

Paper presented at the Canadian Critical Race Conference 2003: Pedagogy and Practice.

**Title:** CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION AND AMERICAN HEGEMONY:  
RESISTANCE AND RESPONSE

Author: Vanaja Dhruvarajan Ph.D., Professor/Senior Scholar, Department of Sociology,  
University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

DO NOT QUOTE WITHOUT AUTHOR'S PERMISSION.

## CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION AND AMERICAN HEGEMONY: RESISTANCE AND RESPONSE.

Author: Vanaja Dhruvarajan

### **Abstract**

I start this paper by locating myself across social dimensions and proceed to discuss the neoliberal project of Corporate Globalization that is currently underway. The underlying agenda is to continue with the Western civilizing mission started during the colonial era. The conviction about the superiority of Western culture and the rightness of the mission is so strong that no sacrifice is considered costly. The task ahead is to convince the world that what is good for the West is good for the rest of the world by using whatever means necessary. But I show how there is significant resistance for the implementation of this project and elaborate on the responses in terms of Alternatives to the Corporate Globalization model. Nevertheless American hegemony around the globe seems to be getting entrenched as the invasion and occupation of Iraq suggests. The prospects for the future are assessed taking this into account. I end the paper with a conclusion.

### HOW I BECAME INTERESTED IN THE STUDY OF GLOBALIZATION:

My entry into North America as a graduate student in the 60's made me acutely aware of the impact of colonization of India in the devaluation of us as a people and the devaluation of our culture. Such devaluation had become a part of legitimate academic common-sense. My struggles against such state of affairs as a student was feeble at best since questioning the judgment of learned professors would have sounded a death knell to my career as a student. Experiences of marginalization and devaluation of my culture and race because of my colonial background, were indeed difficult burdens to carry after having to endure devaluation as a woman in patriarchal Indian society. I was surprised to see that patriarchy in addition to ideologies of colonization and imperialism were alive and well in a land that boasts of inalienable rights of the individual, democracy and freedom for all. Joining the faculty of a Canadian University did not improve that situation much and my life as an academic has been one of relentless struggle to belong,

to be accepted and respected. This struggle in a significant sense has led me to choose research topics in sites where Race, Culture, Class and Gender intersect.

#### NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION:

Among the experts, faith in the ideology of neoliberalism and commitment to it are deep and far-reaching. To spread this ideology many strategies have been devised. Most important of which is the establishment of many research centers and think tanks. Many books and articles have been written. And in many American Universities students are carefully trained in the tenets of this paradigm. Among these students are many from developing countries, who are recruited to implement the corporate sponsored globalization project guided by this neoliberal ideology. It is argued that this theory provides the engines of growth (Norberg-Hodge 1996). The relentless campaign has been that it is in the interests of developing countries. In fact they are told that it is the only way they can develop and prosper. These policy makers have consistently cited liberalization, deregulation, and privatization as necessary and integral to the implementation of the project.

Global economic governance structures such as the World Trade organization (WTO), World Bank (WB), and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been established to act as enforcers of the corporate agenda. They have the backing of governments of developed countries, particularly the United States which is the world's superpower with unquestionable military might. These institutions impose conditions on developing countries to become eligible for foreign investments, which are referred to as structural adjustment policies (SAPs). These countries have no option but to abide by these conditions, which means that they implement policies that serve the interests of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to the detriment of their own.

This has meant production for export rather than domestic markets to achieve self-sufficiency, which has made many of these countries vulnerable to vagaries of international marketplace. In addition, loss of self-sufficiency, particularly in food has made them dependent on outside help and consequent indebtedness (Chossudovsky 1997). This has made these countries vulnerable to external control, since debt is often used as a weapon. These countries are also required to implement policies of deregulation with regard to investment, which has resulted in foreign capital entering and leaving the country without notice, leading to uncertainty and instability in the economy. It has also forced these countries to lower environmental and labour standards to entice capital not to flee in a race to the bottom (Mander 1996; Bakker 1996).

