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Pol. 2206 H1F – Pol. 487 H1F

Syllabus

Fall term, 2015

Topics in International Politics II  
**The Dynamics of Global Regionalism in the International Political Economy**

**Vital statistics**

Instructor: Prof. Stephen Clarkson  
Seminars: Mondays, 1.30 to 4 p.m.  
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This course is designed for advanced students who are ready to take on the challenge of an intense, workshop-style course with a substantial reading load while meeting high standards for participating in the seminar discussions and writing a research paper.

**Explaining the course numbers**

**Pol. 2206 H1F:** this is primarily designed as a course for students doing a Masters degree.

**Pol. 487 H1F:** the course is also open to a few fourth-year students who are ready to take on the challenge.

**Explaining the course title**

In a nutshell, the course explores the ever-more-complex, post-Cold-War phenomenon of national governments creating multi-state regions, a prominent feature of the world's political economy which some scholars identify as globalization's driving force.

**What**

We will consider several types of internationally significant regions from among the following organizations:

- contiguous regions: the main geographically-, multi-state groupings of geographical neighbours in the global North -- the European Union (EU) and NAFTA, and such multi-state regions in the global South as ASEAN, Mercosur, and ECOWAS
- mega-regions: groupings of such like-minded, but non-contiguous states as BRICS and the Trans-

### Pacific Partnership

- like-minded regions: the neo-liberal Pacific Alliance or the autocratic Gulf states.
- functional regions such as multistate organizations dealing with health (Pan American Health Organization) or security (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), or finance (Banco del Sur)
- trans-border or sub-national regions (Pacific North-west Economic Region).

Note: there are so many possible candidates which we could discuss that, when we first meet, we will have to decide which regions to include (and so which ones to leave out).

### How

Our discourse will take place along several analytical binaries:

**-integration** (*centripetal* dynamics prevailing over *centrifugal* forces) vs. **disintegration** (*centrifugal* forces prevailing over *centripetal* forces)

**-symmetry** vs. **asymmetry** in the intra-regional balance of economic and political power

-politically institutionalized **regionalism** vs. market-driven economic **regionalization**

**-internal** coherence of the region under discussion and its **external** capacity to act

**-conflict** among its members vs. **co-operation** with a common program

Under the rubric of **cooperation** we will look at and compare:

- regions' varying degrees of historical *coherence* and cultural homogeneity

- their differing *governance* capacities which range from highly structured in the EU to completely informal in the Pacific Alliance

- their differing degrees of *economic* integration (trade, services, and investment)

Under the rubric of **conflict** – whether economic, political, or military -- we will look:

- **intra**-regionally, at their differing degrees of internal conflict, which range from very high in the Middle East through high in South Asia, to considerable in North America, to relatively low in the EU, to fluctuating in Latin America.

- **extra**-regionally, at the extent to which regions compete with each other militarily, economically, or politically as in Europe with North America, within Latin America (Mercosur vs. the Pacific Alliance) or between the US-driven Trans-Pacific Partnership and China, or between ASEAN and India.

### Pedagogical Goal.

The syllabus has been designed to engage several types of students.

- For those wanting a course with strong scholarly content, this sub-field of international relations (IR) has a large enough literature for them to deepen their analytical capacities and broaden their knowledge base.

- Those whose family ties connect them to other parts of the world can extend their understanding of their original continental provenance.

- Those who have an explicitly professional, job-finding goal can focus their research on drafting policy recommendations for a particular nation-state's foreign-policy or international-trade departments on how to develop its political, military, or economic policies towards its respective region. For instance, should Canada disengage from Mexico in dealing with Washington or should it cooperate with its hispanic counterpart in North America? Should Great Britain or Greece disengage from the European Union (Brexit or Grexit) or should they integrate further with their continental partners?

For graduate and senior undergraduate students, this course should be rewarding for several reasons.

- You will all have an intense reading experience as you absorb the latest literature on the world's major regions – some 100 pages per week.
- Each of you will get to explore the political-economy and cultural reality of his/her chosen region.
- And of course, you will each produce and present individual work on a specific course theme which will bring to the class' collective understanding your specific knowledge of a particular region derived from your research and, in some cases, your personal roots.
- Depending on the class size and student interest in particular regions, you may work as twosomes or threesomes, a valuable experience in teamwork for those seeking real jobs.

#### Workshop problematic.

Because “workshop” has a journeyman’s practical connotation, I am proposing that we adopt a provocative theme that will tie together our twelve seminars. My proposed theme for our workshop in 2015 is “*Has Regionalism Lost Its Place in the Sun?*” By this I mean to have us reflect on whether regionalism is still as vital and central to the international political economy as it seemed twenty years ago after the end of the Cold War, when the defining academic contributions to the regionalism and IR literature were published. We know that new regions keep emerging (most recently, the Pacific Alliance) but we don’t really know how important they are for their members *relative* to other factors in the international political economy.

The course’s workshop character will come from our attempting in each study that we do to determine whether regionalism is a strengthening or weakening phenomenon in the global political economy.

#### **My own research engagement**

For me as instructor, this course represents a new stage in my research interests. Having spent the period from 1999 to 2012 writing four books on Canada's involvement in global governance and North America's political economy (under NAFTA and since 9/11), I am broadening my interest in the phenomenon of regionalism to work *both* on how other world regions function internally *and* on how they interact globally, whether as multi-state entities functioning cooperatively or as individual member states operating competitively with their continental neighbours.

The geographical focus of my own research on inter-regionalism is the Euro-Americas triangle (the EU, North America, and Latin America).

The policy focus of this work is the inter-regional spread of (and resistance to)

-first, the norms contained in investment treaties that protect trans-national corporations’ (TNCs) foreign direct investments against host-state regulations and

-second, the judicial institutions that empower TNCs to have their claims against host-state actions arbitrated in private international dispute-settlement processes.

