

Political Economy of Capital Accumulation

York University, Political Science 4292(6.0)

Fall Semester, September 7 – December 6, 2011

Seminar meetings: McLaughlin College 215, Monday 16:00-19:00 and Wednesdays, 14:30-17:30

Course Director: Jonathan Nitzan

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OVERVIEW

DESCRIPTION

Capital is the central power institution of capitalism: it is the main force underlying the relentless transformation of power relations in capitalist societies. The course explores the accumulation of capital from three interrelated perspectives: conceptual, historical and empirical. At the conceptual level, the course examines the evolution of different orthodox and critical theories of value and how these theories serve to explain and justify contending notions of accumulation. At the historical level, it traces the development of capital from its humble pre-capitalist origins to its present world dominance. At the empirical level, it studies and juxtaposes the qualitative and quantitative aspects of capital accumulation and study what they mean for the contemporary political economy. In parallel to these explorations, the course introduces students to the art and science of empirical research. By the end of the course, students are expected to be able to develop and integrate theoretical arguments with their own empirical work.

FORMAT

Lectures and class discussion.

EVALUATION

Your course evaluation is based on the items listed in the table below. If you submit all the course work, your final grade will be the higher of Scheme A and B. If you fail to submit one or more of the listed items, your grade will be calculated on the basis of Scheme A.

	Scheme A	Scheme B	Maximum length	Due Date
Participation	10%	10%	—	
Research Exercise 1	15%	0	—	Wed, October 19
Research Exercise 2	25%	0	—	Wed, November 9
Term Paper	50%	90%	4,000 words	Thu, December 15

General. All work must be typed and should not exceed the specified word limit. Late submissions will be accepted only with a valid documented reason (medical or family misfortune); otherwise, they will be subject to a penalty of 10% per day.

Attendance and Participation (10%). You are allowed to miss 2 sessions without reason. Every additional no-show reduces your participation grade by 2%. Students who miss more than 5 classes without reason will not be allowed to hand in their term paper.

Research Exercises (15% and 25%). The two research exercises are to be done in pairs. The purpose of the exercises is threefold: (a) to familiarize you with some of the data sources available for the study of political economy; (b) to give you hands-on experience in obtaining, using and interpreting empirical information; and (c) to make you appreciate the importance and limitations of facts.

Take Home Essay (50%). This essay is to be written individually. The purpose is for you to creatively combine theoretical discussion with empirical analysis, building on the course material.

TEXTS

Required

- Baumohl, Bernard. 2008. *The Secrets of Economic Indicators. Hidden Clues to Future Economic Trends and Investment Opportunities*. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Wharton School Pub.
- Caporaso, James A., and David P. Levine. 1992. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heilbroner, Robert. 1992. *Twenty-First Century Capitalism*. Toronto: Anansi.
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge.

Optional (some available at the bookstore)

- Bernstein, Peter L. 1996. *Against the Gods. The Remarkable Story of Risk*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Keen, Steve. 2001. *Debunking Economics. The Naked Emperor of the Social Sciences*. Annandale and London: Pluto Press Australia and Zed Books.
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2002. *The Global Political Economy of Israel*. London: Pluto Press (the book is also available in PDF format for a free download: <http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/8/>)
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1967. *The New Industrial State*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Mumford, Lewis. 1967. *The Myth of the Machine. Technics and Human Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1923. [1967]. *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times. The Case of America*. With an introduction by Robert Leckachman. Boston: Beacon Press.

Course Kit

- Available from Keele Copy Centre, 4699 Keele Street, 416-665-9675

SCHEDULE (BY WEEK)

- Sep 5: Introduction and Organization +
(start topic 1 below) Capital, Capitalism and Political Economy

Part I: Conceptions of Capital

1. Sep 12: Capital, Capitalism and Political Economy
2. Sep 19: Utility and Value: Neoclassical Capital
3. Sep 26: Labour and Value: Marxist Capital
4. Oct 3: Power and Value: Veblen's Capital
- Oct 10: Co-curricular week – no classes
5. Oct 17: Technology and Power
6. Oct 24: The Corporation

Part II: Transformations of Capital

7. Oct 31: Capital *AS* Power: Dominant Capital and Differential Accumulation
8. Nov 7: Mergers and Globalization
9. Nov 14: Stagflation
10. Nov 21: Capital and State: Imperialism and Beyond (I)
11. Nov 28: Capital and State: Imperialism and Beyond (II)
12. Dec 5: Summary questions and discussion

READINGS

The required readings are available from one of the following sources: (1) required textbook; (2) course kit; (3) York Library's 'eResources'; (4) specified URL.

1. Introduction and Organization**1. Capital, Capitalism and Political Economy****Required Readings**

1. Heilbroner, Robert. 1992. *Twenty-First Century Capitalism*. Toronto: Anansi. [required textbook; 118 pages]
2. Caporaso, James A., and David P. Levine. 1992. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 'Introduction' and Ch. 1: 'Politics and Economics,' pp. 1-32. [required textbook; 32 pages]
3. Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Chs. 1-4, pp. 1-63 [required textbook; 63 pages]
4. Bichler, Shimshon, and Jonathan Nitzan. 2010. *Capital as Power: Toward a New Cosmology of Capitalism*. May. Jerusalem and Montreal, pp. 1-23. [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/285/>, 23 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Dowd, Douglas. 2000. *Capitalism and Its Economics: A Critical History*. London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.
- Heilbroner, Robert. 1980. *The Worldly Philosophers. The Lives, Times, and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*. Fifth ed. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Huberman, Leo. 1936. [1961]. *Man's Worldly Goods. The Story of the Wealth of Nations*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

