POL18: The politics of the international economy 2024-25

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Lecturers

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Supervisors

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CONTENT

This paper looks at modern politics in the context of the international economy. It considers the political opportunities and constraints that participation in different kinds of international economies create under changing developmental, geopolitical, and energy conditions. It puts today's debates about the nature of the international economy and its implications for modern politics in a historical context. The paper develops an historical understanding of arguments about economic life and its relationship to economic development, geopolitics, government responses to international economic issues, and the political reactions to those decisions. It reflects on the hierarchies of power and inequality within the international economy and examines relations, continuities, and differences between political-economic actors in the Global North and Global South. It uses this understanding to illuminate different aspects of the domestic and international politics of a wide range of modern states today in a world going through a transformative energy transition.

LECTURES

Michaelmas term

- 1. The origins of the modern international economy (Jeremy Green)
- 2. The rise of the West (Jeremy Green)
- 3. The crises of the inter-war years (Helen Thompson)
- 4. Bretton Woods I: the creation of the post-war international monetary system (Helen Thompson)
- 5. Bretton Woods II: the post-war international economy and the Cold War
- (Helen Thompson)
- 6. Legacies of Bretton Woods (Jeremy Green)
- 7. The crisis of the 1970s 1: The collapse of the Bretton Woods order (Helen Thompson)
- 8. The crisis of the 1970s 2: the energy crisis and the new geopolitical economic order (Helen Thompson)
- 9. The Volcker shock and the war on inflation (Jeremy Green
- 10. The Latin American Debt Crisis (Jeremy Green)
- 11. The creation of the euro (Helen Thompson)
- 12. Liberalisation and Development (Jeremy Green)
- 13. The political economy of the environment (Jeremy Green)
- 14. Global trade flows and global capital flows (Jeremy Green)
- 15. The Chimerican international economic order (Helen Thompson)
- 16. The 2007-8 Crash (Helen Thompson)

Lent term

17. The euro zone crisis (Helen Thompson)

- 18. The geopolitical economy of fossil fuel energy in the 21st century (Helen Thompson)
- 19. Uncoupling Chimerica: the US-China tech war (Helen Thompson)
- 20. The political economy of decarbonization (Jeremy Green)
- 21. Growth, green growth, degrowth (Jeremy Green)
- 22. The energy transition: the new world of resource competition (Helen Thompson)
- 23. The future of the international monetary order (Jeremy Green)
- 24. Global financial hierarchy (Jeremy Green)
- 25. Liberalisation and development (Pedro Mendes Loureiro)
- 26. Financialisation of development (Pedro Mendes Loureiro)
- 27. Resource nationalism and extractivism (Pedro Mendes Loureiro)
- 28. Global Inequality (Pedro Mendes Loureiro)
- 29. From "non-alignment" to "polyalignment"? (Ilias Alami)
- 30. The IPE of the "new state capitalism" part 1 (Ilias Alami)31. The IPE of the "new state capitalism" part 2 (Ilias Alami)
- 32. Economic and ecological planning in the 21st century (Ilias Alami)

SUPERVISIONS

You are expected to write six essays for this paper.

You have about 4-5 days to write any supervision essay for this paper. You are expected to use this time and essays will be marked on the assumption that you have given this amount of time to each essay.

Essays should be between 1500-2000 words.

Essays should be word-processed, double-spaced, paginated, and include a bibliography and references for citations and quotations. They should be proof read before you submit them.

Writing clearly, accurately and precisely is very important, and you cannot write a good essay without paying attention to these matters: remember, linguistic precision is a necessary condition of a clear and persuasive argument.

If you are having difficulty with punctuation or structuring sentences take a look at: <u>http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/</u>

Plagiarism is unacceptable and will not be tolerated. Students are expected to have read the Faculty's statement on plagiarism.

READING AND ESSAY QUESTIONS

The reading marked \cdot or * is the required reading for each topic and the reading beneath that is listed for those who may wish to read further. While the expectation is that as much as possible of the

required reading is done before the supervision in preparing the essay, any not done for the essay should be read in the vacations.

1. The origins of the modern international economy

- Arrighi, G., Hamashita, T., & Selden, M. (Eds.). (2004). *The resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 year perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- *Schwartz, H. M. (2009). *States versus markets: the emergence of a global economy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Ch1.
- *Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1991). *Before European hegemony: the world system AD 1250-1350*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chs 1 & 11.
- *Frank, A. G. (1998). *ReOrient: Global economy in the Asian age*. Berkley: University of California Press. Ch2.
- *Hobson, J. M. (2004). *The Eastern origins of Western civilisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chs 2 & 6.
- Wolf, E. R., & Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Europe and the People without History*. Berkley: University of California Press. Ch 4.
- Pomeranz, K. (2009). *The great divergence: China, Europe, and the making of the modern world economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Spruyt, H. (1996). *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wallerstein, I. (2011). *The modern world-system I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century, with a new prologue* (Vol. 1). Berkley: University of California Press. Ch1: pp. 14-65.
- *Williams, E. (1994) *Capitalism and Slavery*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press Books. Ch 2

Essay: Was the birth of a modern international economy the result of social and political dynamics internal to Early Modern Europe?

2. The rise of the West

- *Anievas, A., & Nişancioğlu, K. (2017). How Did the West Usurp the Rest? Origins of the Great Divergence over the Longue Durée. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *59*(1), 34-67.
- Burnard, T., & Riello, G. (2020). Slavery and the new history of capitalism. *Journal of Global History*, 15(2), 225-244.
- Ferguson, N. (2011). Civilization: the West and the Rest. New York: Penguin.
- *Frank, A. G. (1966) 'The Development of Underdevelopment', *Monthly Review*, 18(4): 17-31.
- Hall, J. A. (1986). *Powers and liberties: The causes and consequences of the rise of the West.* Berkley: University of California Press.
- Hobson, J. (2004) *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- *Inikori, J. E. (2002). *Africans and the industrial revolution in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch 8.
- Marks, R. (2007) *The origins of the modern world: Fate and fortune in the rise of the West.* London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- North, D. and Thomas, R. (1973) *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction: pp.1-8.
- * Pomeranz, K. (2000) *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction: pp 3-27.
- Williams, E. (1994) *Capitalism and Slavery*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press Books.

