Focus on the Global South  
and  
Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute

International Course on Globalisation and Social Transformation

Chulalongkorn University  
Bangkok, Thailand  
October 15 – November 02, 2007

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 economic 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 or 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. Make a short presentation (10 minutes) about an economic or political policy problem that is connected to any of the topic/s covered in Part I of the course;
3. 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.

Course Coordinator: Dorothy Guerrero
Invited Lecturers/Facilitators:  
Mr. Christophe Aguitton (ATTAC France)  
Dr. Walden Bello (Focus on the Global South)  
Dr. Patrick Bond (University of KwaZulu-Natal, SA)
Schedules

**Oct. 14** Arrival of Participants to the Vidhayanives guesthouse, Chulalongkorn University and Pinnacle Hotel

**Oct. 15 Orientation**

*Morning*

09:30 – 10:30 Chulalongkorn University Tour  
Led by Ms. Sajin Prachason  
Research Associate - Focus on the Global South

10:30 – 12:00 CUSRI Conference Room, 4th floor of CUSRI Bldg.

The Current Situation in Thailand  
*Prof. Pasuk Phongphaichit*  
*Chulalongkorn University*

12:00 – 13:00 Welcome Reception

*Afternoon Course Opening*

13:00 – 14:00 Introduction by course participants and Focus Staff

14:00 – 14:30 Welcome Remarks  
*Dr. Surichai Wun’Gaeo*  
*Director, Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute*

14:30 – 17:30 Course Introduction, Expectations, Course Requirements  
*Ms. Dorothy Guerrero*  
*Course Co-ordinator - Focus on the Global South*

**Day 1 (Oct.16) Part I: Introduction to Global Political Economy and Macroeconomic Process**

*Whole Day Approaches to Economic Development and their Policy*  
10:00 – 17:00 *Implications from the 1970s to the present*

The course starts with a presentation of macro economic concepts and development approaches that states used
in the last four decades. The discussion will provide familiarity with and review of macroeconomic processes, state interventions, and their limits in addressing problems related to poverty, and unequal growth. Component elements of the discussions are the connected global economic ideologies and institutions, which will help participants analyze the structure of the economy of their country.

Lecturer: Dr. Pitch Pongsawat
Political Science Department
Chulalongkorn University

Readings:

**Day 2 (Oct. 17) What is Globalization?**

*Morning* This session will present an understanding of globalisation, 10:00 – 13:00 and the central debates, including: whether globalization is essentially economic, what is the timing of globalization, whether inequality is growing or decreasing, is it a new round of domination, and what scope remains for national policy. Central debates concerning capitalism (and neoliberalism) and power (hegemony).

Lecturer: Ms. Nicola Bullard
Focus on the Global South

Readings:


13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

*Afternoon* 14:00 – 17:00

*Empire and Hegemony: States, Regionalism and US Hegemony*

What is the scope for state sovereignty in view of internationalization, the regional pooling of sovereignty and the growing role of non-state actors? How does American hegemony shape globalization, what are the implications of the new wars (war on terrorism, Iraq, Afghanistan)? How are global justice movements reacting?

Lecturer:
Dr. Patrick Bond

Readings:
Day 3 (Oct. 18)

Morning What is Neoliberalism?

(Preparation for Class Debate)

Old Imperialism was about the relationship of power and dominion. This session will explore what is new in the current form of “accumulation by dispossession” (taking away resources, undermining indigenous industries and supplanting them, etc.) and restoration of class power. However, neoliberals argue that free market globalization has been contributing to poverty alleviation and freeing people from political and social forms of domination, and even opening up a new kind of cosmopolitanism. Who is really benefiting from neoliberalization?

Facilitator: Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi
Mr. Anoop Sukumaran

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon

14:00 – 16:00 Class Debate
16:00 – 17:00 Synthesis

Readings:

Prabhat Patnaik, The Economics of the New Phase of Imperialism, paper presented at the conference on “A Decade After: Recovery and Adjustment since the Asian Financial Crisis” organized by IDEAS, GSEI, ActionAid and Focus on the Global South, July 12-14, 2007.
Gregory Albo, Contesting New Capitalism, 2004

Day 4 (Oct.19) Globalisation’s Winners and Losers, Enforcers and Resistance

Globalisation affects people, communities and institutions differently based on their respective economic, social, cultural and gender positioning. While many (in both the geographic north and south) are able to benefit from globalisation, an overwhelmingly large number of people and communities find themselves powerless to control the forces of globalisation or mitigate its negative impacts. Similarly, people, communities and institutions also engage with the forces and processes of globalisation in different ways; while some promote them, others enforce them and yet others resist them. In this section, we will examine these different actors, the ways in which they engage with globalisation’s forces and processes and the conditions that shape their positions and actions.
Morning
10:00 – 13:00 Introduction to the issues and discussion with participants.

In this session, the following issues will be discussed with participants:

1. Who are globalisation’s winners, losers, enforcers and resisters?
2. Under what conditions do people and communities become winners or losers?
3. What interests and forces impel them to be enforcers, supporters and resisters?
4. What roles do commonly accepted categories of class, social privilege, gender and race play in determining positions on globalisation?