Liberalization of trade has often resulted in dumping of foreign subsidized products, thereby killing domestic industries. Privatization of essential services forced by these conditionalities has resulted in pushing people into desperate conditions due to lack of access to education and medical care and other essential social services. Thus the governments in developing countries have essentially become handmaids of TNCs promoting their interests by devising and implementing appropriate policies and developing strategies to create and maintain conditions favorable to the implementation of the corporate agenda (Hanhel 1999). Under these conditions restrictions on the behavior and accountability of corporations are significantly reduced at the expense of autonomy and integrity of these countries and the welfare of their citizens. With the implementation of these policies, the flow of wealth from the developing countries to the TNCs located in the North has increased to such an extent that Susan George refers to it as the greatest highjack in history carried out with legal impunity (George 1999).

As a consequence of successful implementation of corporate globalization,

economic growth over the last two decades has increased fivefold; international trade has increased twelvefold and direct investment has grown by a factor of 24 to 36. But the outcome for the welfare of people in general has been dismal since the income disparity between countries and within countries has increased because of the intrinsic tendencies of neoliberal policies towards polarization of benefits of this project. Thus even though the project has successfully implemented the corporate agenda, it has benefited only a small group of elites at the expense of others (Korten 1996: 22). From the perspective of the general population it has not met their basic needs, maintained bio-diversity and cultural diversity and ensured sustained availability of comparable resource flows to future generations. According to the United Nations Development Programme report, (cited in Kendall et al., 2000:272), "between 1960 and 1994, the gap in global income differences between rich and poor countries continued to widen. In 1960, the wealthiest 20% of the world's population had more than 30 times the income of the poorest 20%. By 1994, the wealthiest 20% of the world's population had 78 times the income of the poorest 20%." The environmental depletion and pollution has become a great cause for concern everywhere. According to a study entitled "The Scorecard on Globalization 1880-2000: Twenty Years of Diminished Progress," economists Mark Weisbrot and Dean Baker, Co-directors of the Washington-based Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), the era of globalization has brought substantially less progress than was achieved in the previous years. They further argue that "the data provide no evidence that the policies associated with globalization have improved outcomes for developing countries." They maintain that "it [the study] does present a strong prima facie case that the structural and policy changes implemented during the last two decades are at least partly responsible for these declines" (cited in the CCPA Monitor 2001: 23).

The devastating impact of these policies is evident everywhere, and is particularly more pronounced among the historically marginalized people because they are superimposed upon existing structures of domination and subordination. Thus developing countries are vulnerable because of their histories of colonization and imperialism (Bello 1996). Women everywhere have taken the brunt of these changes because of patriarchal structures. Women in developing countries suffer even more since they not only are victims of gender-gap but also development-gap (Dhruvarajan and Vickers 2002; Marchand and Runyan 2000). As Wichterich (2000:167) writes, "...In the fierce undercutting that pits one country against another, 'globalized woman' is burnt up as a natural fuel; she is the piece-rate worker in export industries, the worker living abroad who sends back foreign currency, the prostitute or catalogue bride on the international body and marriage markets, and the voluntary worker who helps to absorb the shock of social cutbacks and structural adjustment. The strategic function of 'globalized woman', within the broader project of globalization driven by economics and politics, is the execution of unpaid and underpaid labour". In spite of widespread devastation and suffering caused by these policies, the sponsors of corporate globalization continue to implement it with a zeal reminiscent of religious fanaticism. As McMurtry (1998) writes, the underlying principles of this project are life-blind, without any concern for morality and ethics.

#### DISCOURSE OF INEVITABILITY AND PROMOTION OF CORPORATE SELF-INTEREST:

This neoliberal project of corporate elite is proposed as the only way of economic development and therefore inevitable. It is also argued that it has naturally evolved and humanity has no option but to accept the triumph of capitalism and try to cope the best

we can (Teepie 2000). These arguments are made in spite of the evidence that it is a carefully crafted and executed plan of action (Chomsky 1997). Historically in western countries those who controlled property were considered to have better entitlements than those who did not. Their interests were safeguarded and their adventures promoted. Under these circumstances capitalism thrived. The industrial revolution was nurtured in the era colonial expansion. The colonies provided the needed raw material, cheap (and sometimes with the institution of slavery free), labour, to subsidize this venture. The colonies also provided markets to dump the cheap products of the industrial revolution while at the same time destroying indigenous handicrafts and cottage industries<sup>1</sup>. Various industries developed and prospered under state protection. This is true in all industrialized countries in Europe and North America (Petras and Veltmeyer 2001).

