

Humboldt State University
PSCI 640; CRN 44328
Thursdays, 2:00-5:00 p.m.
Fall Semester 1999

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Liberalization and Resistance

In this course we will examine the underpinnings of globalization to be found in classical and contemporary expressions of liberal ideas. We also will consider challenges and sources of resistance to global liberalization, in particular those rooted in nationalism and environmentalism. We will look at theoretical critiques of liberalism and also consider some examples of resistance, discussing their relationship to the state, the market economy, and civil society.

There is no single, coherent body of writings that addresses the phenomena considered in this course. Scholars and activists, like just about everyone else, are scrambling to keep up with and make sense of trends toward globalization and resistance to these trends. As a result, we have assigned a diverse array of readings, including selections from political philosophers, economists, and historians, as well as students of social movements, comparative politics, and international relations. One of the goals of our discussions will be to draw connections between the insights and arguments offered by these various perspectives.

As a seminar, the quality and quantity of learning in this course will depend crucially upon your careful reading and reflection in advance of our meeting and your thoughtful participation in all of our discussions.

Required Books and Course Packet:

The following six required books are available at the HSU Bookstore. Some also may be available in local used bookstores:

James H. Mittelman, ed. *Globalization: Critical Reflections*
Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*
John Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*
John Dryzek, *Democracy in Capitalist Times*
Ken Conca and Geoffrey D. Dabelko, *Green Planet Blues*, second edition

There are also two collections of readings that will be available on reserve both in the Department of Government and Politics office and in the HSU library (noted with an 'R' on the syllabus: **R1** = 'required', **R2** = 'additional'). Additionally, there are books on reserve at the HSU library, and one on-line via ONCORES.

Course Requirements

- 1) The primary written requirement of this seminar will be a major research paper on a subject that you will choose -- in consultation with us -- of approximately 20-30 pages in length (double-spaced, normal margins and fonts). Although your final product will be due on December 16th, time is scheduled earlier in the term for you to present and receive feedback on your work-in-progress to the seminar. This paper will be worth 40% of your overall grade.
- 2) You are also expected to turn in weekly reading reaction papers. These papers should be no longer than **one** typed page. They should concisely summarize and react to one or more specific points that you found interesting or provocative in the week's reading. We will read these and record them on a '✓' or '-' basis (papers receiving a '-' will not be credited). Reaction papers must be turned in by the beginning of class on Thursdays to be credited. To receive full credit ('A') for this assignment, you should turn in **ten**. These papers will be worth 20% of your overall grade.
- 3) One week during the semester, you will serve as a "discussant". Responsibilities include reading some additional materials beyond that required on the syllabus, which you should select in consultation with Sam or John. You will have approximately 45 minutes toward the end of our seminar to summarize and evaluate the key insights of these readings *and* to offer some provocative discussion questions to the group. This responsibility will be worth 20% of your overall grade.
- 4) Finally, regular, thoughtful, and active participation in seminar discussions will be worth 20% of your overall grade. Of course, regular attendance is a prerequisite to this.

Plagiarism: Presenting the words or ideas of another as though they are your own is plagiarism. It is the most serious academic offense. Copying distinctive phrases, sentences, paragraphs, whole pages, or more from the work of another (whether a classmate, newspaper, book, or website) without proper citation will result in the harshest penalties. Changing a few insignificant words, while still copying the rest, is actually *worse* (even if you cite it!). **JUST DON'T DO IT.** If you are at all unsure about this matter, please feel free to talk to one of us in advance of turning in your research paper.

Outline and Reading Schedule

I. August 26th Introduction

II. September 2nd What is Globalization?

Required Readings:

James Mittelman (ed.), *Globalization: Critical Reflections*, Chapters 1, 2, 11;
Fredric Jameson, "Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue" in Jameson and
Miyoshi, ed. *The Cultures of Globalization*, (Duke, 1998). **(R1)**

Loise Amooore & Richard Dodgson, "Overturning 'Globalisation': Resisting the
Teleological, Reclaiming the 'Political'," *New Political Economy* (March
1997). **(R1)**

Riggs' web-site: www2.hawaii.edu/~fredr/glocon.htm#class

Additional Readings:

William K. Tabb, "Globalization is *an* Issue, The Power of Capital is *the* Issue,"
Monthly Review, June 1997 **(R2)**

Jerry Mander & Edward Goldsmith, *The Case Against the Global Economy*, Part
Three (Library Reserve)

Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (particularly
Chap. 1) (Library Reserve)

Goldblatt et al., "Economic Globalization and the Nation-State: Shifting Balances of
Power," *Alternatives* 22 (1997): 269-285. **(R2)**

III. September 9th Classical Liberalism I: Political

Required Readings:

John Locke, selections from *Second Treatise on Government* **(ONCORES¹)**

Stephen Holmes, "The Liberal Idea," in *Passions and Constraint: On the Theory of
Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, 1995). **(R1)**

Additional Readings:

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (Library Reserve)

Charles Anderson, *Pragmatic Liberalism* (Chicago, 1990) (Library Reserve)

Bhikhu Parekh, "Liberalism and Colonialism," in *The Decolonization of
Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power*, ed. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and
Bhikhu Parekh (Zed, 1995). **(R2)**

¹ ONCORES is the HSU library's online course reserves. Go to the library homepage,
<http://library.humboldt.edu>, then select ONCORES. user name: **oncores**; password: **sitka**.

