

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
POL417H1F: Politics of North-South Relations, Fall 2025

Professor: Abbas Gnamo, Ph.D.
Time: Tuesdays, 5:00PM– 7:00PM
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Themes

This course explores the complex relations between the developed world and Global South in historical and contemporary settings through latest thinking. It engages critical scholarship within International Politics and International Political Economy to examine salient factors in North-South relations such as dependency and interdependence, trade, development aid, global governance architecture, and the emerging South-South cooperation broadly defined. As part of that, it will look at trade and investment patterns, debt, global poverty alleviation strategies as well as the impact of globalization on the unity and bargaining power of the global South. It will also highlight specific regimes such as promoting democracy and human rights, environmental treaties/protocols, infectious diseases, etc., around which these relations revolve.

Procedure

In the weekly in-class meetings, Tuesdays 5:00 pm -7:00pm, we will follow a brief presentation of conceptual frameworks by the instructor, revolving around the issues raised in the readings and of the questions that the class should address. Students are expected to read one of the required readings for the weekly seminar and take part in the discussion. More importantly, each student will make a presentation (15-20 minutes) of one of the required articles during the term.

Course requirements and due dates

Criteria	Evaluation	Due date
Critical assessment of selected articles ¹	10%	Oct 7, 2025
Critical Book Review ²	30%	October 21, 2025
Presentation ³	10%	TBA (to be scheduled)
Major Research paper ⁴	40%	Nov 25, 2025
Participation/attendance ⁵	10%	Throughout the term

*Late penalty of 2% per working day will apply to all late papers and unjustified delays. But extension can be granted if requested 48 hours before the due date.

Required and recommended readings are available electronically at U of T libraries and you can access through Quercus, List of Reading

1. Students are required to critically assess two articles from the required readings in 2pp for the total mark of 10% due on Oct 7, 2025
2. A critical review of ONE of the following books should be handed in at or before the class of October 21, 2025 (30%). The length of the paper is 8-9 pages, double-spaced. The following books are selected for the critical review, and they can be purchased from U of T Bookstore:
 - a. William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor* (Basic books, 2014)
 - b. Paul Collier, *The Bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
 - c. Dambisa Moyo, *Dead aid: why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux. 2009
3. A presentation of a required article in the weekly seminar for 15-20 minutes for 10 % of the total mark You will select the article you want to present from assigned weekly readings.
4. Lastly, the final essay, or a major research paper of approximately 16 pages (3500-4000 words) maximum on a major issue in the Politics of North-south relations and international politics must be submitted to Quercus on Nov 25, 2025, will account for 40% of the total mark. Selected topics for the essay will be posted in the beginning of October. Students are expected to choose one of these conflicts unless they want to come up with their own proposal that must be approved.
5. Attendance and participation in the weekly discussion (10%) is important in the seminar and attendance is taken regularly.

Please note: Assignment grading will follow the University of Toronto's grading regulations as outlined in the Arts and Science 2006/2007 course calendar (www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar). Assignments are due at the beginning of class. Extension may be granted for compassionate and medical reasons. But the request for an extension cannot be made in 48 hours before the due date. A penalty of 2% per working day will be applied to all late assignments up until a maximum of ten late days, after which late papers will not be accepted except under exceptional circumstances. Assignments will also not be accepted via email. Late assignments should be delivered to the receptionist's office

(Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall) to be date stamped. Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their essays. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. Any medical-based assignment extension requests or make-up term test requests will require an official Student Medical Certificate and will require advance notice (www.utoronto.ca/health/forms/medcert.pdf).

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a most serious academic offense, and the offender will be punished. In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. It is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to use only footnotes. You must ensure that you identify and attribute all your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them – and every time you cite someone verbatim, you **MUST** indicate this using quotation marks.

According to the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, it shall be an offence for a student knowingly:

- a. to forge or in any way alter or falsify any document or evidence required for admission to the University, or to utter, circulate or make use of any such forged, altered, or falsified document, whether the record be in print or electronic form.
- b. to use or possess an unauthorized aid or aids or obtain unauthorized assistance in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- c. to personate another person, or to have another person personate, at any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- d. to represent as one's own idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- e. to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere.
- f. To submit for credit any academic work containing a purported statement of fact or reference to a source which has been concocted.