After the colonial era the same strategies for trade could not be adopted, as the colonies had become sovereign states. But the needs of capitalism had to be accommodated. With the technological revolution, increased production of goods had to be sold and the profit margins of corporations had to be maintained (Khor 1996). Thus neoliberal strategies for trade expansion were devised and a number of agreements are being formulated to implement the corporate agenda. When we consider the various deliberations of the corporate elite shrouded in secrecy the argument of inevitability and a natural evolution of the corporate sponsored globalization has to be rejected.

The argument that this is the only way and that a new world order has to be ushered in makes sense when we consider these arguments from the perspectives of the corporate elite. For the corporate elite, this is the only way; otherwise their agenda of profit maximization cannot be achieved (Mies and Shiva 1993). A very disturbing revelation about the state of affairs is that the world-view of the corporate elite is

considered as the only legitimate one. Their interests are considered paramount. In fact corporate interests are interpreted as people's interests. Even democracy and freedom is passed through the corporate lens<sup>2</sup>. To be free is to have free trade and to have democracy means unfettered conduct for the corporations. Catering to the needs of corporations has to be the national agenda of democratically elected governments in spite of public opinion against such measures (Nader and Wallach 1996)<sup>3</sup>.

The mandate of the adventures of capitalism are considered so crucial, that it almost borders on the sacred. When we go through treatises of ideologues of capitalism such as Friedman (2000) these points become clear. He considers implementation of the project of globalization as nothing short of exemplary American patriotism. The unquestioned superiority of America's leadership is hailed as unprecedented. He exhorts everyone to join in and spread the Americana unfettered by any moral principles. Here is a sample of the tenor of his arguments..."America has had two hundred years to invent, regenerate and calibrate the balances that keep markets free without becoming monsters. We have the tools to make a difference. We have the responsibility to make a difference. And we have a huge interest in making a difference. Managing globalization is a role from which America dare not shrink. It is our overarching national interest today, and the political party that understands that first, the one that comes up with the most coherent, credible and imaginative platform for pursuing it, is the party that will own the real bridge to the future" (2000, 437). His patronizing and condescending attitude towards those who cannot change and adapt to the new-world order is remarkable. His insensitive dismissal of the suffering people are put through, to implement the project borders on fanaticism. His anger and impatience towards those who do not understand the epochal significance of this venture is messianic. He does not even consider that

many of the countries around the globe may have their own hopes and dreams and plans of developing their economies and societies in keeping with their own history and culture. In his vision they are all forced to shelve their hopes and dreams to subsidize the ventures of American led capitalism. His smug arrogance becomes obvious when he discusses how these people should be allowed to preserve their culture even though his liberal indifference does not motivate him to know their culture in any meaningful way.

The elites have been able to sustain this stance because the media is under their control. Managing public opinion to accept their dictum as legitimate has been the preoccupation of corporate controlled media. Corporate public relations experts in fact see people as a “herd waiting to be led” (Finn 2001)<sup>4</sup>. The constant preoccupation is how to make sure that the sleeping giant of public opinion against the corporate agenda is not awakened. The adopted strategies are to manipulate beliefs and attitudes of people in such a way to make it appear as though democracy prevails while in fact it is the corporate interests that prevail. One way is by controlling the flow of information that awakens the critical thinking of the masses. Not providing needed information or putting a corporate spin on the news report works as well. Another effective method that has been successful is keeping people preoccupied by creating a culture of consumerism (Klein, 2000). The ethic of consumerism diverts people from real issues as they struggle to live up to the ideals created by this culture. The ideals are unrealistic and often unachievable --for example, ideals of beauty. It also makes people become more preoccupied with style rather than substance, constantly struggling to live up to an image rather than involving themselves with concrete issues. Corporations profit by continuously creating new needs to keep up with newly created styles, while consumers wage an ever-losing battle by indulging in consumerism.