2. Utility and Value: Neoclassical CapitalRequired Readings

1. Caporaso, James A., and David P. Levine. 1992. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 4: 'Neoclassical Political Economy,' pp. 77-99. [required textbook; 23 pages]
2. Hunt, E.K. (1992) *History of Economic Thought. A Critical Perspective* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers), Ch. 11, 'Neoclassical Theories of the Firm and Income Distribution: The Writings of Marshall, Clark and Böhm-Bawerk'; Ch. 16, 'Annulment of the Myth of the Measurable Productivity of Capital: The Writings of Sraffa,' pp. 286-315; 434-458. [course kit; 55 pages]
3. Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 5, 'Neoclassical Parables,' pp. 67-83; Ch. 8, 'Accumulation of What?,' pp. 125-137 [required textbook; 30 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Arnsperger, Christian, and Yanis Varoufakis. 2006. What Is Neoclassical Economics? The Three Axioms Responsible for its Theoretical Oeuvre, Practical Irrelevance and, Thus, Discursive Power. *Post-Autistic Economics* (38, July).
<http://www.paecon.net/PAERReview/issue38/ArnspergerVaroufakis38.htm>.
- Braudel, F. (1979) *The Wheels of Commerce. Civilization & Capitalism 15th-18th Century. Vol. 2* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers), 'Capital, capitalist, capitalism,' pp. 231-249.
- Fisher, Irvin. 1896. What is Capital? *The Economic Journal* 6 (24, December): 509-534. [eResources]
- Keen, Steve. 2001. *Debunking Economics. The Naked Emperor of the Social Sciences*. Annandale and London: Pluto Press Australia and Zed Books. Ch. 6, 'The Holy War Over Capital, pp. 129-147.
- OECD. 2001. *Measuring Capital. Measurement of Capital Stocks, Consumption of Fixed Capital and Capital Services*. OECD Manual. Paris: OECD Publication Services,
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/61/57/1876369.pdf>
- Robinson, Joan. 1962. *Economic Philosophy*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co. Ch. 3, 'The Neo-Classics: Utility,' pp. 48-70.
- Robinson, J. (1971) 'The Relevance of Economic Theory,' in J. Schwartz, J. (ed.). (1977) *The Subtle Anatomy of Capitalism* (Santa Monika: Goodyear), pp. 16-21.
- Robinson, Joan. 1981. *What Are the Questions? and Other Essays*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe. 'Controversy' (pp. 96-140).
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1954) *History of Economic Analysis*, Ed. from manuscript by E.B. Schumpeter (New York: Oxford University Press), Section 6.5 'Capital', pp. 625-645.
- Sraffa, Piero. 1926. The Law of Return Under Competitive Conditions. *The Economic Journal* 36 (144, December): 535-550. [eResources]

- Sraffa, Piero. 1960. *Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities. Prelude to a Critique of Economic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1908. [1961]. Professor Clark's Economics. In *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation and Other Essays*. New York: Russell & Russell, pp. 180-230.

3. Labour and Value: Marxist Capital

Required Readings

1. Caporaso, James A., and David P. Levine. 1992. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 3: 'Marxian Political Economy,' pp. 55-78. [required textbook; 24 pages]
2. Hunt, E. K. 1992. *History of Economic Thought. A Critical Perspective*. 2nd ed. New York: HarperCollins Publishers. Ch. 9, 'Karl Marx,' pp. 249-303. [course kit; 55 pages]
3. Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 6, 'The Marxist Entanglement I', pp. 84-109; Ch. 7, 'The Marxist Entanglement II,' pp. 110-124; Ch. 8, 'Accumulation of What?,' pp. 138-144 [required textbook; 48 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Avineri, Shlomo. 1968. *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*. London: Cambridge University Press, Chs. 2-3, pp. 8-64.
- Baumol, William J. 1974. The Transformation of Values: What Marx 'Really' Meant (An Interpretation). *Journal of Economic Literature* 12 (1, March): 51-62. [eResources]
- Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1984. Value, Equality, Justice, Politics: From Marx to Aristotle and from Aristotle to Ourselves. In *Crossroads in the Labyrinth*. Translated from the French by Kate Soper and Martin H. Ryle. Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, pp. 260-339.
- Elson, Diane. 1979. The Value Theory of Labour. In *Value. The Representation of Labour in Capitalism*, edited by D. Elson. London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: CSE Books and Humanities Press, pp. 115-180.
- Fine, Ben, and Laurence Harris. 1979. *Rereading Capital*. New York: Columbia University Press. Chs. 1-3, pp. 3-57.
- Foley, Duncan K. 2000. Recent Developments in the Labor Theory of Value. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 32 (1): 1-39.
- Foley, Duncan K. 1986. *Understanding Capital. Marx's Economic Theory*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Harvey, David. 1982. [1999]. *The Limits to Capital*. London and New York: Verso. Ch. 1, 'Commodities, Values and Class Relations,' pp. 1-38.
- Howard, Michael Charles, and J. E. King. 1992. *A History of Marxian Economics. Volume II, 1929-1990*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Part IV, 'Value and Exploitation' (pp. 225-308).
- Kay, Geoffrey. 1979. Why Labour is the Starting Point of Capital. In *Value. The Representation of Labour in Capitalism*, edited by D. Elson. London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: CSE Books and Humanities Press, pp. 46-66.
- Keen, Steve. 2001. *Debunking Economics. The Naked Emperor of the Social Sciences*. Annandale and London: Pluto Press Australia and Zed Books. Ch. 13, 'Nothing to Lose But Their Minds,' pp. 269-299.
- Robinson, Joan. 1962. *Economic Philosophy*. Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co. Ch. 2, 'The Classics: Value,' pp. 28-47.