## Schedule of Topics:

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### **Seminar 1: Sept. 14 Course Introduction: Regionalization, Globalization, and the Nation-State**

What we are doing – political science or political economy? international relations or globalization studies?

I will review the rationale for the course and explain its pedagogy. Students will introduce themselves and we will make a preliminary determination of what region each student will work on.

### **Seminar 2: Sept. 21 The Literature on Regionalization as Midwife of Globalization**

Because the European Community, later the European Union (EU), was the first, most sophisticated, most ambitious, and by now the longest functioning prototype of a multistate region, it has generated by far the biggest academic industry and consequently the most sophisticated scholarly research literature. Some scholars (like me) complain of this academic literature's Euro-centrism. In any case, we need to come to grips with the multiple meanings of "region" and its various derivative concepts such as regionalization, regionalism, and actorness. We must also consider the prevailing hypotheses and questions about the functions of regions for nation-states and within globalization processes because these notions will underlie our seminar discussions throughout the course.

**Bring a proposed title for your research paper printed on a sheet of paper with your name.**

### **Readings:**

\*All academic articles are available online on JSTOR (requiring UTOR account); readings in book form are available as physical copies at Robarts.

-The first three readings give a good sense of the optimism with which regionalism was assessed after the Cold War.

Richard Gibb and Wieslaw Michalak, "Regionalism in the World Economy." *Area* 28. 4 (Dec., 1996). 446-458.

<http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/20003730>

Andrew Hurrell, "Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics." *Review of International Studies* 21.4 (Oct., 1995). 331-58.

< <http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/20097421> > A very comprehensive introduction to concepts surrounding regionalism. Hurrell defines four characteristics of new regionalism and outlines various theoretical approaches to explain its dynamics. He posits that regionalism is strongest where state structures remain relatively strong and the legitimacy of frontiers and regimes is not questioned.

-The readings in this second group are more cautious about what regionalism constitutes.

Bjorn Hettne, "Beyond the New Regionalism". *New Political Economy* 2005. 543-567.

<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/298241> (you have to be logged onto the library to retrieve this)

In identifying the "new regionalism" Hettne begins by describing the context in which it developed

and continues by defining five levels of “regionness” in order to express an evolutionary logic and framework for comparative analysis. Hettne characterizes the most comprehensive form of cooperation, as seen among the European Union’s states, as a region that acts with a distinct identity, actor capability, legitimacy, and decision-making structure.

Andrew Hurrell, “One World? Many worlds? The Place of Regions in the Study of International Society”. *International Affairs* 2007. 127-146.

[http://www.mwmt.co.uk/documents/MWML2006\\_Hurrell.pdf](http://www.mwmt.co.uk/documents/MWML2006_Hurrell.pdf) This article revisits Hurrell's earlier optimism.

Alex Warleigh-Lack, “Towards a Conceptual Framework for Regionalisation: Bridging 'New Regionalism' and 'Integration Theory'”, *Review of International Political Economy* 13. 5 (Dec., 2006), 750-71. <http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/25124101>  
<http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/20003730> A strong synthesis of more recent research.

## **PART I: Regions in the Global North**

### **EUROPE and NORTH AMERICA: are they SUI GENERIS REGIONS?**

#### **Seminar 3: Sept. 28                      The European Union: Titan or Titanic?**

For almost seven decades, Europe has been developing – with ups and downs, leaps forward and big setbacks – the world's most ambitious and successful supranational form of contiguous, multistate governance. As a result of the significant political, economic, legal, and cultural aspects of this process, the European scholars, along with a few experts in other continents, have developed a highly sophisticated literature on global regionalism. This sophistication notwithstanding, nobody, including no academic, knows whether or in what way the EU will survive its current economic crisis.

#### **Readings:**

##### Primary Readings

S. Kawalec and E. Pytlarczyk, “Controlled Dismantlement of the Eurozone: A Strategy to Save the European Union and the Single European Market,” 14, *German Economic Review*: 31–49.

Matthias Matthijs, “David Cameron’s Dangerous Game: The Folly of Flirting with an EU Exit,” (Sept.Oct. 2013) *Foreign Affairs*: 10-16.

Kevin H. O’Rourke, *Why the EU Won*, Institute of International Integration Studies Discussion Paper 361 (March 2011), 2-36.

T. Wright, “What if Europe Fails?” 35, *The Washington Quarterly* (2012): 23–41.

Douglas Webber, "Declining Power Europe? The Evolution of the European Union's World Power in the Early 21st Century," This is a paper presented by a colleague of mine in the Free University of Berlin on April 14. We can debate whether its analysis is right or wrong, but not whether it’s hot off the press.

##### Additional Readings

Edward Best, "Supranational Institutions and Regional Integration," paper from European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht, Netherlands (n.d. 2011), 1-45.

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse. The Diffusion of (Inter-)Regionalism. The EU as a Model of Regional

Integration. *KFG Working Papers. Research College "The Transformative Power of Europe."*  
*Freie Universität Berlin, (2009).*

**3-Page Essay Outline** (details specified on page 10) to be e-mailed to SC by **midnight Friday, October 2.**

**Seminar 4: Oct. 4 Does North America Actually Exist? The Perspective from Canada and Mexico**

The negotiation and implementation of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, 1994) raised great expectations that North America was following in the European Union's footsteps. Then came Washington's border thickening measures following the Al Qaeda attacks of September 11, 2001. Finally, we have Obama's apparent indifference. We will look at the actual realities in terms of:

Institutions, formal and informal; continental and bilateral

Markets continental and global

Civil society: attitudes, values, identity, and culture

**Readings:**

**Primary readings**

"How Obama Shocked Harper as Keystone's Frustrator-in-Chief," Bloomberg News, Apr. 26, 2014. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-04-24/how-obama-shocked-harper-as-keystone-frustrator-in-chief.html> This is easy journalism to give you a flavour of North American political-economic realities.

