

**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

<b>November 2</b>	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
<b>November 3</b> <b>Morning</b>	<b>Orientation Day</b> CUSRI Conference Room 4 <sup>th</sup> floor of CUSRI Bldg Wisit Prachuabmoh Bldg. Chulalongkorn University Henry Dunant Road, Bangkok
10:00 – 11:00	Introduction by course participants and Focus Staff
11:00 – 13:00	<b>The Current Situation in Thailand</b>  Mr. Chris Baker <i>Freelance writer, researcher and editor</i>
13:00 – 14:00	Welcome Reception
<b>Afternoon</b>	<b>Course Opening</b>
14:00 – 15:30	<b>Welcome Remarks</b> <i>Dr. Surichai Wun’Gaeo</i> <i>Director, Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute</i>  <i>Ms. Chanida Bamford</i> <i>Coordinator, Focus on the Global South</i>
15:30 – 17:00	<b>Course Introduction, Expectations, Course Requirements</b>  <i>Ms. Dorothy Guerrero</i> <i>Course Co-ordinator, Focus on the Global South</i>
17:00 – 18:00	Chulalongkorn University Tour Led by Ms. Tu Wenwen and Su Yutin Focus on the Global South

**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:

Karl Polanyi, *The Self-regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: labour, land, and money* in *The Global Resistance Reader*, Louise Amoore (ed) London and New York: Routledge, 2005 p48-53.

Robert Brenner, *The Origins of Capitalist Development: a critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism*, in *New Left Review* 104, 1977 pp.25-92

**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:

Richard Westra, “The Capitalist Stage of Consumerism and South Korean Development”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 36 Issue 1 (February 2006) pp. 3-25.

Richard Westra, “Socialist Development Theory in the Era of Neoliberal Globalization: Surmounting the Impasse”, *Marxism 21*, Vol.5 Issue 2, (2008 originally published in Korean).

**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:

- Peter Dicken, *Questioning Globalization*, in *Global Shift: Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy* – 5<sup>th</sup> edition, New York and London: Guilford Press, 2007
- 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
- Boaventura de Souza Santos, *The Process of Globalization*, Eurozine, 2002
- Richard Westra, “Globalization: The Retreat of Capital to the ‘Interstices’ of the World?”, in Richard Westra and Alan Zuege (eds.), *Value and the World*

*Economy Today: Production, Finance and Globalization* (Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003).

**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:

- Kamal Malhotra et. al. *The Global Trade Regime in Making Global Trade Work for People*, London and Sterling: Earthscan, 2003
- Kamal Malhotra et. al. *Towards A Human Development-Oriented Global Trade Regime in Making Global Trade Work for People*, London and Sterling: Earthscan, 2003
- Walden Bello, *The Economics of Antidevelopment in Dilemmas of Domination: the making of the American Empire*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005, p. 129-153
- BilateralsOrg and Grain, FTAs: The Big Picture, [www.fightingftas.org](http://www.fightingftas.org) September 2007
- BilateralsOrg and Grain, Today's FTA Frenzy, [www.fightingftas.org](http://www.fightingftas.org) September 2007

***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  
Terry Barker, Șerban Scriciu and David Taylor, "Climate Change, Social Justice and Development" in Development Vol.51, No.3, Society for International Development, September 2008  
Larry Lohman, Carbon Trading, Climate Justice and the Production of Ignorance: Ten Examples, in Development Vol.51, No.3, Society for International Development, September 2008

**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:

- Robin Blackburn, "The Subprime Crisis", *New Left Review* 50, March/April 2008 p.63 – 105
- Walden Bello, "A Primer on the Wall Street Meltdown", *Focus on Trade* No. 143, September 2008
- Dean P. Foster and H. Peyton Young, "Hedge Fund Wizards", *Economists' Voice*, Berkeley Electronic Press, [www.bepress.com/ev](http://www.bepress.com/ev) February, 2008
- John M. Quigley, "Compensation and Incentives in the Mortgage Business", *Economists' Voice*, Berkeley Electronic Press, [www.bepress.com/ev](http://www.bepress.com/ev) October, 2008
- Luigi Zingales, "Plan B", *Economists' Voice*, Berkeley Electronic Press, [www.bepress.com/ev](http://www.bepress.com/ev) October, 2008

**Day 6 (Nov. 11)**  
**Morning**  
10:00 – 13:00

***Food Crisis – Global Trade, Current Mode of Production and Consumption***

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:

Walden Bello, "How to Manufacture a Global Food Crisis: Lessons from the World Bank, IMF, and WTO" in Focus on Trade #140, May 2008  
Utsa Patnaik, The Republic of Hunger paper presented for the public lecture on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> 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**  
**Whole Day**                      **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:

- Dorothy Guerrero, The “China factor” in Today’s Global Political Economy”, forthcoming publication for Spring 2009
- Walden Bello, “China, the US and the Global Economy” 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
- 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

**Day 9 (Nov. 14)      *Part 3: The Role of Collective Action in Social and Political Change***  
**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:

- Antonio Gramsci, *State and Civil Society*, in The Global Resistance Reader, Amooore (ed) London and New York: Routledge, 2005 p28-34.
- Sydney Tarrow, *Collective Action and Social Movements*, Introduction Chapter of Power in Movements: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics) Cambridge University Press, 1994
- Vince Boudreau, *Northern Theory, Southern Protest: Opportunity Structure Analysis in Cross -National Perspective*, Mobilization: An International Journal, 1996 1(2), p 175-189
- Nathan Gilbert Quimpo, *The Left, Elections, and the Political Party System in the Philippines*, Critical Asian Studies 37 (1), Routledge, 2005

**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 20<sup>th</sup> century (when states introduced economic protectionism), the different visions of socialism, to the new wave of “new social movements”

*Mr. Cristophe Aguitton*  
*ATTAC France*

Readings:

- James Mittelman and Christine Chin, *Conceptualizing Resistance to Globalization*, in *The Global Resistance Reader*, Amoore (ed) London and New York: Routledge, 2005 p.17-27
- Sydney Tarrow, *Shifting the Scale of Contention, The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge University Press, 2005
- Patrick Bond, *Global Civil Society Strategy for Social Justice*, University of Kwazulu Natal Inaugural Professorial Lecture, 2007

**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*  
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Readings/Documents:

- Richard Westra, Green Marxism and the Institutional Structure of a Global Socialist Future in Political Economy and Global Capitalism: The 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Present and Future (Abritton, Jessop and Westra, eds.) London and New York: Anthem Press, 2007 p.219-235
- Focus on the Global South, The Alternative: Deglobalization, in Focus Workplan 2003-2005, Bangkok, 2003.
- Chanida Chanyapate and Alec Bamford, The Rise and Fall of the Sufficiency Economy, Focus on the Global South, 2007
- The Beijing Declaration: The global economic crisis: An historic opportunity for transformation, October 2008.

**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:

- Patrick Bond, The US financial meltdown: What really happened - Roots of the economic crisis in over-accumulation, financialisation and 'global apartheid', paper presented to the Centre for Civil Society Seminar Series, 3 October 2008
- 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**