Essay: Why did the West become the dominant centre of global economic and political power?

3. The inter-war years crises

The inter-war international economic disorder

- Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A short history* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, ch. 5.
- Adam Tooze and Ted Fertik, The world economy and the great war', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 40. Jahrg., H. 2, Der Erste Weltkrieg in globaler Perspektive (April Juni 2014), pp. 214-238 (
- Helen Thompson, *Might, right, prosperity and consent: representative democracy and the international economy 1919-2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), ch. 2.
- Barry Eichengreen, *Globalizing capital: a history of the international monetary system,* second edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), ch.3.
- Jeffry A. Frieden, The fall and rise of global capitalism (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), chs. 6 and 8.
- Karl Polyani, The great transformation (Boston MA: Beacon Press Books, 2001), ch 2.
- Giovanni Arrighi, *The long twentieth century: money, power, and the origins of our times* (London: Verso, 2010), part iv, 'The fourth (US) system of accumulation'

Charles Kindleberger, *The world in depression 1929-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). Adam Tooze, *Deluge: The great war and the remaking of the global order 1916-1931*, (London: Allen Lane, 2014) chs. 19 and 26.

The geo-economic origins of the Second World War

- Anthony D'Agostino, *The rise of global powers: international politics in the era of the world wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chs. 5-10, 15-16.
- Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A short history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2005, ch 5.
- R. Boyce 'Economics' in R. Boyce and J. Maiolo (eds.), The origins of World War 2: The debate continues, London: Palgrave 2003.
- Daniel Hedinger, "The imperial nexus: the Second World War and the Axis in global perspective,' *Journal of Global History*, 2017. 12 (2), 184-205.
- John Darwin, *The Empire project: the rise and fall of the British world system, 1830–1970* (Cambridge, 2009), chs. 8-11.
- Adam Tooze, *Deluge: The great war and the remaking of the global order 1916-1931*, (London: Allen Lane, 2014) chs. 6-7, 24-26.
- Martin Daunton, The economic government of the world 1933-2023 (London: Penguin 2023), chs, 3-4.

Mark Mazower, *Hitler's empire: Nazi rule in occupied Europe*, London: Penguin, 2009, chs. 2-3, 17-18, Erik Grimmer-Solem, *Learning empire: globalisation and the German quest for world status 1875-1919*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), ch 12 and epilogue

Essay:

EITHER Why was it not possible to resurrect and sustain an open international economy after the First World War?

OR Why did the world economy generate such high-stakes geopolitical conflict during the inter-war years?

4. Bretton Woods I: the creation of the post-war international monetary system

- Eric Helleiner, States and the re-emergence of global finance: from Bretton Woods to the 1990s (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), part I.
- Benn Steil, The battle of Bretton Woods (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), chs. 1, 6, 8, 10, and 11.
- Michael Bordo, 'The Bretton Woods international monetary system: a historical overview', in Michael D. Bordo and Anna J. Schwartz (eds.), A retrospective on Bretton Woods system: lessons for international monetary reform (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 3-98.
- Jeremy Green, The Political Economy of the Special Relationship: Anglo-American Development from the Gold Standard to the Financial Crisis (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press). ch 3.
- Martin Daunton, The economic government of the world 1933-2023 (London: Penguin 2023), chs, 8-
- •John Ruggie, "International regimes, transactions and change: embedded liberalism in the post-war economic order," *International Organisation* vol. 36, 1982, pp. 379-415.

Essay: What political aims underpinned the creation of the Bretton Woods international monetary system?

5. Bretton Woods II: the post-war international economy and the Cold War

- Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Globalization: A short history* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, ch. 6
- Benn Steil, The Marshall Plan: dawn of the Cold War, New York: Simon Schuster, 2018, chs. 1-4, 13.
- Odd Arne Westad The Global Cold War (New York: Cambridge, 2005), ch. 4.
- Martin Daunton, The economic government of the world 1933-2023 (London: Penguin 2023), 11-16.
- Charles Maier, 'The politics of productivity: foundations of American international economic policy after World War II,' in *Between power and plenty: the foreign economic policies of advanced industrial states* Peter Katzenstein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 23-59.
- Donald White, 'The Nature of World Power in American History: An Evaluation at the End of World War II.' *Diplomatic History* 11, no. 3 (1987): 181–202.
- Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Integration": The United States and European Integration' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chs 1-5.

Essay: How far did Washington's approach to the Cold War shape the post-1945 international economy?

6. Legacies of Bretton Woods

- Altman, O. L. (1958). A note on gold production and additions to international gold reserves. *Staff Papers-International Monetary Fund*, *6*(2), 258-288.
- Elson, D. (1994). People, development and international financial institutions: an interpretation of the Bretton Woods system. *Review of African Political Economy*, *21*(62), 511-524.
- Fioretos, O., & Heldt, E. C. (2019). Legacies and innovations in global economic governance since Bretton Woods. *Review of International Political Economy*, *26*(6), 1089-1111.
 Görg, C., Plank, C., D., Mayer, A., Pichler, M., Schaffartzik, A., & Krausmann, F. (2020). Scrutinizing the Great Acceleration: The Anthropocene and its analytic challenges for social-ecological transformations. The Anthropocene Review, *7*(1), 42-61.
- Grynberg, R., Singogo, F. K., Grynberg, R., & Singogo, F. K. (2021). Gold in South Africa: Lessons from the Apartheid Era. In *African Gold: Production, Trade and Economic Development*, 159-182.
- Helleiner, E. (2014). Forgotten foundations of Bretton Woods: International development and the making of the postwar order. In *Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods*. Cornell University Press.
- Helleiner, E. (2023). Silences of Bretton Woods: gender inequality, racial discrimination and environmental degradation. *Review of International Political Economy*, *30*(5), 1701-1722.
- Morrison, R. J. (1970). Apartheid and international monetary reform. The Review of Politics, 32(3), 338-346.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). Neo-colonialism. Nelson. Ch 4.
- Daunton, M 'Nutrition, Food, Agriculture, and the World Economy', in Lamoreaux, N. R., & Shapiro, I. (Eds.). (2019). *The bretton woods agreements*. Yale University Press. Ch 7, pp 145-172.
- Schaffartzik, A., Mayer, A., Gingrich, S., Eisenmenger, N., Loy, C., & Krausmann, F. (2014). The global metabolic transition: Regional patterns and trends of global material flows, 1950 2010. *Global Environmental Change*, 26, 87-97.
- Steffen, W., Grinevald, J., Crutzen, P., & McNeill, J. (2011). The Anthropocene: conceptual and historical perspectives. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences, 369(1938), 842-867.
- Vestergaard, J., & Wade, R. H. (2013). Protecting power: How Western states retain the dominant voice in the World Bank's governance. *World Development*, *46*, 153-164.