Christopher Sands, "Democratic Presidential Strategies for North America: From Clinton to Obama," Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference (April 1, 2011).

Christopher Sands, *The Canadian Gambit: Will it Revive North America* (Washington, D.C.: Hudson Institute Briefing Paper, March 2011).

Stephen Clarkson, "Does North America Exist? Transborder Governance after NAFTA and the Security and Prosperity Partnership." *Norte América* 2.2 (Jul-Dec 2007). 85-104. <http://www.cisan.unam.mx/Norteamerica/pdfs/n04/n0405.pdf> I argue in this article that North American is not evolving into an EU-style region.

Geoffrey E. Hale, "'In the Pipeline' or 'Over a Barrel'?" Assessing Canadian Efforts to Manage US Canadian Energy Interdependence, *Canadian-American Public Policy* 76 (February 2011), 36 pages.

Christopher Wilson and David Biette. 2014. *Is Geography Destiny? A Primer on North American Relations*. (Washington: Wilson Center): 18. <http://wilsoncenter.org/publication/primer-north-american-relations> This rather general policy report gives a US policy analysts' view of North America as a region. It's not very analytical, but that's the point.

**Additional readings**

Barry, Donald, "Managing Canada-US Relations in the Post-9/11 Era: Do We Need a Big Idea" in Duane Bratt and Christopher Kukucha eds., *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007), 116-138. Barry's chapter analyzes approaches to Canada-US relations in the post-9/11 era and argues that incrementalism is better than a "big idea" approach.

Brister, Bernard J., "The Same Yet Different: The Evolution of the Post-9/11 Canada

- United States Security Relationship,” in Monica Gattinger & Geoffrey Hale eds., *Borders and Bridges* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010). 82-99. Brister’s chapter analyzes the political, administrative and policy changes that have happened in the Canada-US security relationship since 9/11.
- Della Sala, Vincent, “Birth of a Union: Lessons for North America from the European Union” in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Radha Jhappan and François Rocher, eds., *Politics in North America* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2008), 115-132. Della Sala argues in this piece that the EU example gives North America several different scenarios that could be followed, though each is quite complex.
- Hale, Geoffrey and Stephen Blank. “North American Economic Integration and Comparative Responses to Globalization—Overview” in Monica Gattinger and Geoffrey Hale, eds., *Borders and Bridges* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21-40. The authors argue that the pace and substance of North American integration can be seen through the importance Canada and the US places on the bilateral relationship.
- Hristoulas, Athanasios and Stéphane Roussel. “North American Security and Foreign Policy: Does a Trilateral Community Exist?” in Yasmeen Abu-Laban, Radha Jhappan, and François Rocher, eds., *Politics in North America* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2008). 371-388. The authors argue that in respect to security and foreign policy, it remains difficult to view North America as an integrated unit.
- Savage, Luiza. “The end of the trilateral dream.” *Maclean’s.ca* (June 29 2010). Web. Accessed Jan 13 2011. 1-2. <http://www2.macleans.ca/2010/06/29/the-end-of-the-trilateral-dream/> Savage discusses how the once-popular idea of North American harmonization has become a pipe-dream under the Obama administration.

**Week 5: Oct. 12 Thanksgiving: No Class – Bon appétit!**

**Seminar 6: Oct. 19 The Roles of Regionalism in Spain’s Political Economy since Franco**

An outcast during Franco’s fascist regime during World War II and an isolated economy thereafter, democratic Spain has had a decisive engagement with regionalism since the 1980s when it joined the European Economic Community (EEC) and in the 1990s when it became a major foreign investor in Latin America. The subsequent economic successes of its banking, telecom, and energy companies gave these TNCs the muscle with which to expand in the EEC. Largely paralyzed by an economic crisis in 2009 from which its position in the Eurozone gave it few tools for escape, the chances for Spanish TNCs to rescue the economy once again may well depend on economic negotiations with Canada for CETA, the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement and the United States for TTIP, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership)

The analysis will be presented by the paper's co-authors who were ICM-sponsored members of the research associated with this course last year and who worked with me on this subject, doing our fieldwork in Madrid last February. It will form a transition between the syllabus' Part I and Part II.

**Reading:**

Stephen Clarkson with Jonah Goldberg, Jozef Kosci, Jerome Newton, Benjamin Pan, and Connor Taylor,

“The Interactive Dynamic between Regionalism and Foreign Investment in Spain’s Efforts to Recover from its 2008 Economic Crisis,” Working Paper submitted for review to the Royal Elcano Institute, Madrid.

## **PART II: Regions in the Global South**

### **‘WORLD REGIONS’ ON THE OTHER CONTINENTS**

#### **A. Consensual Regions**

Some multistate regions have achieved a moderate degree of intergovernmental coordination, decision-making, and civil-society cooperation.

#### **Seminar 7: Oct. 26 Mercosur and other Regionalisms: Their Role in Brazil’s Global Rise**

There was considerable excitement when Brazil and Argentina – two constantly bickering neighbours – got together with Uruguay and Paraguay to set up a "Market of the South" in 1991. With institutions strongly resembling those of the European Union, it was thought that the universalization of the EU's model of global governance was the way the world was evolving in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's collapse and the consequent end of the Cold War. Beyond Mercosur there are other, smaller regions – the Community of Andean Nations, the anti-imperialist Alianza Bolivariana, a more ambitious project, Unasur, which proposes to bring all South American states under one regional umbrella by 2019. Still more innovative – but in competition with the left-leaning Mercosur – is the Pacific Alliance, which brings the neo-liberal governments of Peru, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico together, although not participating as a group in the *trans-regional* negotiations for a "TransPacific Partnership."

This seminar will also affect report on a student project from last year’s course that, based on a week’s field work in Brasilia, assessed the role that regionalism of various types had played, and was still playing in Brazil’s rise to global prominence under Lula da Silva in the 2000s.