For further information on plagiarism and how to avoid it, please refer to the University's policy at www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html. Students are strongly encouraged to explore the numerous resources available at the "Writing at the University of Toronto" website at www.utoronto.ca/writing.

Original Plagiarism software

"Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>)".

Students who object to using turnitin may use the following alternative procedure: inform the instructor, in the first two weeks, that they will not be using turnitin and discuss alternative arrangements including submitting a disc with all saved drafts of their paper and handing in all notes, outlines, bibliographic research, etc.

Verification of Absences

“For 2023-24, the **Verification of Illness (or “doctor’s note)**

If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult me right away. Normally, I will ask you for documentation in support of your specific medical circumstances. This documentation can be an Absence Declaration (via ACORN) or the University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. If you cannot submit a VOI due to limits on terms of use, you can submit a different form (like a letter from a doctor), as long as it is an original document, and it contains the same information as the VOI (including dates, academic impact, practitioner's signature, phone and registration number). For more information on the VOI, please see <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>. For information on Absence Declaration Tool for A&S students, please see <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence>. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

Arts & Science Writing Centres

1. Arts & Science Writing Centres will offer a mix of in-person and online appointments in 2023-24, with an asynchronous option at some centres. Students can find information about the offerings of specific college writing centres at <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science>. Students should visit each individual centre’s site for information on how to make an appointment.
2. More than 60 advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available from <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca>. Students benefit from your recommendation of specific material relevant to your course and assignments. Printable PDF versions are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/student-pdfs>. You may especially want to refer students to “How Not to Plagiarize” and other advice on documentation format and methods of integrating sources. These pages are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources>. For general information about writing resources at UofT, students can start here: <https://writing.utoronto.ca>.
3. For group instruction on writing and study skills, please refer students to the Writing Plus workshop series at <http://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-plus>. In 2023-24, these workshops will be conducted in person and through Zoom. Students may join these virtual workshops at the Quercus Writing Plus site: <https://uoft.me/writingplus>. A flyer for this series is attached.

- Information about the English Language Learning program (ELL)'s fall offerings is available at English Language Learning | Faculty of Arts & Science (utoronto.ca). For more information, please contact the ELL coordinator Leora Freedman at ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca.

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Seminar Schedule

Tuesday, September 2, 2025: **First class, Introduction, course overview**

Tuesday, September 9: **The Third World: Does it still exist? Introducing to conceptual framework**

Freeman, Dena. "The Global South at the UN: Using International Politics to Re-Vision the Global," *The Global South as Subversive Practice (Fall 2017)*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 71-91

Mark T Berger, "After the Third World? History, destiny, and the fate of Third Worldism" *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 1, February 2004, pp. 9-39

Vicky Randall, "Using and abusing the concept of the Third World: Geopolitics and the comparative political study of development and underdevelopment" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp 41-53, 2004.

Recommended:

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. *Imperial encounters the politics of representation in North-South relations* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1996 (Part III) pp. 125-1963

Slater, David. *Geopolitics and the Post-Colonial Rethinking North-South Relations*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. 2008 (Book chapter: "Modernizing the other and the three Worlds of Development")

Tuesday, September 16: **IR, Alternative Approaches to North-South Relations**

Inequality: The Realist Perspective:

Mohammed Ayoob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism," *International Studies Review*, Fall 2002

Brown, Stephen. Changing world: is the UN development system ready? *Third World quarterly*, 2014-11-26, Vol.35 (10), p.1845-1859.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Liberal International Order and its Discontents" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.38 No.3, pp. 509–521

Arlene Tickner, "Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2003, Vol.32, No.2, pp. 295-324

Tuesday, September 23: **Interdependence, Cooperation or Partnership**

Required: R. O. Keohane and J.S. Nye, *Power, and Interdependence*, chap. 2

Jamey Essex, "The politics of effectiveness in Canada's international development Assistance", *Canadian Journal of Development Studies (Revue Canadienne d'Etudes du développement)* Vol. 33, No. 3, September 2012, 338–355

Jan Nederveen Pieterse. "Global inequality: bringing politics back" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No 6, pp 1023–1046, 2002.