- Robinson, Joan. 1981. Aspects of Marxism. In *What Are the Questions? and Other Essays*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, pp. 155-202.
- Savran, Sungur, and Ahmet E. Tonak. 1999. Productive and Unproductive Labour: An Attempt at Clarification and Classification. *Capital & Class* (68, Summer): 113-152. [eResources]
- Sayer, Derek. 1987. *The Violence of Abstraction. The Analytic Foundations of Historical Materialism*. Oxford, UK and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Shaikh, Anwar. 1990. Capital as a Social Relation. In *The New Palgrave. Marxian Economics*, edited by J. Eatwell, M. Milgate and P. Newman. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, pp. 72-78.
- Shaikh, Anwar M., and E. Ahmet Tonak. 1994. *Measuring the Wealth of Nations. The Political Economy of National Accounts*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sweezy, Paul M. 1942. *The Theory of Capitalist Development. Principles of Marxian Political Economy*. New York and London: Modern Reader Paperbacks. 'Part One: Value and Surplus Value' and Ch. VII 'The Transformation of Values into Prices,' pp. 11-71, 109-130.
- Tsuru, Shigeto. 1993. *Institutional Economics Revisited*. Raffaele Mattioli lectures. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. One, 'Reappraisal of Marxian Political Economy as "Institutionalism" in the Broad Sense of the Term,' pp. 3-16.

4. Power and Value: Veblen's Capital

Required Readings

- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 12, 'Accumulation and Sabotage,' pp. 217-248 [required textbook; 32 pages]
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1908. On the Nature of Capital. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* XXII (4, August): 517-542. [eResources; 26 pages]
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1908. On the Nature of Capital: Investment, Intangible Assets, and the Pecuniary Magnate. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* XXII (1, November): 104-136. [eResources; 33 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- De Soto, Hernando. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital. Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Basic Books.
- Dorfman, Joseph. 1934. *Thorstein Veblen and his America*. New York: Viking Press.
- Dowd, Douglas Fitzgerald. 1965. *Thorstein Veblen. A Critical Reappraisal*. Lectures and essays commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Veblen's birth. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Dugger, William M., and Howard J. Sherman. 2000. *Reclaiming Evolution. A Dialogue Between Marxism and Institutionalism on Social Change*. London: Routledge.
- Hunt, E. K. 1992. *History of Economic Thought. A Critical Perspective*. 2nd ed. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Ch. 12, 'Thorstein Veblen' (pp. 389-428).
- Nitzan, Jonathan. 1992. From Olson to Veblen: The Stagflationary Rise of Distributional Coalitions. Paper read at the annual meeting of The History of Economics Society, May 30 - June 2, at Fairfax, Virginia. [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/176/>]
- Riesman, David. 1953. *Thorstein Veblen. A Critical Interpretation*. New York: Scribner.
- Sweezy, Paul M. 1946. [1953]. Thorstein Veblen: Strengths and Weaknesses. In *The Present as History. Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

- Sweezy, Paul M. 1991. Monopoly Capital After Twenty-Five Years. *Monthly Review* 43 (7): 52-57.
- Tiltman, Rick. 1992. *Thorstein Veblen and His Critics, 1891-1963. Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Perspectives*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1898. [1934]. The Beginning of Ownership. In *Essays in Our Changing Order*, edited by L. Ardzrooni. New York: The Viking Press, pp. 32-49.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1904. [1975]. *The Theory of Business Enterprise*. Clifton, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley, Reprints of Economics Classics.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1919. [1964]. *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation and Other Essays*. New York: Russell & Russell.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1919. [1934]. *The Vested Interest and the State of Industrial Arts*. New York:: B. W. Huebsch.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1923. [1967]. *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times. The Case of America*. With an introduction by Robert Leckachman. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1934. *Essays in Our Changing Order*. New York: The Viking Press.

5. Technology and Power

Required Readings

- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1967. *The New Industrial State*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Read particularly Chs. I-XV (pp. 1-178). [course kit; 178 pages]
- Mumford, Lewis. 1967. *The Myth of the Machine. Technics and Human Development*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. If possible, read cover to cover, with special emphasis on Chs. 6-11 (pp. 126-262). [course kit; 137 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 13, 'The Capitalist Mode of Power,' pp. 263-274 [required textbook; 12 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1958. *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1983. *The Anatomy of Power*. Aldershot Hants, England and Brookfield, Vermont, USA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Marcuse, Herbert. 1941. [1998]. Some Social Implications of Modern Technology. In *Technology, War and Fascism*, edited by D. Kellner. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 41-65.
- Mumford, Lewis. 1934. *Technics and Civilization*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.
- Mumford, Lewis. 1943. [1973]. Marx: Dialectic of Revolution. In *Interpretations and Forecasts: 1922-1972. Studies in Literature, History, Biography, Technics, and Contemporary Society*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., pp. 199-208.
- Mumford, Lewis. 1970. *The Myth of the Machine. The Pentagon of Power*. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