As workshop, Part 2 of this session will discuss the first reading. Part 1 will discuss the general readings.

#### **Readings:**

##### **Primary Readings**

Stephen Clarkson, Abdi Aidid, Felix Cowan, Christine Farquharson, Johnny Henderson, Jason Li, and Anna Postelnyak, *Help or Hindrance? Regionalism’s Multiple Roles in Brazil’s International Emergence* (Berlin: Working paper for the KFG, “The Transformative Power of Europe,” Free University, 2013), 38 pages.

Detlef Nolte, “Latin America’s New Regional Architecture: a cooperative or segmented regional governance complex?” Paper presented at the international workshop “Dealing with Overlapping Regionalism Complementary or Competitive Strategies?”

Berlin, 15-17 May 2014.

Andrea Oelsner, “The Institutional Identity of Regional Organizations, or Mercosur’s Identity Crisis,” *International Studies Quarterly* (57, 2013), 115–127

Mario E. Carranza, (2006). “Clinging Together: Mercosur's Ambitious External Agenda, Its Internal Crisis, and the Future of Regional Integration in South America”, *Review of International Political*

*Economy*, v 13:5, 802-29. <http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/25124103>

### Additional Readings

Doctor, Makrukh. (2007) "Why Bother with Inter-regionalism? Negotiations for a European Union-Mercosur Agreement", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, v 45:2, pp 281-314.

Gomez Mera, L. (2009) "Domestic Constraints on Regional Cooperation: Explaining Trade Conflict in Mercosur", *Review of International Political Economy* (16:5), 746-77.

<http://www.as.miami.edu/international-studies/pdf/Gomez-Mera%20RIPE%20ART.pdf>

or:

[http://www.as.miami.edu/international-studies/pdf/Gomez-](http://www.as.miami.edu/international-studies/pdf/Gomez-Mera%20RIPE%20ART.pdf)

[Mera%20RIPE%20ART.pdf](http://miami.academia.edu/LauraGomezmera/Papers/120240/Domestic_constraints_on_regional_cooperation_Explaining_trade_conflict_in_MERCOSUR)[http://miami.academia.edu/LauraGomezmera/Papers/120240/Domestic](http://miami.academia.edu/LauraGomezmera/Papers/120240/Domestic_constraints_on_regional_cooperation_Explaining_trade_conflict_in_MERCOSUR)

Grugel, J. (2006) "Regionalist Governance and Transnational Collective Action in Latin America", *Economy and Society* (35:2), 209-31.

[http://www.alternative-regionalisms.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/grugel\\_regionalistgovernance.pdf](http://www.alternative-regionalisms.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/grugel_regionalistgovernance.pdf)

Malamud, A. (2005) "Presidential Diplomacy and the Institutional Underpinnings of Mercosur: an Empirical Examination", *Latin American Research Review* (40:1), 138-64.

<http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/1555368>

## **B. Conflictual Regions**

Other regions are distinguished less by their achievement in transnational governance than for their degree of internal tensions, including wars and civil wars.

### **Seminar 8: Nov. 2 Africa: A Continent of Broken Regional Dreams**

The European model was also widely copied in different parts of Africa, but, seen from the perspective of 2013, regionalism in Africa appears not to have generated much meaningful, multi-state governance that significantly helps its members develop economically, politically, or even culturally.

### **Readings:**

#### Primary readings

Mistry, Percy S. "Africa's Record of Regional Co-operation and Integration." *African Affairs* 99:397 (2000): 553-573. <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/99/397/553.full.pdf+html> This article provides the best introduction to African regionalism, giving an overview of regional integration attempts since the 1960s.

Adom, Assandé Désiré, Subhash C. Sharmab, and A.K.M. Mahbub Morshed. "Economic Integration in Africa." *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 50 (2010): 245-253.

<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1062976910000189> This piece is quite technical, but provides a valuable economic analysis of the African continent. It examines the relationship between Africa's leading eight economies and the rest of the continent, and has a stellar bibliography.

Johannes Muntschick, "Overlapping Regionalisms and the Games Member States Play: An Observation of Southern Africa," Paper presented to the Workshop on Dealing with Overlapping Regionalism: Complementary or Competitive Strategies? Berlin, May 15-17, 2014.

Kai Striebinger, "To whose benefit? Differential Empowerment of International Actors through the West African Security Regime Complex," Paper presented to the Workshop on Dealing with Overlapping Regionalism: Complementary or Competitive Strategies? Berlin, May 15-17, 2014.

### Secondary Readings

Carmignani, Fabrizio. "The Road to Regional Integration in Africa: Macroeconomic Convergence and Performance in COMESA." *Journal of African Economies* 15 (2006): 212-250.

<http://jae.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/2/212.full.pdf+html> This case study on the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa sheds light on the challenges each African regional economic community faces. The article provides a "micro" analysis to complement most of the "macro" readings.

Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. Canada: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009. pp. 29-68. (2 Copies in Robarts Course Reserves – HC800.M69.2009X) Moyo's work is controversial, but the picture she paints of a region swamped in debt cannot be ignored in the debate on Africa. While her analysis is not as tight as that of other scholars, her line of thinking represents an emerging perspective in African studies.

Taylor, Ian. *NEPAD: Toward Africa's Development or Another False Start?* USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005. pp. 1-15 (Hard copy available at Robarts - HC800.T39.2005X) Taylor is a scholar at the University of Botswana, and his book is the most thorough piece on the New Partnership for Africa's Development, which is Africa's attempt at economic and political revitalization in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Tull, Denis M. "China's Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance, and Consequences." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 44:3 (2006): 459-479. <http://www.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/Tull.pdf> Tull's piece on China-Africa relations is a detailed and well-researched piece. Not only does it analyse China's strategy in Africa it highlights the often omitted negative effects on African industry from Chinese trade.

U.S. Department of Commerce. "U.S.-African Trade Profile." Last modified July, 2009.