Participants will be encouraged to reflect on the historical and present-day conditions in their own countries during the discussion.

Lecturer:
Prof. Dr. Jayati Gosh
Economics Department
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Readings:

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

Afternoon The Byzantine world of Private Finance
14:00 – 17:00

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. Speculative instruments such as derivatives have proliferated and become increasingly byzantine, and uncontrolled, unregulated financial flows continually threaten the eruption of crises.

This session will focus on the role of the private finance corporations, in controlling currency, capital flows, access to
resources and services, distribution of profits, etc., and also in shaping concurrent development models. As in previous sessions, strategies to check the power of private finance and resist the domination of finance over healthy economies, societies and environments will be discussed. Case studies from a selected country/ies will also be discussed.

Lecturer:
Dr. Jayati Gosh

Readings:
Myriam van der Stichele, Critical Issues in the Financial Industries, SOMO Financial Sector Report, 2005
Bruno Jetin, The Basel Accord and the development of market-based finance in Asia, Institute of Research and Development and Université Paris Nord

October 20 Saturday Bike Ride at the Ancient City Park

Day 5 (Oct 22) Multilateral Institutions and Agreements: International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and Trade and Investment Liberalisation

Morning Many multilateral institutions and agreements serve as the 10:00 – 13:00 main mechanisms of economic globalisation by putting in the policy architecture for trade, investment and financial liberalisation, financial deregulation and privatisation. Prominent among these are the multilateral IFIs such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the WTO and bilateral and regional trade and economic agreements. While these are some of globalisation’s most powerful enforcers, they are not unbeatable. The World Bank and IMF are currently undergoing serious crises of credibility and legitimacy—which has certainly affected their financial powers—and WTO negotiations are in a state of doldrums. With the indefinite suspension of the negotiations, the powerful countries are turning to bilateral and regional agreements to push for economic dominance.

This session will discuss how multilateral institutions and agreements serve the cause of globalisation, the different types of movements and campaigns that have been formulated to resist them, and what common strategies need to be adopted in the future to deepen and expand resistance.

Lecturer:
Ms. Shalmali Guttal
Focus on the Global South

Readings:
C.P. Chandrasekhar, Continuity or Change: Finance Capital in Developing Countries a Decade After, paper presented at the conference on “A Decade After: Recovery and Adjustment since the Asian Financial Crisis” organized
by IDEAS, GSEI, ActionAid and Focus on the Global South, July 12-14, 2007.
Focus on the Global South, A World Without the World Bank and the ADB, April 2007
The IMF: Shrink it or Sink it: A Consensus Declaration and Strategy Paper

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon Transnational and National Corporations
14:00 – 17:00

Private corporations—national and transnational—are possibly the biggest winners, promoters and enforcers of economic globalization. While they could play positive roles in technology and knowledge transfer, job creation, increasing wages, raising safety and environmental standards, and promoting ecologically sound technologies, for the most part corporations have done the opposite. Driven by an impulse to constantly increase profits, corporations continue to engage in operations that damage peoples’ lives and livelihoods, harm the environment, and consume vast amounts of natural resources and energy. Corporations are not new entities but have acquired new and ever expanding powers in the post World War 2 world.

This session will examine the nature, sources and scope of corporate power, and the movements launched at multiple levels and by various actors to challenge and check the power of national and transnational corporations.

Lecturer:
Ms. Nicola Bullard and Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi
Focus on the Global South

Readings:
Shalmali Guttal, Corporate Power and Influence in the World Bank, Focus on Trade 131: August 2007, Focus on the Global South
Peter Utting, Rethinking Business Regulation – From Self Regulation to Social Control, UNRSSD, 2005.
International Forum on Globalization, Corporate Structure and Power in Alternatives to Economic Globalization – Another World is Possible. 2002

Day 6 (Oct. 23) Environmental Politics, Climate Change and other Morning Discourses

10:00 – 11:00 Climate change is now firmly on the international agenda and the discourse is getting more nuanced. But what are the solutions that will address the impending environmental, social and economic catastrophe? What are the limits to the solutions being offered by the market? What are the impacts and options for developing countries?

Lecturer: Dr. Louis Lebel (invited/tbc)
Director, Social and Environmental Research
Chiang Mai University
11:00 – 13:00 Preparation for Mock Session on Kyoto Protocol Negotiation (Role – Play Activity)

Participants will be given an assigned role/position to play (individual or group of 2), from which they will argue/negotiate in the mock session.

The mock session will link climate change issues with the question of access to and control of the commons. It is designed to critically analyse the current discourses and alternatives/policy options to address the challenge of global warming/climate change. Main question would include: Who should bear the main responsibility for solving the problem of climate change, what policy options should be adopted, etc.

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

14:00 – 16:00 Mock Session: UN Kyoto Protocol Negotiation

16:00 – 17:00 Discussion and Synthesis

Readings:


This part will present the various approaches in understanding collective action from theories to practice. It will feature case studies on strategies, mobilisation, and repertoire of actions implemented by change agents and their impacts to institutions of governance, the market and society. Salient issues in movement building and relationships between actors will also be covered.