Essay: To what extent did the Bretton Woods order represent a break from the logics of the colonial era?

7. The crisis of the 1970s 1: The collapse of the Bretton Woods order

- Eric Helleiner, *States and the re-emergence of global finance: from Bretton Woods to the 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), part II.
- Helen Thompson, *Disorder: Hard times in the 21st century*, ch 4.
- James L. Butkiewicz and Scott Ohlmacher, 'Ending Bretton Woods: evidence from the Nixon tapes,' *The Economic History Review*, February 2021.
- Jeremy Green, *The Political Economy of the Special Relationship: Anglo-American Development from the Gold Standard to the Financial Crisis* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press). ch 4.
- Yanis Varoufakis, *The global minotaur: America, Europe and the future of the global economy*, third edition (London: Zed Books, 2015), ch. 4.
- Harold James, 'The multiple contexts of Bretton Woods,' Oxford Review of Economics Policy 28:3 (October 2012).
- Allen Matusow, *Nixon's Economy: Booms, Busts, Dollars, and Votes* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 117–81.
- Adam Tooze Chartbook 216: Heroic periodization: histories of Bretton Woods & the "New Washington Consensus". Available at: <u>https://adamtooze.substack.com/p/chartbook-216</u>

Essay: How far was the Bretton Woods monetary system destroyed by its own contradictions?

8. The crisis of the 1970s 2: the energy crisis and the new geopolitical economic order

- Helen Thompson, *Disorder: Hard times in the 21st century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), chs 2, 4, and 8.
- Christopher R. Dietrich, Oil Revolution: Anticolonial Elites, Sovereign Rights, and the Economic Culture of Decolonization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017). 5-8, conclusion.
- J.R. McNeill and Peter Engelke 2016). The great acceleration: An environmental history of the Anthropocene since 1945. Harvard University Press, ch. 1
- David S. Painter, 'Oil and geopolitics: the oil crises of the 1970s and the Cold War.' *Historical Social Research*, 39, 4, 2014, pp. 186-208.
- Martin Daunton, The economic government of the world 1933-2023 (London: Penguin 2023), ch. 19.
- Kazushi Minami "Oil for the Lamps of America? Sino-American Oil Diplomacy, 1973–1979." *Diplomatic History* 41, no. 5 (2017): 959–84.

Daniel J. Sargent, 'The United States and globalisation in the 1970s,' in *The shock of the global: the 1970s in perspective* edited by Niall Ferguson, Charles S. Maier, Erez Manela, Daniel J. Sargent (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 65–79.

- Jeronim Perović and Dunja Krempin, 'The Key is in Our Hands:" Soviet Energy Strategy during Détente and the Global Oil Crises of the 1970s,' *Historical Social Research* 2014 vol. 39, No. 4 (150), pp. 113-144.
- Fritz Bartel, The Triumph of Broken Promises: the end of the Cold War and the rise of neo-liberalism, chs 1-2.
- Robert Lifset, "A New Understanding of the American Energy Crisis of the 1970s," Historical Social Research 39, no. 4 (2014): 22-30.

Essay: Why were the energy upheavals of the 1970s so geopolitically and economically disruptive?

9. The Volcker Shock and the war on inflation

- Best, J. (2020). The quiet failures of early neoliberalism: From rational expectations to Keynesianism in reverse. *Review of international studies*, *46*(5), 594-612.
- Best, J. (2022). Uncomfortable knowledge in central banking: Economic expertise confronts the visibility dilemma. *Economy and society*, *51*(4), 559-583.
- Green, J. (2020). The political economy of the special relationship: Anglo-American development from the gold standard to the financial crisis. Princeton University Press. Chapter 6.
- Greider, W. (1989). Secrets of the temple: How the Federal Reserve runs the country. Simon and Schuster.
- Judge, B. (2023). Piercing the veil of monetarism: a decomposition of American inflation, 1970–1985. *New Political Economy*, *28*(6), 910-924.
- Konings, M. (2011). The development of American finance. Cambridge University Press. Ch 5.
- Krippner, G. R. (2012). *Capitalizing on crisis: The political origins of the rise of finance*. Harvard University Press. Ch 4.
- Panitch, L. & Gindin, S. (2012) The Making of Global Capitalism: The Political Economy of American Empire. Ch 7.

Schwartz, H. M. (2018). *States versus markets: Understanding the global economy*. Bloomsbury Publishing. Ch 9.

- Stein, J. (2010). *Pivotal decade: How the United States traded factories for finance in the seventies.* Yale University Press. Chapters 7 to 11.
- Volcker, P. A. (1979). *The political economy of the dollar*. Westminster Press.

Essay: What motivated the Volcker Shock?