6. The Corporation

Required Readings

- Coase, Ronald H. 1937. [1996]. The Nature of the Firm. In *The Economic Nature of the Firm. A Reader*, edited by L. Putterman and R. S. Kroszner. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 89-104. [course kit; 16 pages]
- Marglin, S.A. 1974. [1996]. What Do Bosses Do? The Origins and Functions of Hierarchy in Capitalist Production. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 6 (2): 60-112. Reprinted in *Radical Political Economy: Explorations in Alternative Economic Analysis*, edited by V.D. Lippit. Armonk, N.Y. and London: Sharpe, pp. 19-59. [course kit; 41 pages]
- Zeitlin, Maurice. 1974. Corporate Ownership and Control: The Large Corporation and the Capitalist Class. *American Journal of Sociology* 79 (5): 1073-1119. [eResources; 47 pages]
- Arrighi, Giovanni, Kenneth Barr, and Shuji Hisaeda. 1999. The Transformation of Business Enterprise. In *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World System*, edited by G. Arrighi and B. J. Silver. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 97-150. [course kit; 54 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 12, 'Accumulation and Sabotage,' pp. 248-262 [required textbook; 15 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Baran, Paul. A., and Paul M. Sweezy. 1966. *Monopoly Capital. An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*. New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks. Ch. 2, 'The Giant Corporation' (pp. 14-51).
- Berle, Adolf Augustus, and Gardiner Coit Means. 1932. [1967]. *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*. Revised ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Blair, John M. 1972. *Economic Concentration: Structure, Behavior and Public Policy*. New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich.
- Chandler, Alfred D. Jr. 1962. *Strategy and Structure. Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.
- Chandler, Alfred D. Jr. 1965. The Beginning of 'Big Business' in American Industry. In *New Views on American Economic Development. A Selective Anthology of Recent Work*, edited by R. L. Andreano. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, pp. 277-306.
- Chandler, Alfred D. Jr. 1977. *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- La Porta, Rafael, Florencio Lopez-De-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. 1999. Corporate Ownership Around the World. *Journal of Finance* 54 (2, April): 471-517. [eResources]
- Screpanti, E. 1999. Capitalist Forms and the Essence of Capitalism. *Review of International Political Economy* 6 (1): 1-26. [26 pages] [eResources]
- Scherer, F. M., and David Ross. 1990. *Industrial Market Structure and Economic Performance*. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Ch. 3, 'Industry Structure' (pp. 58-96).
- Edwards, Richard. 1979. *Contested Terrain. The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Basic Books.
- Eichner, Alfred S. 1976. *The Megacorp and Oligopoly. Micro Foundations of Macro Dynamics*. Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herman, Edward S. 1981. *Corporate Control, Corporate Power*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, J. 1997. *Corporate Business and Capitalist Classes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steindl, Josef. 1945. *Small and Big Business. Economic Problems of the Size of Firms*. Institute of Statistics, Monograph No. 1. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Sweezy, Paul M. 1939. [1953]. Interest Groups in the American Economy. In *The Present as History. Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, pp. 158-188.
- Sweezy, Paul M. 1942. [1953]. The Illusion of the Managerial Revolution. In *The Present as History. Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, pp. 39-66.

7. Capital AS Power: Dominant Capital and Differential Accumulation

Required Readings

- Caporaso, James A., and David P. Levine. 1992. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 7, 'Power-Centered Approaches to Political Economy,' pp. 159-180. [required text; 22 pages]
- Sweezy, Paul M. 1991. Monopoly Capital After Twenty-Five Years. *Monthly Review* 43 (7): 52-57. [eResources; 8 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 14, 'Differential Accumulation and Dominant Capital,' pp. 305-333 [required textbook; 29 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Bowles, Samuel, M. Franzini, and Ugo Pagano. 1999. *The Politics and Economics of Power*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1983. *The Anatomy of Power*. Aldershot Hants, England and Brookfield, Vermont, USA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard economic studies, Vol. 124. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Read as much as you can, with special emphasis on Chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-75). [75 pages]
- Sherman, Howard J. 1985. Monopoly Capital vs. the Fundamentalists. In *Rethinking Marxism. Struggles in Marxist Theory. Essays for Harry Magdoff & Paul Sweezy*, edited by S. Resnick and R. Wolff. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, pp. 359-377.

8. Mergers and Globalization

Required Readings

- Scherer, F. M., and David Ross. 1990. *Industrial Market Structure and Economic Performance*. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Ch. 5, 'Mergers: History, Effects, and Policy' (pp. 153-198) [course kit; 46 pages]
- Lebowitz, Michael A. 1985. The Theoretical Status of Monopoly Capital. In *Rethinking Marxism. Struggles in Marxist Theory. Essays for Harry Magdoff & Paul Sweezy*, edited by S. Resnick and R. Wolff. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, pp. 185-203. [course kit; 19 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 15, 'Breadth,' pp. 334-360 [required textbook; 27 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Browne, Lynn E., and Eric S. Rosengren, eds. 1987. *The Merger Boom. Proceedings of a Conference Held in October 1987*. Melvin Village, New Hampshire: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.
- Dicken, Peter. 2003. *Global Shift. Reshaping the Global Economic Map in the 21st Century*. 4th ed. London and New York: Guilford Press, Ch 7: Transnational Corporations, pp. 198-237.
- Hymer, Stephen H. 1960. [1976]. *The International Operations of National Firms: A Study of Direct Foreign Investment*. Cambridge, Mass and London, England: The MIT Press.
- Hymer, Stephen H. 1970. The Efficiency (Contradictions) of the Multinational Corporation. *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings* 60 (2, May): 441-448. [eResources]
- Hymer, Stephen H. 1972. [1975]. The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development. In *International Firms and Modern Imperialism. Selected Readings*, edited by H. Radice. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, pp. 37-62.
- Kindleberger, Charles Poor. 1984. Direct Investment in Less Developed Countries: Historical Wrongs and Present Value. In *Multinational Excursions*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 60-76.
- Kindleberger, Charles Poor. 1984. *Multinational Excursions*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Lamoreaux, Naomi R. 1985. *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904*. Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pitelis, Christos, and Roger Sugden, eds. 2000. *The Nature of the Transnational Firm*. 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Pryor, Frederic L. 2001. Dimensions of the Worldwide Merger Boom. *Journal of Economic Issues* 35 (4, December): 825-840. [eResources]
- Ravenscraft, David J., and F. M. Scherer. 1987. *Mergers, Sell-Offs, and Economic Efficiency*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Annual. *World Investment Report*. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