[www.agoa.gov/resources/US\\_African\\_Trade\\_Profile\\_2009.pdf](http://www.agoa.gov/resources/US_African_Trade_Profile_2009.pdf). pp. 1-17. This report is a statistical snapshot of African trade. Its graphs and data will provide a more nuanced understanding of the region.

**Week 9: Fall Break:**      **enjoy Florida for the rest of us...**

### **Seminar 10: Nov. 16      ASEAN: South-East Asia's Surprising Success Story May Be in Trouble**

Few in the "West" took much notice of the relatively small states of Southeast Asia getting together many decades ago, because ASEAN had no authoritative institutions. Operating on the basis of consensus, ASEAN has been so successful that other countries have wanted to join. 'Broadening' without 'deepening,' however, may signal the end of its effectiveness.

### **Readings:**

#### Primary Readings

Angela Pennisi di Floristella, "Building the ASEAN Center for Humanitarian Assistance and Emergency Response": Is ASEAN learning from the experience of the European "Civil Protection Mechanism"? Jour fixe paper, KFG The Transformative Power of Europe, Free University of Berlin, May 2014.

Jürgen Rüländ, "ASEAN and the Asian Crisis: Theoretical Implications and Practical Consequences for Southeast Asian Regionalism," *Pacific Review* 13:3 (2000), 421-51.

Jürgen Rüländ, "Constructing Regionalism Domestically: Local Actors and Foreign Policy Making in Newly Democratized Indonesia," *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2000 13): 1-21.

Richard Stubbs, TBA.

### Additional Readings

Jones, David M. "Security and Democracy: the ASEAN Charter and the Dilemmas of Regionalism in South-East Asia," *International Affairs* 84:4 (2008), 735-756.

Timo Kivimäki, "Power, Interest or Culture-Is There a Paradigm That Explains ASEAN's Political Role Best?" *Pacific Review* 21: 4 (2008), 431-450.

### **C. Giant's Regions**

In a third grouping, the largest state is so big that it feels little need to compromise its autonomy by participating in cooperative governance institutions.

#### **Seminar 11: Nov. 23 South Asia: India and its Neighbours**

However its geographical limits are determined, "South Asia" was more united under the British empire than it is today. Its giant, India, has typically nurtured poor relations with its neighbours, particularly Pakistan. With the India's current rise as an aspiring great power, its disregard of its neighbours may be changing.

### **Readings:**

Arndt Michael, *India's Foreign Policy and Regional Multilateralism*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). download abridged introduction on the homepage of the publisher (<http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=627752> Author's e-address: [arndt.michael@studgen.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:arndt.michael@studgen.uni-freiburg.de)

Michael Ewing-Chow & Md. Rizwanul Islam. "South Asian Free Trade Agreement and the Possibility of Regional Integration within the SAARC: A Historical, Legal and Economic Analysis." *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 2.1 (2007). <<http://dx.doi.org/10.2202/1932-0205.1037>> 22 pp

Aparna Sawhney & Rajiv Kumar. "Rejuvenating SAARC: The Strategic Payoffs for India." *Global Economy Journal*, 8.2 (2008). <<http://www.jnu.ac.in/Faculty/Asawhney/Sawhney-Kumar2008.pdf>> 19 pp

M. Kabir Hassan. "Is SAARC a viable economic block? Evidence from gravity model." *Journal of Asian Economics*, 12 (2001) 263–290. <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1049-0078\(01\)00086-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S1049-0078(01)00086-0)> 27 pp

Yanrui Wu & Zhangyue Zhou. "Changing bilateral trade between China and India." *Journal of Asian Economics*, 17 (2006) 509–518. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.asieco.2006.04.007>> 10 pp

- Muchkund Dubey. "The Twelfth SAARC Summit: Deeper Integration in South Asia." *South Asian Survey*, 12.1 (2005). <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/097152310501200102>> 14 pp
- Dilip K. Das. "The South Asian Free Trade Agreement: Evolution and Challenges." *MIT International Review*, 2008. <<http://web.mit.edu/mitir/2008/spring/south.html>> 7 pp
- Alok Kumar Pandey and Annapurna Dixit. "India's Trade Experience with SAARC and the Future of SAFTA." *Journal of Global Economy*, 5.1 (2009) 3-12. <<http://econpapers.repec.org/RePEc:jge:journl:511>>
- Nisha Taneja, Muttukrishna Sarvananthan, Sanjib Pohit. "India-Sri Lanka Trade: Transacting Environments in Formal and Informal Trading." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38.29 (2003). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4413812>> 5 pp
- Nisha Taneja. "Informal Trade in SAARC Region." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36.11 (2001). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4410401>> 6 pp
- Nisha Taneja. "Trade Relations: Opportunities for Growth." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39.4 (2004). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4414548>> 2 pp
- Nisha Taneja. "Informal Trade in the SAARC Region: Implications for FTAs." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39.51 (2004). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4415918>> 5 pp
- Nisha Taneja & Sanjib Pohit. "India's Informal Trade with Nepal." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36.25 (2001). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4410778>> 7 pp
- Nitish Sengupta & Arindam Banik. "Regional Trade and Investment: Case of SAARC." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 32.46 (1997). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4406062>> 2 pp
- Suranjan Das. "Regional Security through Constructive Bilateralism: Prospects for South Asian Stability" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35.49 (2000). <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4410036>> 11 pp

- -OR- -

### **Seminar 11: Nov. 23**

### **The Middle East: United in Conflict**

Most of the scholarly literature refuses to consider the Middle East as a region because its high level of internal conflict frustrates the hopes of generating regional cooperation through transnational governance. But "Middle East" is in our vocabulary, and the area can be analyzed using the categories applied to other regions.

#### **Readings:**

Aarts, Paul. "The Middle East: A Region without Regionalism or the End of Exceptionalism". *Third World Quarterly* 20, 5 (1999): 911-25. Aarts asks why the Middle East seems to present an

exception to global trends towards regionalism. He thinks there is potential for economic liberalization to reverse this trend.