10. The Latin American debt crisis

- Alvarez, S. (2014). "The Untold Story of the Mexican Debt Crisis: Domestic Banks and External Debt, 1977–1989." EABH Working Paper No. 14-03. European Association for Banking and Financial History, Frankfurt am Main.
- Alvarez, S. (2017). Venturing Abroad: The Internationalisation of Mexican Banks Prior to the 1982 Crisis. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *49*(3), 517-548.
- Andrews, D. M. (1994). Capital mobility and state autonomy: toward a structural theory of international monetary relations. *International studies quarterly*, *38*(2), 193-218.
- Boughton, J. M. (2001). Silent Revolution: The International Monetary Fund, 1979–1989. Chapters 6 to 12.
- Canak, W. L. (Ed.). (2019). Lost promises: Debt, austerity, and development in Latin America. Routledge.
- Devlin, R., & Ffrench-Davis, R. (1995). The great Latin America debt crisis: a decade of asymmetric adjustment. Brazilian Journal of Political Economy, 15(3), 418-445.
- Eichengreen, B., & Lindert, P. H. (Eds.). (1992). The international debt crisis in historical perspective. MIT press.
- Frieden, J. A. (1989) 'Winners and Losers in the Latin America Debt Crisis: The Political Implications', In *Debt and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Stallings, B. and Kaufman, R. R. pp 23–37.
- George, S. (1988). A fate worse than debt. A radical new analysis of the Third World debt crisis. Chapters 2, 3, 8, 9.
- Griffith-Jones, S., & Sunkel, O. (1986). Debt and development crises in Latin America: the end of an illusion.
- Roos, J. E. (2019). Why not default? The political economy of sovereign debt. Princeton University Press. Chapters 8 to 11.

Essay: What did the Latin American debt crisis reveal about the nature of power in the global financial system?

11. The creation of the Euro

- Barry Eichengreen and Jeffry Frieden, *The political economy of European monetary unification*, second edition (Oxford: Westview, 2000).
- Andrew Moravcsik, *The choice for Europe: social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht* (London: UCL Press, 1999), ch.6.
- Loukas Tsoukalis, *The new European economy revisited*, Third ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), chs. 7-8.
- David Marsh, *The euro: the battle for the new global currency* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) chs. 3-6.
- Harald James, *Making the European monetary union* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2012) chs. 6-8.
- Helen Thompson, Disorder: Hard times in the 21st century (Oxford: Oxford University Press), ch 4.
- Martin Daunton, The economic government of the world 1933-2023 (London: Penguin 2023), ch. 24.
- Daniel Gros and Niels Thygesen, European monetary integration from the European monetary system to the European monetary union, second ed. (London: Longman, 1997).
- C. Randall Henning, 'Systemic conflict and regional monetary integration: the case of Europe', *International Organization* 52, 3, 1998, pp. 537-573.

Otmar Issing, The birth of the euro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

ESSAY: Was the creation of Euro an economic consequence of financial liberalisation or an attempt to contain its political consequences?

12. Liberalisation and development

- *Bhagwati, J. (1998). The capital myth-The difference between trade in widgets and dollars. *Foreign Aff.*, 77, 7.
 - Bond, P. (2003). Against global apartheid: South Africa meets the World Bank, IMF and international finance. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- *Chang, H. J., Park, H. J., & Yoo, C. G. (1998). Interpreting the Korean crisis: financial liberalisation, industrial policy and corporate governance. *Cambridge journal of Economics*, 22(6), 735-746.
- Eichengreen, B. (2001). Capital account liberalization: What do cross-country studies tell us? *The world bank economic review*, *15*(3), 341-365.
- *Gore, C. (2000). "The rise and fall of the Washington consensus as a paradigm for developing countries," *World Development* 28: 789–804.
 - Williamson, J. (1993). 'Democracy and the 'Washington consensus', World Development 21: 1329-36.
 - Loxley, J. (1990). Structural adjustment in Africa: reflections on Ghana and Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*, *17*(47), 8-27.
- *Prasad, E. S. (2015). *The dollar trap: How the US dollar tightened its grip on global finance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch4.
- *Rist, G. (2014). The history of development: From western origins to global faith. London: Zed Books Ltd. Chs 4 & 5.
 - Rodrik, D. (2011). *The globalization paradox: why global markets, states, and democracy can't coexist.* New York: Oxford University Press. Ch7.
 - Stiglitz, J. E. (2000). Capital market liberalization, economic growth, and instability. *World development*, 28(6), 1075-1086.
- *Wade, R. (1998). The Asian debt-and-development crisis of 1997-?: Causes and consequences. *World development*, 26(8), 1535-1553.
- Wade, R. H. (2003). What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of 'development space'. *Review of international political economy*, *10*(4), 621-644.

Essay: Are liberalised financial flows compatible with stable economic development?

13. Political economy and the environment

- Altvater, E., Crist, E., Haraway, D., Hartley, D., Parenti, C., & McBrien, J. (2016). Anthropocene or capitalocene?: Nature, history, and the crisis of capitalism. Oakland: Pm Press.
 Beckerman, W. (1992). Economic growth and the environment: Whose growth? Whose environment?. World development, 20(4), 481-496.
- Bonneuil, C., & Fressoz, J. B. (2016). *The shock of the Anthropocene: The earth, history and us.* London: Verso Books. Ch1.
- Clapp, J., & Helleiner, E. (2012). International political economy and the environment: back to the basics?. *International Affairs*, *88*(3), 485-501.
- Clémençon, R. (2016). The two sides of the Paris climate agreement: Dismal failure or historic breakthrough?.
- Dauvergne, P., & Neville, K. J. (2010). Forests, food, and fuel in the tropics: the uneven social and ecological consequences of the emerging political economy of biofuels. *The Journal of peasant studies*, 37(4): 631-660.
- Giddings, B., Hopwood, B., & O'brien, G. (2002). Environment, economy and society: fitting them together into sustainable development. *Sustainable development*, *10*(4), 187-196.
- Hay, C. (1996). From crisis to catastrophe? The ecological pathologies of the liberal—democratic state form. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 9(4), 421-434.
- Martínez-Alier, J., Pascual, U., Vivien, F. D., & Zaccai, E. (2010). Sustainable de-growth: Mapping the context, criticisms and future prospects of an emergent paradigm. *Ecological economics*, 69(9), 1741-1747.
- *McNeill, J. R., & Engelke, P. (2016). The great acceleration: An environmental history of the Anthropocene since 1945. Harvard University Press. Introduction.
- Meadows, D., Randers, J., & Meadows, D. (2004). *Limits to growth: The 30-year update*. Chelsea Green Publishing.