9. StagflationRequired Readings

- Hirschman, Albert O. 1985. Reflection on the Latin American Experience. In *The Politics of Inflation and Economic Stagnation*, edited by L. N. Lindberg and C. S. Maier. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, pp. 53-77. [course kit; 25 pages]
- Kotz, David M. 1982. Monopoly, Inflation, and Economic Crisis. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 14 (4): 1-17. [course kit; 17 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 16, 'Depth,' pp. 361-382 [required textbook; 22 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2002. *The Global Political Economy of Israel*. London: Pluto Press, Ch. 4: 'The Making of Stagflation,' pp. 137-197 [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/8/>; 61 pages]

Optional Bibliography

- Ackley, G. 1959. Administered Prices and the Inflationary Process. *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings* 49 (2, May): 419-430. [eResources]
- Blair, John M. 1974. Market Power and Inflation: A Short-Run Target Return Model. *Journal of Economic Issues* 8 (2, June): 453-478.
- Fischer, David Hackett. 1996. *The Great Wave. Price Revolution and the Rhythm of History*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hall, R. L., and C. J. Hitch. 1939. Price Theory and Business Behaviour. *Oxford Economic Papers* (2): 12-45.
- Kalecki, Michal. 1943. [1971]. Costs and Prices. In *Selected Essays on the Dynamics of the Capitalist Economy, 1933-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-61.
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10 & 11. Capital and State: Imperialism and Beyond

Required Readings

- Arrighi, Giovanni. 1993. The Three Hegemonies of Historical Capitalism. In *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, edited by S. Gill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 148-185. [course kit; 38 pages]
- Magdoff, Harry. 1972. Imperialism. A Historical Survey. In *Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present. Essays by Harry Magdoff*. New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 94-113. [course kit; 20 pages]
- Harvey, David. 2003. The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession. In *The New Imperial Challenge. Socialist Register 2004*, edited by L. Panitch and C. Leys. London: Merlin Press, pp. 62-87. [course kit; 26 pages]
- Machover, Moshé. 1999. The 20th Century in Retrospect. *Worker's Liberty* (# 59): 1-13. [course kit; 13 pages]
- Bichler, Shimshon, and Jonathan Nitzan. 2010. Imperialism and Financialism. A Story of a Nexus. August, pp. 1-29 [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/294/>; 29 pages].
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2009. *Capital as Power. A Study of Order and Creorder*. RIPE Series in Global Political Economy. New York and London: Routledge, Ch. 13, 'The Capitalist Mode of Power,' pp. 274-302 [required textbook; 29 pages]
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2002. *The Global Political Economy of Israel*. London: Pluto Press, Ch. 5: 'The Weapondollar-Petrodollar Coalition,' pp. 198-273 [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/8/>; 86 pages]
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- Marx, Karl. 1909. *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*. 3 vols. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, Vol. 1, 'Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist' and 'Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation,' pp. 822-837.
- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2003. It's All About Oil. *News From Within* XIX (1, January): 8-11. [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/38/>]
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- Nitzan, Jonathan, and Shimshon Bichler. 2006. Cheap Wars. *Tikkun*, August, 9. [<http://bnarchives.yorku.ca/205/>]
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- Veblen, Thorstein. 1915. [1966]. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. Introduction by Joseph Dorfman. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
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RESEARCH EXERCISES 1 AND 2

Purpose. The purpose of the exercises is threefold: (a) to familiarize you with some of the data sources available for the study of the political economy; (b) to give you hands-on experience in obtaining, manipulating and interpreting empirical information; and (c) to make you appreciate the importance and limitations of facts.

Work in pairs. Working with someone else is beneficial for a number of reasons. First, it encourages discussion and debate and entices the imagination. Second, it helps prevent panic when things don't work out. And, third, it gives me less to grade. If you insist on working alone, that's OK, but clear it with me first.

Start immediately. Things always take longer than you think. Attend one of the library instruction sessions (see schedule below) and start working on the first exercise.

Back up your work. Computers can be quick to eliminate any trace of your work if you are not careful. Make sure to save frequent backups.

Excel. There are no shortcuts here. You should familiarize yourself with this spread sheet programme, simply since it is the most widely used. If you know how to plot data in another programme, that's fine too.

Presentation. Pay very close attention to aesthetics. Write your answers with care, trying to be concise but precise. Type your answers and print your tables and charts neatly.