Davison, Roderic. "Where is the Middle East?" *Foreign Affairs* 38 (1960): 665-75. The author questions the validity of the term "Middle East" and the political foundations on which it was established. The region has very different conceptions of its history and religion influences, and it is viewed differently by internal actors. Davison also provides a more apt definition of the Middle East

Krokowska, Katarzyna. "Cooperation among Adversaries. Regionalism in the Middle East". *Centre international de formation europeenne* 2010. [ ] Krokowska aims to demonstrate certain facets of cooperation among the Levant states (Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the Palestinian Authority). She concedes that in the region, "bilateralism and unilateralism, in the form of assault and rule, are far more common types of relations" (4). Nevertheless, through a case study of the sub-region of the Levant, she shows that cooperation may also be successful. In this region, water and energy have acted as a stabilizing factor, in the same way that coal and steel encouraged cooperation in Europe (54). Krokowska also provides an overview of major concepts and theories relevant to explaining cooperation in the Middle East.

Legrenzi, Matteo and Cilja Hardens. "Beyond Regionalism? Regional Cooperation, Regionalism, and Regionalization in the Middle East". (New York: Ashgate, 2008): Introduction, 13-33, 69-89, 89-107, 157-169. Legrenzi and Hardens examine the theoretical explanations for the lack of cooperation in the Middle East. They especially highlight the fact that, although the Middle East is currently plagued by conflict, it has many similarities that should make it conducive to regionalism. The book places a specific focus on theories of neorealism and liberalism.

**-OR-**

**Seminar 11: Nov. 23**

**Sub-federal Regionalism**

Some of the economically, socially, and – sometimes - politically most significant "regional" developments are occurring within and across national boundaries.

**Read:**

Ohmae, Kenichi. "The Rise of the Region State." *Foreign Affairs* 72.2 (Spring, 1993). 78-87.

< <http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/20045526> > In this startling study published just after the Cold War came to an end, Ohmae defines "region" atypically, but his approach leads logically to the analysis of sub-national regionalisms as in Meg E. Rithmire, "China's 'New Regionalism': Subnational Analysis in Chinese Political Economy," 66 *World Politics* (2014): 165-194.

doi:10.1017/S004388711300035X.

**Seminar 12: Nov. 30**

**North-East Asia: China, the Koreas, and Japan in Tension**

East Asia has a land giant in China, a sea giant in Japan, and a rising power in South Korea. The three are in political tension with each other and with their trans-Pacific rival (China) or ally (the others), the United States. With its land-bound continental neighbours, China has been developing friendly economic and political relations but accepts no infringement of its autonomy. The question for us is whether these three highly integrated economies constitute a region given their historical animosities and continuing political tensions, on the one hand, but their high and rising economic integration on the other?

The seminar will be led by the author of the first reading, Takumi Shibaïke.

## **Readings:**

### Primary Readings

Takumi Shibaïke, Does Regionalization Generate Actorness? The Case of Northeast Asia, Paper presented at the University of Toronto conference on *Politics in Motion: Power Transfers, Institutional Change, and Everyday Politics in East Asia*, March 6, 2014.

(<http://cpsgeastasia.wordpress.com/program/>)

Stephen Bosworth, "The Geopolitics of East Asia in Twenty-First Century." Ed. Jane Little. *Global Imbalances*. Boston: Federal Res., 2008. 42-50.

<http://www.bos.frb.org/economic/conf/conf51/conf51b.pdf> An excellent review of East Asia in the context of the world by a top U.S. diplomat, highlighting in particular the dynamics between China and Japan.

Godwin, Paul. "China as a Regional Hegemon." *The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition*. Ed. Jim Rolfe. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004. 81-101.

<http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/RegionalFinal%20chapters/Chapter6Godwin.pdf> A straightforward analysis of China as a major power in region, breaking down key military, economic, and political factors vis-à-vis its neighbors.

### Additional Readings

Mark Beeson, "Hegemonic Transition in East Asia? The Dynamics of Chinese and American Power", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan., 2009): 95-112.

Bruce Cummings, "The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy" *International Organizations* 38, 1 (1984): 1-40

Shambaugh, David. "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order." *International Security* (2004): 64-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137556> The best overview of China's engagement with its region in East and Southeast Asia by a leading scholar on China. Presents key analysis on chronology, institutional dynamics, state-by-state analysis, driving forces of change, etc.

Hagel, Chuck. "The US Approach to Regional Security." *Shangri-La Dialogue 2013 First Plenary Session* (2013).

Poon, Jessie. "Regionalism in the Asia Pacific: Is Geography Destiny?" *Royal Geographic Society* (2001): 252-260. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20004163> Among the first academic publications to discuss the unique regionalism that is taking place in the region, not Western in orientation, but based on its own cultural history and geography.

Stubbs, Richard, "ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging Asian Regionalism?" *Asian Survey* (2002): 440-455. <http://www.olemiss.edu/courses/pol337/stubbs02.pdf> An important review of China's role in the development of ASEAN and the regionalism that is taking place with Southeast Asia. Also discusses the ASEAN way towards regional integration, while bringing in China and Japan comparisons.

Ross, Robert. "The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-first Century." *International Security* (1999): 81-118. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/rossvol23no4.pdf> One of the best overviews of the strategic implications of a rising China budding heads with the United States. Salient military, security, and economic analysis, although skim of the major sections is adequate.