Mitchell, T. (2009). Carbon democracy. *Economy and Society*, *38*(3), 399-432. Latouche, S. (2009). *Farewell to growth*. Cambridge: Polity.

- *Steffen, W., Broadgate, W., Deutsch, L., Gaffney, O., & Ludwig, C. (2015). The trajectory of the Anthropocene: the great acceleration. *The Anthropocene Review*, *2*(1), 81-98.
- Steffen, W., Rockström, J., Richardson, K., Lenton, T. M., Folke, C., Liverman, D., ... & Donges, J. F. (2018). Trajectories of the Earth System in the Anthropocene. *Proceedings of the National Academy* of Sciences, 115(33), 8252-8259.
- *Weis, T. (2013). The meat of the global food crisis. The Journal of Peasant Studies, 40(1), 65-85.

Essay: How transformative is the concept of the 'Great Acceleration' for our understanding of the post-WWII international economy?

14. Global trade and global capital flows

• Hopewell, K. (2016). *Breaking the WTO: How emerging powers disrupted the neoliberal project*. Stanford University Press.

Hopewell, K. (2020). Clash of powers: US-China rivalry in global trade governance. Cambridge University Press.

- Irwin, D. A. (2020). Free trade under fire. Princeton University Press.
 - Kerremans, B. (2022). Divergence across the Atlantic? US skepticism meets the EU and the WTO's Appellate Body. *Politics and Governance*, *10*(2), 208-218.
- Narlikar, A. (2010). New powers in the club: the challenges of global trade governance. International affairs, 86(3), 717-728.
- Sinha, A. (2021). Understanding the 'crisis of the institution' in the liberal trade order at the WTO. International Affairs, 97(5), 1521-1540.

- Ferguson, N., & Xu, X. (2018). Make Chimerica Great Again. Economics Working Paper, 18105 available from: <u>https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/18105-ferguson-xu-final.pdf</u> Jacoby, W. (2020). Surplus Germany. *German Politics*, 1-24.
- Klein, M. C., & Pettis, M. (2020) Trade wars are class wars: How rising inequality distorts the global economy and threatens international peace. Yale University Press.
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Essay: How robust are the foundations of the dollar's international dominance?

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25. Liberalisation and development

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Essay question:

How have international financial institutions (IFIs) shaped the practices and/or understandings of development following the liberalisation of the world economy?

OR

How has economic liberalisation affected the policy space for economic and for social development in the Global South?

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Essay question:

How does financialisation constrain and enable development strategies? OR

How and why is financialisation different in the Global South?

27. Resource nationalism and extractivism

Main Readings

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- Haslam, PA and Heidrich, P, eds., 2016. *The political economy of natural resources and development: from neoliberalism to resource nationalism.* London: Routledge.
- Helleiner, E 2021. The Diversity of Economic Nationalism. New Political Economy, 26(2), 229-238.
- Hicks, C, 2015. Africa's new oil: power, pipelines and future fortunes. London: Zed Books.
- Myadar, O and Jackson, S 2019. Contradictions of Populism and Resource Extraction: Examining the Intersection of ResourceNationalism and Accumulation by Dispossession in Mongolia. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 109(2), 361-370.
- Oliveira, RS, 2007. Oil and politics in the Gulf of Guinea. London: Hurst.

Pryke, S 2017. ExplainingResource Nationalism. Global Policy, 8(4), 474-482.

Wilson, JD 2015. Understanding resource nationalism: economic dynamics and political institutions. *Contemporary Politics*, 21(4), 399-416.

Essay question:

Why is the governance of natural resources such a deeply political process?

OR

To what extent can resource nationalism be the basis of a successful development strategy?

Main Readings (don't focus on the technical detail, but look for the big arguments)

- Chancel, L and Piketty, T 2021. Global Income Inequality, 1820–2020: the Persistence and Mutation of Extreme Inequality. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 19(6), 3025-3062.
- Christiansen, CO, *et al.* 2024. Towards a Global Intellectual History of an Unequal World. *Global Intellectual History*, 9(1-2), 1-17.
- Hickel, J, *et al.* 2022. Imperialist appropriation in the world economy: Drain from the global South through unequal exchange, 1990–2015. *Global Environmental Change*, 73, 102467.
- Milanovic, B, 2019. *Capitalism, Alone: The Future of the System That Rules the World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. ch. 4.
- Milanovic, B 2024. The three eras of global inequality, 1820–2020 with the focus on the past thirty years. *World Development*, 177, 106516.
- Robinson, WI, 2017. Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century: Global Inequality, Piketty, and the Transnational Capitalist Class. *In*: Langman, L and Smith, DA eds. *Twenty-First Century Inequality & Capitalism: Piketty, Marx and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 238-254.