Library database instructions. I have arranged with Walter Giesbrecht of Scott Library (walterg@yorku.ca) to offer a basic instruction session to students in this seminar. The instruction will cover: (a) the World Bank's *World Development Indicators* and (b) *Global Insight*. Two identical sessions will be given early in the term. You are required to attend one of them:

- Session I: Mon, September 12, 2011, 19:00-20:00, Scott Library, Instruction Room 531.
- Session II: Tue, September 13, 2011, 19:00-20:00, Scott Library, Instruction Room 531

The session will help you get started with the first assignment. The librarians are also very helpful beyond the seminar. Don't be shy to seek help – with the databases as well as with other questions. The library resource page for this course could be found in this list:

<http://www.library.yorku.ca/ccm/instruction-guides/pols4292>.

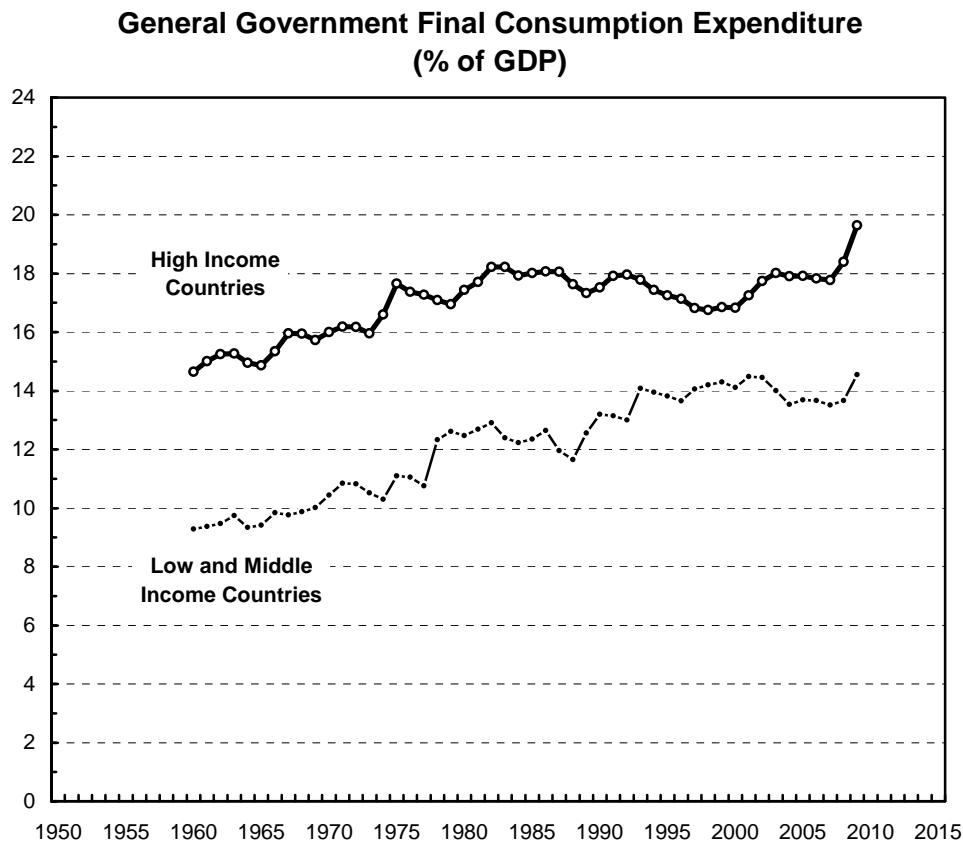
Exercise 1 (15%)

Due date. October 19, hard copy in class.

Data and presentation. This exercise uses the World Bank's *World Development Indicators*; it requires you to use Microsoft Excel or a comparable charting programme.

Questions

- (75%) Using data from the World Bank's *World Development Indicators*, plot the 'General Government Final Consumption Expenditure (% of GDP)' for both the 'High Income countries' and the 'Low and Middle Income countries.' The data begin in 1960 and extend to the late 2000s (the World Bank constantly updates its data, so your own figure may include additional/modified observations). Using Excel to chart the result, try to make your figure look exactly as the one given below (including chart proportions, font size, line style, etc.). You should hand in the Excel sheet of the graph with your answer.
- (25%) Using the data charted in your figure, assess the following statement: 'Since the early 1980s, the hallmark of neo-liberalism was smaller government.' Differentiate between the experience of high income countries on the one hand and low and middle income countries on the other (Maximum 250 words).



NOTE: Cutoff point between Middle and High Income countries: \$12,276 Gross National Income per Capita in 2010 (using the World Bank Atlas Method).

(<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/CLASS.XLS>)