*Morning Theory 1: Material/Structural/Instrumental Approaches*

10:00 – 13:00 *Part I - Collective Action and Resource Mobilization*

Protest is a form of politics. This session will discuss how grievances of deprivations are transformed into mobilizations and the different factors that are involved in collective action. Country studies will be discussed.

Lecturer: Ms. Dorothy Guerrero
Focus on the Global South

Readings:

Vince Boudreau, Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance: The US Colonial State and Philippine Mobilization in Comparative Perspectives, from
the American Colonial States in the Philippines, Julian Go and Ann Fosters (eds)

13:0 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon Case Presentation: Collective Action and their Political Environment 14:00 – 17:00

1. Philippines
2. Thailand

Day 8 (Oct. 25) Understanding China (Public Event)

Morning

09:30 – 12:30 China: The Limits of Growth
Dr. Huang Ping (tbc)
China Academy for Social Sciences, Beijing

12:30 – 13:30 Lunch Break

Afternoon

13:30 – 16:30 China’s Role in the Global Political Economy
Dr. Huang Ping
Dr. Walden Bello, Focus on the Global South

(invited Political Secretaries from Embassies in Bangkok: US, Japan, India, Brazil, Russia ???) tbc

Readings:


Day 9 (Oct.26) Part 2: Cognitive/Post Structural Identity/identity 10:00 – 13:00 Approaches · Political Environment, Mobilisational Structure and Culture of Protests

This session will focus on the identity of movements and the cultural aspect of collective action in the context of globalization.

Lecturer: Ms. Dorothy Guerrero
Focus on the Global South
Readings:


13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

**Afternoon Strategic Frame for Collective Action in the Era of Globalisation** 14:00 – 17:00

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”.

Guest Lecturer:
Christoph Aguiton, ATTAC France

Readings:

Patrick Bond (2006), Civil Society on Global Governance: Facing up to divergent analysis, strategy and tactics, Voluntas.

**Weekend Visit to Santhi Asok Community**

**Day 10 (Oct. 29) Part III - The Political Opportunity Structure and/Political Process**

This session will discuss how people’s organizations/movements adapt, adopt and adjust their strategies based on the political environment, opening and closing of political spaces for collective action.

Lecturer: Dr. Cho, Hee-yeon
Sungkonghoe University, Seoul

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Readings:

Sidney Tarrow, Seizing and Making Opportunities, Power in Movement, 1994, p.81-99

**Afternoon Case Presentation: Collective Action and their Political Environment** 14:00 – 17:00

3. South Korea
4. Kenya
Day 11 (Oct. 30) Alternative Strategies Whole Day

10:00 – 17:00 This session will discuss the various alternative strategies for development (deglobalization, sufficiency economy, feminist economics, micro-credit projects, etc), their strengths and limitations in addressing poverty problems and underdevelopment.

Lecturer:
Dr. Walden Bello
Focus on the Global South

Readings:
Alex Callinicos, Alternatives to Neo-liberalism, July 2006
David Harris and Diego Azzi, ALBA, Venezuela’s Answer to Free Trade, Occasional Paper No.3, Focus on the Global South, October 2006, Focus: Thailand

Day 12 (Oct. 31) Collective Action, the Market and Global Geopolitics

Morning Geopolitics
10:00 – 13:00 Strategies and Concepts in Collective Action

This session will analyze collective action from the 1990s period. It will focus on “single issue” campaigns launched by NGOs and campaign networks and the new strategies that they adopted.

Lecturer:
Mr. Christophe Aguiton
ATTAC France

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon
14:00 – 17:00 State Power and Collective Action
1. Case of PT (Brazil)
2. Zapatista (Mexico)

Day 13 (Nov. 01) Part 3 - From Transnational Movements to Global Justice and Solidarity Movement: Alternative Globalisation from below

This part analyses the current alternative globalisation project from below, which emphasizes the building of movements of movement for global justice and solidarity.

Morning Transnational Networks and Global Social Justice
10:00 – 13:00 Lecturer:
Dr. Walden Bello
Focus on the Global South

Readings:
Margareth Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Chapter 1 – Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon

14:00 – 17:00 Diasporic Social Movements
Cases: The Palestine and Burma

Day 14 (Nov. 02)
Morning

10:00 – 13:00 Case Study of “Our World is Not For Sale”
Mr. Jacques-chai Chomthongdi

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch Break

Afternoon

10:00 – 13:00 Social Justice and the World Social Forum

Facilitators
Nicola Bullard (Focus on the Global South)
Mr. Christophe Aguitton (ATTAC France)

Readings:

Rodrigo Nunes (2005), Nothing is what democracy looks like: Openness, horizontality and the movement of movements
Walden Bello (2006), The Forum at the Crossroads, Focus on the Global South

Day 15 (Nov. 03)

Whole Day Part 4 - Course Synthesis and Evaluation (Last Day)

This part will synthesize and evaluate the course.