Additional readings

- Alkire, S, et al. 2017. Changes Over Time in Multidimensional Poverty: Methodology and Results for 34 Countries. *World Development*, 94, 232-249.
- Chancel, L, et al., 2022. World inequality report 2022. Harvard University Press.
- Chase-Dunn, C and Nagy, S, 2017. The Piketty Challenge: Global Inequality and World Revolutions. *In:* Langman, L and Smith, DA eds. *Twenty-First Century Inequality & Capitalism: Piketty, Marx and Beyond.* Leiden: Brill, 255-278.
- Christiansen, CO and Jensen, SLB, 2019. Histories of Global Inequality: Introduction. *In:* Christiansen, CO and Jensen, SLB eds. *Histories of Global Inequality: New Perspectives.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 1-32.
- Cornia, GA 2011. Economic Integration, Inequality and Growth: Latin America Versus the European Economies in Transition. *Review of Economics and Institutions*, 2(2), 1-31.
- Cornia, GA 2021. Latin America's Income Inequality Under Five Political Regimes, 1870-2018. *DISEI Working papers*, 2021(12), 1-30.
- Galbraith, JK, 2016. *Inequality: What Everyone Needs to Know?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 7.
- Lysandrou, P 2011. Global inequality as one of the root causes of the financial crisis: a suggested explanation. *Economy and Society*, 40(3), 323-344.
- Martins, N 2011. Globalisation, Inequality and the Economic Crisis. *New Political Economy*, 16(1), 1-18.
- Milanovic, B, 2016. *Global inequality: A new approach for the age of globalization.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. esp. ch. 3-4
- Pieterse, JN 2002. Global inequality: Bringing politics back in. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(6), 1023-1046.
- Ramos Pinto, P, 2019. Inequality by Numbers: The Making of a Global Political Issue? *In:* Christiansen, CO and Jensen, SLB eds. *Histories of Global Inequality: New Perspectives.* Cham: Springer International Publishing, 107-128.
- Rodríguez-Pose, A 2018. The revenge of the places that don't matter (and what to do about it). *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society,* 11(1), 189-209.
- Spicer, JS 2018. Electoral Systems, Regional Resentment and the Surprising Success of Anglo-American Populism. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 11(1), 115-141.
- van der Weide, R and Milanovic, B 2018. Inequality is Bad for Growth of the Poor (but not for that of the Rich). *The World Bank Economic Review*, 32(3), 507-530.
- Wilkinson, R and Pickett, K, 2009. The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better. London: Allen Lane.

Essay question: To what extent can countries in the Global South carve their own trajectories in patterns of global inequality?

29. From "non-alignment" to "polyalignment"?

On historical "non-alignment", start by reading these two speeches:

• Opening address given by Indonesian President Sukarno to Bandung conference, 18 April 1955): https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/opening_address_given_by_sukarno_bandung_18_april_1955-en-88d3f71c-c9f9-415a-b397-b27b8581a4f5.html

• Speech on Non-Alignment by Indian President Nehru in Washington, D.C., December 18, 1956: https://web.viu.ca/davies/H102/Nehru.1956.htm

Then read these two references on the geopolitical economy and history of non-alignment:

• Shaw, T. M. (1980). Political Economy of Non-Alignment: from Dependence to Self-Reliance. International Studies, 19(3), 475-502.

• Getachew, A. (2019). Worldmaking after empire: The rise and fall of self-determination. Princeton University Press. Read Chapter 5 and Epilogue.

Then read the 4 references below on contemporary strategies of "polyalignment":

• Schindler, S., Alami, I., DiCarlo, J., Jepson, N., Rolf, S., Bayırbağ, M. K., ... & Zhao, Y. (2024). The Second Cold War: US-China competition for centrality in infrastructure, digital, production, and finance networks. Geopolitics, 29(4), 1083-1120.

• Ikenberry, G. J. (2024). Three Worlds: the West, East and South and the competition to shape global order. International Affairs, 100(1), 121-138.

• Verma, R., & Brosig, M. (2024). The Russia–Ukraine war, the evolving global order, the Global South and emergence of non-alignment 2.0. Global Policy. Online first.

• Sahay, T. (2022). A New Non-Alignment. Phenomenal World. November 9, 2022. https://www.phenomenalworld.org/analysis/non-alignment-brics/

Additional readings (with lots of case studies focusing on different geographies)

• Cheatham, Andrew. "The New Nonaligned Movement Is Having a Moment." United States Institute of Peace, May 4 2023, https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/05/new-nonalignedmovement-having-moment

• Galant, M. & Darnal, A. (2024). Who's afraid of the Global South? Revisiting two 50-yearold U.N. resolutions should help dispel fears about a shifting economic world order. Foreign Affairs. April 2024.

• Radley, B. (2023). Green imperialism, sovereignty, and the quest for national development in the Congo. Review of African Political Economy, 50(177-178), 322-339.

• Gagyi, Ágnes, Gerőcs, Tamás and Szabó, Linda. (2024). Hungary's reindustrialization: Hedging geopolitical conflicts? Second Cold War Observatory, June 5, 2024. https://www.secondcoldwarobservatory.com/dispatch-2024-6

• Lim, D. J., & Mukherjee, R. (2019). Hedging in South Asia: Balancing economic and security interests amid Sino-Indian competition. International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, 19(3), 493–522.

• MacKenzie, K. & Sahay, T. (2022). New World Order. Phenomenal World. April 17, 2024. https://www.phenomenalworld.org/analysis/new-world-order/

• The Economist (2024, July 18). Africa's surprising new age of rail. The Economist. https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2024/07/18/africas-surprising-new-age-of-rail

• Plagemann, J., Datta, S., & Chu, S. (2021). The paradox of competing connectivity strategies in Asia. Third World Quarterly, 42(10), 2265–2281.

https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1941846

• Schindler, S., DiCarlo, J., & Paudel, D. (2022). The new cold war and the rise of the 21stcentury infrastructure state. Transactions of the institute of British geographers, 47(2), 331-346.

• Anguelov, D. (2021). Banking 'development': the geopolitical–economy of infrastructure financing. Area Development and Policy, 6(3), 271-295.

• Zajontz, T., & Shangwe, M. (2024). Contemporary Geopolitics-cum-Geoeconomics in East Africa: New Scrambles and Omni-alignments. In Z. Cope (Ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Geopolitics. Palgrave.

• Kuik, C. C. (2024). Explaining Hedging: the case of Malaysian Equidistance. Contemporary Southeast Asia, 46(1), 43-76.

• O'Donnell, F., & Papa, M. (2021). India's multi-alignment management and the Russia– India–China (RIC) triangle. International Affairs, 97(3), 801–822

• Chan, Y. K., & Charoenvattananukul, P. (2024). Singapore's Indo-Pacific Strategy: A Case of Principled Hedging. East Asia, 1-18.

• Otele, O. M. (2020). China, region-centric infrastructure drives and regionalism in Africa. South African Journal of International Affairs, 27(4), 511–532. https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2020.1856179

• Tjia, L. Y. N. (2022). Kazakhstan's leverage and economic diversification amid Chinese connectivity dreams. Third World Quarterly, 43(4), 797-822.