IV. September 16th Classical Liberalism II: Economic

Required Readings:

Adam Smith, selections from *The Wealth of Nations*

James Caporaso and David Levine, "Political Economy in the Classical Tradition" from *Theories of Political Economy* (Cambridge, 1992). **(R1)**

Additional Readings:

Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago, 1962), Introduction and Chapters 1,2,10-13. (Library Reserve)

V. September 23rd & 30th The First Transformation

Required Readings:

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*

Additional Readings:

Jeff Lustig, *Corporate Liberalism* (California, 1982) (borrow from John)

Peter Wilkin, "New myths for the South: globalisation and the conflict between private power and freedom," *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 17, June 1996. **(R2)**

Kurt Burch, "The 'Properties' of the State System and Global Capitalism" (1994) **(R2)**

VI. October 7th Transition to Globalism

Required Readings:

John Gray, *False Dawn*

Additional Readings:

Kees van der Pijl, "The Second Glorious Revolution: Globalizing Elites and Historical Change," in Cox, et.al., *International Political Economy* (Zed, 1995) **(R2)**.

Boyer & Drache, "Introduction," *States Against Markets* **(R2)**

Linda Weiss, *The Myth of the Powerful State*, Chap.s 6 & 7 **(R2)**;

William Greider, *One World, Ready or Not* (1997). (Library Reserve)

VII. October 14th Paper Proposal Discussion

VIII. October 21st Overview: State, Market, Civil Society

Required Readings:

Panitch, "Rethinking the Role of the State," in Mittelman, ed. *Globalization: Critical Reflections*;

Pasha & Blaney, "Elusive Paradise: The Promise and Peril of Global Civil Society," *Alternatives* (1998). **(R1)**

Michael Walzer, "Between Nation and World" *The Economist* (11 Sept. 1993). **(R1)**

Additional Readings:

Janine Brodie, "New State Forms, New Political Spaces," in Boyer & Drache, *States Against Markets* (R2)

Cecilia Lynch, "Social Movements and the Problem of Globalization," *Alternatives* 23/2 (1998). (R2)

Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelino Dagnino and Arturo Escobar, *Cultures of Politics/politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements* (Westview, 1998) (Library Reserve)

Frank Borgers, "The Challenges of Economic Globalization for U.S. Labor," *Critical Sociology*, 22, 2 (1996) (R2)

Masao Miyoshi, "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State," *Critical Inquiry* (Summer 1993) (R2)

IX. Oct. 28th The Context: Democracy

Required Readings:

John Dryzek, *Democracy in Capitalist Times*.

Additional Readings:

David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order* (Stanford, 1995) (Library Reserve)

Fantu Cheru, "New Social Movements: Democratic Struggles and Human Rights in Africa," in Mittelman, *Globalization: Critical Reflections*;

Ian Robinson, "Globalization and Democracy," *Dissent* (Summer 1995) (R2)

Ann Phillips, *Engendering Democracy* (Penn State, 1991) (Library Reserve)

X. Environmentalism

Nov. 4th

Required Readings:

Conca; Wapner; Bhagwati; Daly, in *Green Planet Blues*, Chapters 7,12,18,19.

Avner de-Shalit, "Is Liberalism Environment-Friendly?" *Social Theory and Practice* 21 (2) Summer 1995. (R1)

Additional Readings:

Karen T. Litfin, "The Greening of Sovereignty: An Introduction," in *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics* (MIT, 1998). (R2)

Ronnie Lipschutz, "The Nature of Sovereignty and the Sovereignty of Nature: Problematizing the Boundaries between Self, Society, State, and System" in Karen T. Litfin, ed., *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics* (MIT, 1998). (R2)

John S. Dryzek, *The Politics of the Earth* (Oxford, 1997) (Library Reserve)

Nov. 11th

Required Readings:

Larry Lohmann, "Visitors to the Commons," in Bron Raymond Taylor, ed. *Ecological Resistance Movements* (SUNY, 1995). (R1)

Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martinez-Alier, "The Environmentalism of the Poor," in *Varieties of Environmentalism* (Earthscan 1997) (R1)

James H. Mittelman, "Globalisation and environmental resistance politics" *Third World Quarterly* 19 (5) 1998: 847-872. **(R1)**
Nancy Lee Peluso, "Coercing Conservation," in *Green Planet Blues*, Chapter 36.

Additional Readings:

Bron Raymond Taylor, ed. *Ecological Resistance Movements* (SUNY, 1995),
Chapter 18 and throughout. (Library Reserve)
Ken Conca and Geoffrey Dabelko, *Green Planet Blues*, second edition, Chapters 10,
11, 16.

XI. Nov. 18th Research Paper Discussion

XII. December 2nd Nationalism

Required Readings:

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (1993). **(R1)**
Benjamin Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld," *The Atlantic Monthly* (1992). **(R1)**
Mustapha K. Pasha, "The Resurgence of Islam," in Mittelman, *Globalization: Critical Reflections*;
V. Spike Peterson, "The Politics of Identification in the Context of Globalization,"
Women's Studies International Forum (1996). **(R1)**

Additional Readings:

Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* (Library Reserve)
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Library Reserve)
Anthony King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, Chap.s 1, 2 & 4
(R2)

XIII. December 9th Course Conclusion

Required Readings:

Stephen Gill, "Globalization, Democratization, and the Politics of Indifference," in
Mittelman, *Globalization: Critical Reflections*;
Mark Rupert, "Globalisation and contested common sense in the United States," in
Gill and Mittelman, ed. *Innovation and Transformation In International Studies* (Cambridge, 1997). **(R1)**

Additional Readings:

Nash & Kovic, "The Reconstitution of Hegemony: The Free Trade Act and the
Transformation of Rural Mexico," in Mittelman, *Globalization: Critical Reflections*;
Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Library Reserve)
Christine Chin & James Mittelman, "Conceptualising Resistance to Globalisation,"
New Political Economy (March 1997). **(R2)**

PAPER DUE THURSDAY DECEMBER 16th