial markets. Understanding how finance works is key to understanding how economic globalization works. Private finance continues to grow more powerful with hedge funds, investment banks and commercial banks developing many diverse, complex ties
with one another. At the same time anarchy has become an almost signature characteristic of global finance.

This session will discuss the relationship between private finance and corporations in controlling currency, capital flows, access to resources and services, distribution of profits, etc and how the current financial crisis came about.

Ms Sarinee Achavanuntakul
Freelance writer, analyst and lecturer

Readings:

Walden Bello, “A Primer on the Wall Street Meltdown”, Focus on Trade No. 143, September 2008

Day 6 (Nov. 11)

Food Crisis – Global Trade, Current Mode of Production and Consumption
10:00 – 13:00

The food and the financial crises are interconnected. The soaring prices of food dramatically affect the living conditions of more than half of the world population. Hundreds of millions of families are facing hunger or reducing their food consumption. These conditions are caused by several decades of government policies, which followed the neoliberal requirements imposed by multilateral institutions as part of the Structural Adjustment Programmes and programme to reduce poverty.

This session will look at the connection between trade, financial and agricultural policies and explore systemic and international solutions that could lead to favourable outcomes for people and the environment.

Dr. Utsa Patnaik (tbc)
Economics Department
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Readings:
Utsa Patnaik, The Republic of Hunger paper presented for the public lecture on the occasion of the 50th Birthday of Safdar Hashmi, organized by SAHMAT (Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust) on April 10, 2004, New Delhi

**Afternoon**

**Globalization, Global Security and Global Governance**

14:00 – 17:00

*Dr. Surat Horachaikul (to be invited)*  
Political Science Department  
Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok

**Day 7 (Nov. 12)**

**The World of Work**

**Labour Issues and Migration of Labour**

10:00 – 13:00

*Dr. Giles Ungpakorn (to be invited)*  
Political Science Department  
Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok

14:00 – 17:00

**Women and Work**

*Dr. Utsa Patnaik (tbc)*  
Economics Department  
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

**Day 8 (Nov. 13)**

**Understanding China’s New Role in Global Political Economy**

China’s increasing economic power, its actions and political influence is producing major shifts in the regional and global dynamics and posing a challenge to the traditional dominance of the world’s old center of capitalist power. In the economic realm, it is now playing a central role as engine of regional growth in Asia and definitely defining the current global and Asian supply chain. Although its political clout is relatively weaker than its economic influence, China’s increasingly proactive diplomacy is becoming more and more evident.

This session will take a deeper look at today’s China, its new role in the global political economy, and its nascent civil society.

*Dorothy Guerrero*  
Focus on the Global South

Readings:
Dale Wen, Alternative Voices and Actions From Within China, International Forum on Globalization, 2005
Tao Fu, The position of civil society organization in China today in China’s New Role in Africa and the South: A search for a new perspective (Guerrero and Manji eds.), Oxford and Bangkok: Fahamu and Focus on the Global South, 2008


Whole Day

Theory 1: Material/Structural/Instrumental Approaches
Part I - Collective Action and Resource Mobilization

Part 2: Mobilisational, Structure and Culture of Protests and Political Process

Protest is a form of politics. These sessions will discuss how grievances are transformed into collective mobilizations that result to social change. It will also discuss the processes between the local and the global and how ordinary people gain new perspectives, experiment with new forms of actions and claim making and sometimes emerge with new identities through collective action.

Dorothy Guerrero
Focus on the Global South

Readings:

WEEK END Field Visit
**Day 10 (Nov. 17)**  
**Whole Day**  
**Collective Action, the Market and Global Geopolitics:**  
**Strategies and Concepts in Collective Action**

This session will discuss the strategic frames of collective action used by the different generations of social movements from the beginning of the 20th century (when states introduced economic protectionism), the different visions of socialism, to the new wave of “new social movements.”

*Mr. Christophe Aguitton*  
*ATTAC France*

Readings:


---

**Day 11 (Nov. 18)**  
**Alternative Strategies**

**Morning**  
10:00 – 13:00  
**Current Alternatives: deglobalization, sufficiency economy, feminist economics, micro-credit projects, etc**

This session will discuss the various alternative strategies for development (deglobalization, sufficiency economy, green Marxism, feminist economics, etc.), their strengths and limitations in addressing current problems of underdevelopment.

*Nicola Bullard*  
*Dr. Richard Westra*  
*Chanida Bamford*  
+ + +
Readings/Documents:

Chanida Chanyapate and Alec Bamford, The Rise and Fall of the Sufficiency Economy, Focus on the Global South, 2007

Afternoon Strategies from Below

Part 1: Alternative Finance
14:00 – 17:00
Patrick Bond, Dennis Brutus and Molefi Ndlovu
Centre for Civil Society, School of Development Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

Readings:

David Harvey, The Neoliberal State, in A Brief history of Neoliberalism, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005

Day 12 (Nov. 19) Continuation of Alternatives...

Morning
10:00 – 13:00

Part 2 – Trade: WTO and FTA campaigns
“Our World is Not for Sale”

Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi
Focus on the Global South

Afternoon
14:00 – 17:00

Part 3 - Movements for Climate Justice

Ms. Nicola Bullard
Focus on the Global South
Day 13 (Nov. 20)
Morning
10:00 – 13:00  
Part 4 – Movements for Food Sovereignty and Food Security

N.A.

Afternoon
14:00 – 17:00  
Part 5 – Movements for People’s Peace and Security
N.A.

Day 14 (Nov. 21)  
From Transnational Movements to Global Justice and Solidarity Movement: Alternative Globalisation from below

Morning  
The World Social Forum and its Future
Nicola Bullard and Christophe Aguitton

Afternoon:  
Evaluation and Synthesis