• Hopewell, K. (2024). The (surprise) return of development policy space in the multilateral trading system: what the WTO Appellate Body blockage means for the developmental state. Review of International Political Economy, 1-26.

• Müller, M. (2023). The 'new geopolitics' of mineral supply chains: A window of opportunity for African countries. South African Journal of International Affairs, 30(2), 177–203. https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2023.2226108

• Hameiri, S., & Jones, L. (2024). China, international competition and the stalemate in sovereign debt restructuring: beyond geopolitics. International Affairs, 100(2), 691-710.

• The Economist. 2024. The liberal international order is slowly coming apart. Vol. 451, Iss. 9396, (May 11, 2024): 10

Essay question:

Is a new "Non-Aligned Movement" possible/desirable today, and could it help developing countries navigate "great power competition" between the United States, China, and other?

30. The IPE of the "new state capitalism" - part 1

Required readings

• Bremmer, I. (2009). State capitalism comes of age: The end of the free market? Foreign affairs, 40-55.

• Sperber, N. (2019). The many lives of state capitalism: From classical Marxism to freemarket advocacy. History of the Human Sciences, 32(3), 100-124.

• Whiteside, H. (2022). State capitalism is capitalism in Canada. In Wright, M., Wood, G. T., Cuervo-Cazurra, A., Sun, P., Okhmatovskiy, I., & Grosman, A. (Eds.). (2022). The Oxford Handbook of state capitalism and the firm. Oxford University Press. Pages 658–676

• Alami, I., & Dixon, A. D. (2024). The Spectre of State Capitalism. Oxford University Press. Read Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Additional readings

• Kurlantzick, J. (2016). State capitalism: How the return of statism is transforming the world. Oxford University Press.

• Zadorian, A., Szanyi, M., & Farazmand, A. (2021). Introduction to the special issue: The rise of state capitalism. International Journal of Public Administration, 44(14), 1195-1200.

• Babić, M. (2023). The rise of state capital: Transforming markets and international politics. Agenda Publishing Limited.

• Nölke, A., Ten Brink, T., May, C., & Claar, S. (2019). State-permeated capitalism in large emerging economies. Routledge.

• Gerőcs, T., & Ricz, J. (Eds.). (2021). The post-crisis developmental state: Perspectives from the global periphery. Springer Nature.

• Ricz, J., Sallai, D., & Sass, M. (2023). The role of the state in shaping the internationalization of firms in the twenty-first century. Competition & Change,

10245294241229359.

• Kim, K. (2022). Locating new 'state capitalism' in advanced economies: an international comparison of government ownership in economic entities. Contemporary politics, 28(3), 285-305.

• Van Apeldoorn, B., & De Graaff, N. (2022). The state in global capitalism before and after the Covid-19 crisis. Contemporary Politics, 28(3), 306-327.

• Germann, J. (2023). Global rivalries, corporate interests and Germany's 'National Industrial Strategy 2030'. Review of international political economy, 30(5), 1749-1775.

Essay question:

What is the new state capitalism and to what extent is it a product of the political economic conjuncture?

31. The IPE of the "new state capitalism" - part 2

Required readings

• Alami, I., & Dixon, A. D. (2024). The Spectre of State Capitalism. Oxford University Press. Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9.

• Peck, J. (2023). Wrestling with "the new" state capitalism. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 55(3), 760-763.

• Wijaya, T., & Jayasuriya, K. (2024). A new multipolar order: combined development, state forms and new business classes. International Affairs. Online first.

• Goulding, R., Leaver, A., & Silver, J. (2024). When the Abu Dhabi United group came to town: constructing an organisational fix for state capitalism through the Manchester Life partnership. Antipode, 56(3), 896-921.

Additional readings

• McGregor, N., & Coe, N. M. (2023). Hybrid governance and extraterritoriality:

Understanding Singapore's state capitalism in the context of oil global production networks. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 55(3), 716-741.

• Singh, J. N. (2024). Business of the State: Why State Ownership Matters for Resource Governance. Oxford University Press.

• Rolf, S., & Schindler, S. (2023). The US–China rivalry and the emergence of state platform capitalism. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 55(5), 1255-1280.

• O'Sullivan, L., & Rethel, L. (2023). Financial Globalization, Local Debt Markets and New State Financial Activism in Middle-income Countries. Development and Change, 54(2), 304-330.

• Alami, I. (2024). State property, venture capital and the urbanisation of state capitalism. Dialogues in Human Geography, 20438206241253590.

• Alami, I., & Taggart, J. (2024). A partial conversion: how the 'unholy trinity' of global economic governance adapts to state capitalism. European Journal of International Relations, online first.

• Jensen, F. (2023). State capitalism and Spanish port development along the Maritime Silk Road. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 55(3), 636-654.

• Gertz, G., & Evers, M. M. (2020). Geoeconomic competition: Will state capitalism win?. The Washington Quarterly, 43(2), 117-136.

• Gerbaudo, P. (2021). The great recoil: Politics after populism and pandemic. Verso Books.

• Alami, I, Jack Taggart, Heather Whiteside, Steve Rolf, Imogen Liu, Ruben Gonzalez-Vicente (2024). Quo vadis neoliberalism in an age of resurgent state capitalism? Finance and Space. Online first.

Essay question:

To what extent is the new state capitalism transforming the international liberal order?

32. Economic and ecological planning in the 21st century

Read any 3 of the following on the history and practice of development/economic planning

Ming-Tak Leung, A (2021). Developmentalisms: the forgotten ancestor of East Asian

Developmentalism. Phenomenal World.

https://www.phenomenalworld.org/analysis/developmentalisms/

• Waterston, A. (1965). The Spread of Development Planning. In Development Planning: Lessons of Experience. The Johns Hopkins Press. Available at:

http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/devplan/dplan69p52-68.pdf
Shibata, Kuniko (2008) The origins of Japanese planning culture: building a nation-state,

• Shibata, Kuniko (2008) The origins of Japanese planning culture: building a nation–state, 1868-1945. Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis, no. 128. Department of Geography and Environment, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK

• Engerman, D. (2015). The rise and fall of central planning. In Geyer, M., & Tooze, A. (eds). The Cambridge History of the Second World War (pp. 575-598). Cambridge University Press.