## Journal Articles

- Wunderlich, Jens-Uwe. "The EU an Actor *Sui Generis*? A Comparison of EU and ASEAN Actorness." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50.4 (2012): 653-69.  
<PDF> Wunderlich provides a good overview of the literature of actorness, citing European scholars such as Hettne and Börzel. He attempts to apply the concept to regions outside Europe, namely ASEAN.
- Chiang, Min-Hua. "The Potential of China-Japan-South Korea Free Trade Agreement." *East Asia* 30.3 (2013): 199-216.  
<Available via [University of Toronto Libraries](#)> Chiang gives an optimistic view on trilateral economic cooperation. She argues that the TPP will be a centripetal force for the region.
- Terada, Takashi. "Constructing an 'East Asian' Concept and Growing Regional Identity: From EAEC to ASEAN+3." *The Pacific Review* 16.2 (2003): 251-77.  
<PDF> Terada explains how East Asian countries have developed a regional identity. He also provides a good overview of East Asian institutional development.
- Shambaugh, D. "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order." *International Security* 29.3 (2004): 64-99. <PDF> Shambaugh's view on the rise of China differs from realist accounts; he lists issue areas where China and the United States can cooperate.
- <Webpage> Shangri-la Dialogue is one of the major track 2 dialogues. It is important to look at US discourse on East Asia, particularly China. As far as I know, the United States every year "welcomes" rising China and seeks "military-to-military" cooperation.

## Books

- Calder, Kent E., and Min Ye. *The Making of Northeast Asia*. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010).  
Cadler and Ye offer a comprehensive view on Northeast Asia. They provide dense information about history and economics in the region.
- Eds. Curley, Melissa and Nicholas Thomas. *Advancing East Asian Regionalism*. (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2007). The book provides detailed accounts for institutional development in East Asia, particularly in relation to ASEAN.

## Seminar 13: Dec. 7 Trans-regionalism: BRICS

The phenomenon of rising powers from the putative 'South' getting together to press their case for greater clout in global governance has been taken seriously for a decade now. It is incorporated in Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa's lightly institutionalized entity, BRICS.

## Readings:

- Lindsay Marie Jacobs and Ronan Van Rossem, "The BRIC Phantom: A comparative analysis of the BRICs as a category of rising powers," *Journal of Policy Modeling* (2013). Available online at [www.sciencedirect.com](http://www.sciencedirect.com) ScienceDirect
- Lurong Chen and Philippe De Lombaerde, "Testing the relationships between globalization, regionalization and the regional hubness of the BRICs," *Journal of Policy Modeling* (2013). Available online at [www.sciencedirect.com](http://www.sciencedirect.com) ScienceDirect

**Alternative seminar topics.**

Should there be no interest in one or other of these 9 seminar topics, we can substitute some other issues that are of greater interest to this year's students. In 2011, for instance, we had a session on Russia and its "near abroad" region (the former members of the Soviet Union) and on the "**Yugosphere**" (the former Yugoslavia and its Balkan neighbours).

It would also be possible to insert a seminar on **CETA, TTIP, and the Transatlantic Relationship**, that is Canada's, the United States' and Mexico's relationship/relationships with Europe.

Given the huge amount of attention devoted to **BRICS**, the new, transregional grouping of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, we can replace one of the listed seminars with a session on this intriguing phenomenon.

The point is that, while this syllabus is highly structured, it is also flexible and can be adjusted to its 2013 members' interests.

***Final Essay to be delivered electronically to Turnitin and by hard copy to 59 Lowther Avenue by midnight Friday, December 4.***

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Student Participation in the Course**

Your work will fall into two categories, responsive and creative.

### **Responsive**

(20 per cent)

Your first responsibility for Seminars 2 through 12 will be to e-mail me ([stephen.clarkson@utoronto.ca](mailto:stephen.clarkson@utoronto.ca)) **the previous Friday by midnight** a one-page document containing one suggested discussion point. Each point should develop a question, issue, reflection, criticism, or connection arising from the readings – basically a point you find interesting and want to raise during the seminar discussion. Discussion points should loosely adhere to the course's basic line of inquiry:

- What are the centripetal forces accounting for the region's regionness?
- What are the centrifugal factors undermining its cohesion?
- In what way is it an actor on the world stage?
- Is its hegemon a force for union or disunion?
- How does this region interact with other regions or powers and with what kinds of centrifugal or centripetal consequences?

Submitting these points in advance allows me to identify common concerns and points of interest and plan the seminar discussion accordingly. You should expect to elaborate during the following Monday's seminar a point made in your submission. Each set of discussion points will receive a mark based on the level of insight they demonstrate about the readings and general course themes.

### **Creative**

Each student will select one of the seminar topics from Weeks 6 through 12 to research for a class presentation and course essay. When there is more than one person involved in a topic, you will work as a team, coordinating your research in order to produce a team presentation at the seminar but two separate, though related final essays.

### **Essay outline due October 2**

(10 per cent)

To help you research and write a strong paper in the limited time you have available, you are to produce a **three-page outline** to mark the first stage of your essay's development. This gives you three weeks from Seminar 1 to do general research -- first reviewing your own notes and texts and then looking through the books and articles from your initial library search that appear most relevant to your chosen subject. You should then produce an outline using the following format:

**Page 1.** A few paragraphs -- in either official language – explaining the nature of your region seen internally and how it interacts with the rest of the world. Specify what question or questions you want to answer, what conceptualization you propose to use, and the general argument you plan to develop.

**Page 2.** Your proposed point-form structure for the essay in the shape of a mini-table of contents.

**Page 3.** A bibliography listing a dozen or so of the sources that you expect will prove most useful.

### **Participation in seminar discussions**

(10 per cent)

Silence is not golden, but our generally huge classes make discussion impossible. In seminars you can develop your oral skills. You should make sure you have something to say each week.

### **Class presentations**

(20 per cent)

You will present your preliminary ideas and findings (based on the questions outlined above) at the scheduled seminar. Individual presentations should be some 12 minutes in length; if you are working in a team its total duration should not exceed 30 minutes. Either way, you will be judged in part by your ability to spark a lively discussion during the rest of the seminar.