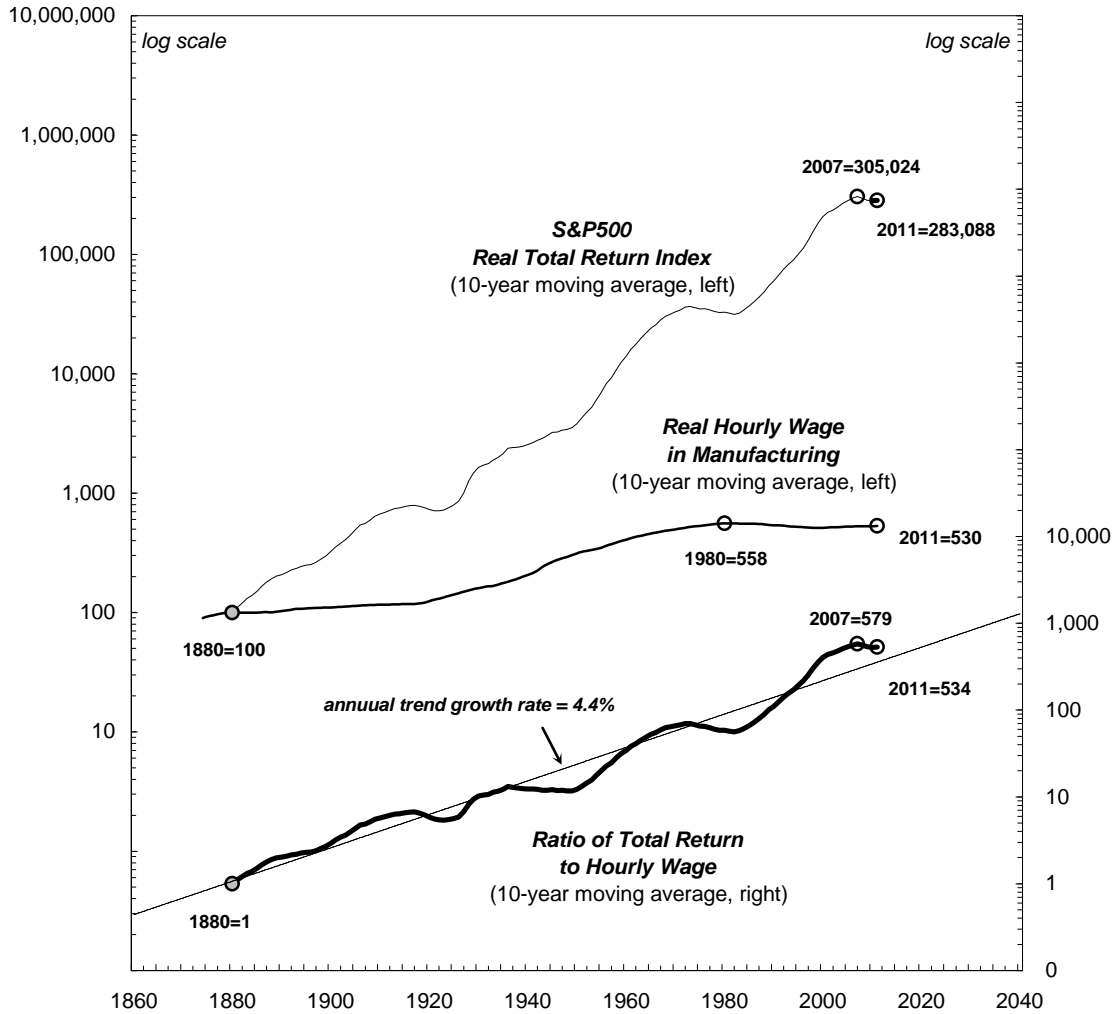
SOURCE: *World Development Indicators* 2011

Exercise 2 (25%)

Due date. November 9, hard copy in class.

Data and presentation. This exercise uses data that can be retrieved from *World Development Indicators*, or *Global Insight* (you can use other sources if you wish). The exercise also requires you to use Excel or a comparable charting programme. Document your data, including the sources and variable names, and explain all your computations.

Questions (review the figure and turn to the next page)



NOTE: Real series are computed by dividing the nominal series by the CPI.

SOURCE: The S&P total return index is from Global Financial Data (till 1969) spliced with data from Global Insight (1970 onward, series code: SP500TRI). The hourly wage rate is constructed by splicing the following series. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Millennial Edition Online: Ba4290 (hourly wages in manufacturing, all trades, 1865-1889), Ba4299 (hourly earnings in manufacturing, all industries, 1890-1913), Ba4362 (weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing, 1914-1918), Ba4361 (hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing, 1919-1938); Global Insight: AHPMFNS (average hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing, 1939-2011). The CPI is from Global Financial Data (till 1946) spliced with Global Insight (1947 onward, series code: CPIU).

1. (25%) The top part of the figure in the previous page compares two U.S. time series, each expressed as a 10-year moving average. One is a 'flow' series: the 'real' hourly wage rate in manufacturing. The other is a 'stock' series, also expressed in 'real' terms: the total return index (including reinvested dividends) of the S&P500 group of companies. The bottom part of the figure computes a 'differential' index: the ratio between the nominal total return index and the nominal wage rate (also expressed as a 10-year moving average. Answer the following questions (up to 500 words):
 - a. Explain the difference between 'stock' and 'flow' data.
 - b. Explain the difference between nominal and 'real' measures.
 - c. Explain the meaning of a differential index and how it differs from 'real' measures.
 - d. What conclusions can you draw from the data in the figure?
2. (25%) Using time series data for a country of your choice (other than the United States), produce a chart similar to the one plotted on the previous page. The chart should compare the evolution of the 'real' wage rate to the evolution of the 'real' total return from investing in the stock market. The chart should also calculate the 'differential' ratio between the total return index of the stock market and the wage rate. What conclusions can you draw from your computations? (up to 400 words).
3. (25%) Assess the following claim for a country of your choice: 'The rise of neoliberalism since the early 1980s has made [country X] more unstable.' Your answer should be based on the historical evolution of the following three variables, each plotted on a separate chart. Go back with the data as far as you can, so as to make the comparisons historically meaningful (up to 400 words).
 - a. The annual rate of growth of GDP, using quarterly data. This index should show the per cent rate of change of 'real' GDP, measured between the same quarters in successive years (e.g. Q1 1998 relative to Q1 1997).
 - b. The annual rate of growth of the country's stock market index, expressed in 'real' terms, and using monthly data. This index should show the per cent rate of change of the 'real' stock market index, measured between the same months in successive years (e.g., Jan 1998 relative to Jan 1997).
 - c. The annual rate of change of the country's exchange rate relative to the \$US, using monthly data. This index should show the rate of change of the exchange rate, measured between the same months in successive years (e.g., Dec 2005 relative to Dec 2004).
4. (25%). For a corporation of your choice, obtain the following annual time-series data for at least 10 years: (a) net profit after taxes, and (b) sales revenues. Compute the time series for the corporation's markup (the ratio of net profit to sales revenues). Plot all three series on the same chart (profit and sales on the left axis, the markup on the right axis). Document the exact sources of your data, including variable names when appropriate (try to quantify your answer by assessing the relative deviations of each variable). What is the main cause for the change in profit – changes in sales or changes in the markup? What conclusion can you draw from this answer? (up to 400 words).