Puppim de Oliveira (Editor), Yijia Jing (Editor) *International Development Assistance and the BRICS (Governing China in the 21st Century)* 1st ed. 2020 Edition

Tuesday, September 30: **Dependency, Development and Post-development**

Required: Arturo Escobar "Beyond the Third World: Imperial globality, global coloniality and Anti-globalization social movements" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 25, No 1, pp. 207-230, 2004

A.G. Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment" in C.K. Wilber (ed.) *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, (1984).

Tuesday, October 7: **The Politics of Aid**

Required: Browne, Stephen. "Changing world: is the UN development system ready?" *Third World Quarterly*, 2014-11-26, Vol.35 (10), p.1845-1859

Jean-Philippe Therrien, "Debating foreign aid: right versus left" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 23, No 3, pp. 449–466, 2002.

Clemens Six, "The Rise of Postcolonial States as Donors: a challenge to the development paradigm?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 6, 2009, pp. 1103– 112

David Black, Jean-Philippe Thérien, and Andrew Clark, "Moving with the Crowd: Canadian Aid to Africa," *International Journal*, spring 1996.

Tuesday, October 14: **The Politics of Trade**

Required: Shahrukh Rafi Khan, "WTO, IMF and the Closing of Development Policy Space for Low-income Countries: a call for neo-developmentalism" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 1073 – 1090

Flentø, Daniel; Ponte, Stefano, "Least-Developed Countries in a World of Global Value Chains: Are WTO Trade Negotiations Helping?" *World development*, 2017-06, Vol.94, p.366374; Elsevier Ltd

Ann Weston, "The Uruguay Round --Costs and Compensation for Developing Countries," UNCTAD, 1996

Tuesday, October 21: **The Politics of Money (Debt)**

Required: John Glenn, "Global Governance and the Democratic Deficit: stifling the voice of the South" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2008, pp 217 – 238

Nicola Bullard, Walden Bello, and Kamal Mallhotra, "Taming the Tigers: the IMF and the Asian Crisis," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1998).

Baillet, H el ene "A Well-Adjusted Debt: How the International Anti-Debt Movement Failed to Delink Debt Relief and Structural Adjustment" *International Review of Social History*, 202104, Vol.66 (S29), p.215-238.

Tuesday ,October 27-31: Fall Reading Week

Tuesday , November 4: **Multinationals**

Required: Charles Gore, "The Rise and fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries" *World Development* Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 789±804, 2000

Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*, chp. 4.

Dani Rodrik, "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform" *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. XLIV (December 2006), pp. 973-987

Reuveny, Rafael.; Thompson, *William R. North and South in the world political economy* Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub. 2008

Tuesday, November 11: **Human Rights and the Global South**

Required: J. Donnelly, "Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 6 (November 1984).

Wulf Gaertner, "Individual Rights versus Economic Growth" *Journal of Human Development* Vol. 9, No. 3, November 2008.

Howard-Hassmann, Rhoda E “A defense of the international human rights regime” *Indonesian journal of international & comparative law*, 2014-04-01, Vol.1 (2),

Tuesday, November 18 : **The Global Environment**

Required: David Simon, “Dilemmas of development and the environment in a globalizing world: Theory, Policy and Praxis” *Progress in Development Studies* 3, 1 (2003) pp. 5–41.

Elaine Hartwick and Richard Peet, “Neoliberalism and Nature: The Case of the WTO” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 590, Rethinking Sustainable Development (Nov 2003), pp. 188-211

Tuesday, November 25: **The birth and growth South-South Cooperation**

Required: Schoeman, Maxi, “Of BRICs and Mortar: The Growing Relations between Africa and the Global South” *The International spectator*, 2011-03-01, Vol.46 (1), p.33-51

Taylor & Francis Group Alden, C. author.; Morphet, S. author.; Vieira, M. *The South in World Politics*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010
(Conclusions: One South, Many Souths)

Huang, Meibo. editor.; Xu, Xiuli. editor.; Mao, Xiaojing. ed. *South-south Cooperation and Chinese Foreign Aid*, Singapore: Springer Singapore: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019

The Rise of China and India in Africa edited by Fantu Cheru and Cryll Obi, Lond Zed Books, 2010, Chapter 1, pp. 1-11

Class ends