### **Final Essay** *due December 5*

(40 per cent)

#### Topics:

If it is true that "We write to learn," your essay is the prime medium for developing your knowledge. As this syllabus was designed for graduate-level students, you should work out a topic that will excite you enough to warrant spending 12 weeks of your life researching and writing top-quality prose.

Most essays will combine an analysis of the internal nature of one or more regions with an exploration of how they – and/or their constituent states – interact internationally. The focus for the papers will vary.

Notionally, there are three categories:

Essays focusing on a single region will normally address two questions.

-What is the nature of the region seen internally?

-How does the region interact with the rest of the world (a) as agent and (b) as object?

Essays focusing on the relations between one region and other states/regions will assess whether these international interactions have centripetal or centrifugal effects.

Essays comparing two or more regions' interactions will need to focus on a single factor such as their free trade agreements.

You are strongly advised to tailor your essay selection to your own academic/familial background and career interests.

#### Size:

**Pol 2226:** 5,000 words excluding references and bibliography.

**Pol 487:** 4,000 words excluding references and bibliography.

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Evaluation and Grading**

Discussion Points	15 per cent
Essay outline	15 per cent
Participation in seminar discussions	10 per cent
Class Presentation	10 per cent
Final Essay	50 per cent

As this is a workshop, all students are expected to be present and actively participate in all sessions. Ten percent of the participation grade will be deducted for each session missed unless for a medical reason notified *in advance* and subsequently *documented* by a doctor's note.

## Formating and style guide for written work

I save your weekly discussion points in a folder for that particular seminar, so please set up the one-page file name with Header (**not** footer) in Times Roman 12 point:

left: your **FIRST** and last name such as BETTY Jones;

right: brief subject in italics such as S2 Regionalism Literature

Text: Times Roman 12 point, left justified, with 1 space between lines for Discussion Points and 1.5 spaces between lines for the Essay.

Paragraphs: either indent or have one extra line space between paragraphs.

Please use Footnotes, **not** endnotes, Times Roman 10 point, left justified, single space.

- Newspaper article: Joe (first name first) Bloe, "Article Title," *Globe and Mail* (Jan. 3, 2006), B2.
- Periodical article: Joseph Bloe, "Article Title" 3:53 [meaning number 3 in volume 53] *Periodical Title* (Winter, 2006), 346-8.
- Book: Joseph H. Bloe, *Book Title* (City: Publisher, Year), 542-53.
- Chapter in edited book: Joseph H. Bloe, "Chapter Title," in Editor's Name, ed., *Book Title* (City: Publisher, Year), 392-411.

All major words in titles should be capitalized.

Do not use Ibid. or Op. cit.; instead use the author's last name, an abbreviated title, and page number.

With web sites, indicate "accessed on [date]" after the url.

### Spacing at beginning of new subsection:

two line spaces before a new section head; none between section head and first paragraph.

- US and not U.S. **US** should only be used as an adjective; as a noun, write United States
- % should be spelled out as 'per cent' except in tables.
- When possible, paragraphs should not exceed 12 lines.
- All numbers under 100 are spelled out unless they are percentages, as in "10 per cent." Those larger than 99 are not spelled out unless they come at the beginning of a sentence.
- **Italicize** words in other languages that are not commonly used in English such as *maquiladoras* but not in the case of titles or organization such as Congreso de Trabajo or words that have been assimilated into English such as de facto. When in doubt, check the Oxford Canadian dictionary.
- Oxford Canadian **spelling**: program *not* programme; sceptical *not* skeptical; labour *not* labor; defence *not* defense; cigarette *not* cigarette; practise as a verb, practice as a noun; globalization *not* globalisation.
- Bilateral, transborder, and neoconservative; not bi-lateral, trans-border, or neo-conservative
- Anti-globalization not antiglobalization
- Dollar/currency: **US\$** or **CD\$** preceding the \$ when it is not the currency of the country in question
- Beware the difference between *principle* and *principal*, *effect* and *affect* !!

### Punctuation:

- **comma** before the ‘and’ of a series: a, b, and c, as in “black, white, and blue” -- not "black, white and blue.”
  - No comma before either the ‘and,’ the ‘but,’ or the ‘or’ that links two clauses with the same subject: "I went out and then I came back.” But: “He didn't know if he had totaled the car, and she didn't either.”
- Quotation marks after punctuation in** "quote ending with comma,” and "quote ending with period.”  
But **before punctuation** as in "quote ending with colon”: and "quote ending with semi-colon”;

## The Final Essay

**Due** date: midnight December 4, *both* as Word file sent by e-mail *and* in a hard copy delivered to my house, 59 Lowther Avenue.

Please attach pages with a paperclip, do not staple, as I otherwise have to remove staples before reading.

**Penalty** for lateness: 2% per day.

**Criteria** for grading:

1. Argument 25%

The originality and the power of the analysis you present; the extent that a theory from the political economy literature is tested or some interesting hypothesis of your own is proven; the coherence of the logic with which you develop your case.

*Students' most common problem* comes from not finding a clear question to address and so not developing an effective thesis.

2. Information 25%

The mastery of the factual material that you present from your research in the literature, its relevance to your argument, its effectiveness in making your case, its accuracy and completeness.

*Students' most common problem* comes from not knowing what material to consult and so not marshalling information that is relevant to demonstrating the thesis.

3. Structure 25%

The coherence of your paper's organization and its utility in helping develop your argument.

*Students' most common problem* comes from not developing an organization of this material that serves the argument's development.

4. Writing and Editing 25%

The clarity with which you express your ideas and communicate your thinking, correct usage of English (or French) syntax and language, integrity of paragraphs, narrative continuity.

Editing includes the care with which you present the essay: correct spelling, proper presentation of (preferably) footnotes and bibliography.

*Students' most common problem* comes from not writing a first draft early enough so that unclear points can be clarified, the introduction and conclusion reformulated, the argument perfected, and the text carefully edited for annoying typographical errors.

**Kindly submit all written work in Times Roman 12 point with 1.5 line spacing**