TERM PAPER (50%)

Due date. December 15 (a Word file – not PDF – emailed as an attachment to nitzan@yorku.ca).

Instructions. Write an essay on one of the topics listed below. Your paper should provide a thoughtful theoretical examination of the issue, backed by empirical evidence. The theoretical arguments should draw on the course material and readings (required and optional); you are encouraged (but not obliged) to use additional sources. The empirical evidence could draw on secondary sources, but it must also contain your own data analysis using the skills acquired in the course. The listed topics are very broad. This generality gives you considerable flexibility; but it also means that you have to carefully – and explicitly – narrow down your question/topic to make it manageable.

The paper must be emailed to me by December 15 as a single Word attachment. Make sure this single attachment includes all text and graphics (insert graphics in Word by using “paste special” → “as picture”; this method of pasting will reduce the file size). The paper should not be longer than 4,000 words of text (including references and notes), plus charts and tables. Longer papers will not be accepted.

How to write the paper. Your ingenuity and in-depth understanding will be lost unless expressed clearly. Pay attention to the structure of the essay, writing style, grammar and presentation: (a) in your introduction, specify clearly the purpose, hypothesis and method of your paper; (b) make sure you deliver on what you promise; and (c) re-read and re-edit your paper several times before handing it in.

Topics

1. ‘Capital has become the most important form of politics, both domestically and globally.’ Write an essay articulating your agreement or disagreement with the above statement.
2. ‘Capitalism has become a bubble economy, in which financial markets are increasingly de-linked from the real world.’ Discuss critically the logic and empirical bases of this statement.
3. Who rule the corporation, how do they rule it, and why does it matter? Assess these questions theoretically and empirically.
4. ‘Money and finance essentially are mechanisms of intermediation. They help the real economy function, but have little impact on the final outcomes themselves.’ Critically assess the theoretical debates and historical evidence pertaining to this statement.
5. Examine the political economy of privatization in a country of your choice. What were the causes? Who benefited, who lost and how? What were the broader ramifications for society? (Some interesting countries to look at: Argentina, Brazil, China, Israel and Russia, among others.)
6. ‘Real investment brings growth and prosperity, whereas financial investment is fictitious and wasteful. Capitalist prosperity therefore depends encouraging the former and restricting the latter.’ Assess the validity of this claim in light of the theoretical and empirical connection between capitalist production and capitalist ownership.
7. During the Apartheid era, South African capital was subject to capital controls. Most of these controls were lifted during the 1990s. Assess the impact of this change on the political economy of the country.

8. 'A growing proportion of financial assets is owned by workers through pension funds. If this trend continues, the basic conflict between capital and labour will eventually be eliminated.' Do you agree with the first part of this statement? Do you agree with its conclusion?
9. Is 'economics' a science or is it an ideology? Discuss from at least two different perspectives.
10. Can 'capital' be measured? Discuss from three different perspectives.
11. Compare and contrast the fundamental assumptions of the 'utility,' 'labour value' and 'power' theories of capital.
12. 'Capital accumulation requires a state.' Assess this statement theoretically and empirically.
13. Over the past half century, economic growth in the industrial countries has trended downward. Explain this process from the perspective of at least two theories of capital accumulation.
14. Since the 1940s, the developed countries have experienced nearly uninterrupted inflation. Was this inflation 'good' or 'bad' for capital accumulation? Discuss from the viewpoint of at least two different theories of accumulation.
15. Where does the 'normal rate of return' come from? Answer this question from two theoretical viewpoints and, if possible, support your answers with empirical evidence.
16. Using charts, examine the long term correlation between inflation and growth in 3 countries of your choice. How are your findings related to the process of capital accumulation?
17. Examine the effects of 'globalization' on capital accumulation in a country of your choice.
18. Write a paper that analyses, empirically and/or theoretically, the relationship between power and accumulation in a country of your choice.
19. Examine, theoretically and/or empirically, the process of corporate centralization in a sector or a country of your choice.
20. Is contemporary capitalism 'imperialist'? Examine this question analytically and empirically.
21. 'The new wars of the 21st century are necessary for capital accumulation.' Using theory and empirical evidence, explain why you agree or disagree.
22. Is knowledge a 'factor of production'? How do intellectual property rights affect the process of capital accumulation? Examine these questions analytically and empirically.
23. 'The environment is a public "externality"; privatizing it will boost the accumulation of capital.' Assess the theoretical and empirical validity of this statement.
24. Examine the underlying political economy of accumulation for a particular corporation or group of corporations.
25. Using empirical evidence, examine the current capitalist crisis from at least two theoretical perspectives.