Milor, V. (1990). The genesis of planning in Turkey. New Perspectives on Turkey, 4, 1-30.
 Chapter 1 in Martin, J. (2022). The Meddlers: Sovereignty, Empire, and the birth of global

economic governance. Harvard University Press.

• Huber, V. (2017). Introduction: global histories of social planning. Journal of Contemporary History, 52(1), 3-15.

• Couperus, S., van de Grift, L., & Lagendijk, V. (2015). Experimental Spaces: A Decentred Approach to Planning in High Modernity. Introduction. Journal of Modern European History, 13(4), 475-479.

• Parenti, C. (2020). Radical Hamilton: Economic lessons from a misunderstood founder. Verso Books.

• "Introduction" in: O'Hara, G. (2006). From dreams to disillusionment: economic and social planning in 1960s Britain. Springer.

• "Introduction: The Economizing Logic of the State" in Young, A. (2018). Transforming Sudan. Decolonization, Economic Development, and State Formation. Cambridge University Press.

• Rahmouni, N., & Saizen, I. (2024). Spatial planning in post-colonial Morocco: an institutional design for decolonization. Planning Perspectives, 1-16.

• Iandolo, A. (2022). Arrested Development: The Soviet Union in Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, 1955–1968. Cornell University Press.

• Bonus: Watch the short videos here on development planning in post-independence Ghana and Tanzania https://postcolonialisms.regionsrefocus.org/development-planning/

Then read these 4 of the following articles on 21st century ecological planning

• Wolf, M. (2024). Market forces are not enough to halt climate change. Financial Times. July, 2. 2024. https://www.ft.com/content/b2b6fb7a-9477-4485-a9e3-435b5e9c987e

 Krahé, M. (2024). The Whole Field: Markets, planning, and coordinating the green transformation. Phenomenal World. https://www.phenomenalworld.org/analysis/climate-planning/
 Sorg, C. (2023). Failing to plan is planning to fail: toward an expanded notion of

democratically planned postcapitalism. Critical Sociology, 49(3), 475-493.

• Durand, C., Hofferberth, E., & Schmelzer, M. (2024). Planning beyond growth: The case for economic democracy within ecological limits. Journal of Cleaner Production, 437, 140351.

Optional readings on ecological planning

• Brusseler, M. and M. Lawrence. (2024). Twinned transition: on the green mixed economy. Common Wealth Perspectives. https://www.common-wealth.org/perspectives/twinned-transition

• Isikara, G., & Narin, O. (2023). Degrowth and Socialism Notes on Some Critical Junctures. Monthly Review, 75(3).

• Introduction and conclusion in Lawrence, M., & Buller, A. (2022). Owning the future: Power and property in an age of crisis. Verso Books.

• Koch, M. (2024). Deepening the degrowth planning debate: division of labor, complexity, and the roles of markets and digital tools. Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy, 20(1), 2383335.

• Heyer, J. (2024). Rethinking Democratic Economic Planning: An Overview. Rethinking Economics. https://www.exploring-economics.org/en/discover/rethinking-democratic-economic-planning-an-overview/

• Klitgaard, K. A. (2023). Planning degrowth: the necessity, history, and challenges. Monthly Review, 75(3), 85.

• Savini, F., Ferreira, A., & von Schönfeld, K. (Eds.). (2022). Post-growth planning: Cities beyond the market economy. Routledge.

• Benanav, A. (2020). How to make a pencil. Logic magazine. Issue 12.

https://logicmag.io/commons/how-to-make-a-pencil/
Benanav, A. (2022). Socialist investment, dynamic planning, and the politics of human

need. Rethinking Marxism, 34(2), 193-204.

• Thompson, M., & Nishat-Botero, Y. (2023). Postcapitalist planning and urban revolution. Competition & Change, 10245294231210980.

• Bonus: A fun game to play! https://play.half.earth/

• Bonus: A Podcast episode: Planning for Entropy. https://www.futurehistories-

international.com/episodes/s03/e03-planning-for-entropy-on-sociometabolic-planning/

Essay question

Can democratic and ecological planning be a solution to the polycrisis in the global North a

ASSESSMENT

This paper is by examination only. Note that all the topics set out above not all will appear on any one year's exam paper and some questions can be either/or.

Sample Exam Paper

Candidates must answer three questions.

(There will not be a question on every topic and some topics that cross-over with each other may be covered by either/or questions.)

- 1. Did European institutional innovations play any significant part in the rise of the West?
- 2. Why did it prove so difficult to reconcile democratic politics with an open international economy during the inter-war years?
- 3. Why did the United States sponsor the Bretton Woods agreement?
- 4. How far does American domestic politics explain the end of Bretton Woods?
- 5. Was the 1970s economic crisis primarily an energy crisis?
- 6. EITHER On what geopolitically did Chimerica depend?
- OR Why has technology become so central to US-Sino economic rivalry
 - 7. What has been the economic and political impact of Russia's return as a great power?
 - 8. EITHER How far did the origins of the euro-zone lie in the nature of the post-Bretton Woods international economy?

OR How far was the euro-zone crisis of 2010-12 a banking crisis?

- 9. Were the causes of the financial crisis of 2007-8 political?
- 10. Why did fossil-fuel energy become a systemic source of economic and such geopolitical and economic disruption from the mid-2000s?
- 11. Why did the 2008 economic crash fuel such democratic discontent in western countries?
- 12. How did QE transform the politics of debt?
- 13. EITHER Is the energy transition recreating imperial economic exchange?

OR Does extractvism necessarily lead to resource nationalism in the modern world?

- 14. Can there be "green" growth?
- 15. Why has the dollar proved a resilient international reserve currency?
- 16. What, if anything, does the concept of the "polycrisis" usefully explain?
- 17. Was there a liberal path to development for non-western countries?
- 18. What have been the political consequences for the Global South of globalisation?