This ideology also elevates the value of style over substance, thereby devaluing work that deals with the latter and overvaluing the former. There is something grotesque about the fact that the maker of athletic shoes--more often than not a woman from the third world, and the person that sell those shoes--more often than not a part-time worker, usually a woman, are paid a fraction of the wages earned by a famous person advertising the shoe and setting a trend in style (Klein 2000). But this is considered proper because the trendsetters are the elite and their work is considered of higher value, thus maintaining the hierarchy of privileges.

The relentless campaign of these true believers to impose capitalism, American style, has wreaked havoc in the lives of people in third world countries. But this information is not disseminated in the mainstream media in Western countries. People do not know that many countries in Africa were self-sufficient in food but have become dependent upon importing of food grains as their subsistence agriculture was destroyed because of SAPs (Chossudovsky 1997). After getting rid of colonial rule, countries in Asia and Africa dreamed of land reforms to bring about equality and justice for their citizens, but those plans had to be shelved in the new world order. The economies of several Asian countries collapsed because of stock market melt down triggered by irresponsible speculation. The right of capital for unfettered movement has resulted in uncertainty and instability. As Walden Bello remarked during his speech to the World Economic Forum in Melbourne, Australia (2000), "The unrestricted flow of speculative capital in accordance with Washington Consensus doctrine was what our governments in East Asia institutionalized in the early 1990's under the strong urging of the International Monetary Fund and the US Treasury Department. The result; the \$100 billion that flowed in between 1993 and 1997 flowed out in the bat of an eyelash during the Great Panic of

the Summer of 1997, bringing about the collapse of our economies and spinning them into a mire of recession and massive unemployment from which most still have to recover.”

Third world countries have become dumping grounds for toxic waste produced in developed countries. In addition the tax-free zones where TNCs produce goods as cheaply as possible to increase their profit margin by flaunting environmental protection, exploiting labour and enjoying tax advantages (Goldsmith 1996). Women of the third world suffer most and they are easier to exploit because they are more vulnerable due to family responsibilities. They, along with their dependents—children, disabled, and elderly, live in toxic environments close to their place of work, being unable to afford better housing.

#### TRADE AGREEMENTS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

According to the trade agreements negotiated by the WTO, there are many conditions the developed countries are expected to honor. They include: providing better access to them in their markets; providing technology transfer; stopping the practice of dumping of subsidized products particularly in agriculture in their markets; and increase investment to trigger growth in their economy. But none of these conditions are addressed to the satisfaction of developing countries even though the TNCs from the developed countries have obtained all the advantages and have profited from the misery of the people in these countries. There have been widespread demonstrations against such corporate sponsored globalization across the globe and a plea to reconsider their strategies<sup>5</sup>.

There was some discussion that perhaps the next round of talks might be postponed in view of the widespread discontent and the terrorist attack of September 11<sup>th</sup>.

But this state of affairs did not deter the global economic institutions serving the interests of the TNCs. Instead the terrorist attack has pushed the concerns of developing countries to the background. In fact the corporate elite are using this tragedy not just to continue with business as usual but to promote their agenda more vigorously. Thus in Doha, Qatar on November the 4<sup>th</sup>, the ministerial conference was held. This venue was selected to keep the protesters away. The meetings were undemocratic, non-transparent and manipulative just as were all other previous meetings. The September 11<sup>th</sup> tragedy was used to silence dissent. To prove that one is pro-American in the aftermath of the tragedy, one had to be pro-trade agreements. Freedom, democracy and trade are all considered interchangeable. But the meetings were conducted in such a way that an illusion of democracy was created and consensus was manufactured through slick manipulation. The resolutions that favored the corporate interests were railroaded and the issues of concern for the developing countries were pushed to the background. The meetings were dubbed as the “development round”, while in fact the Doha declaration contradicted the interests of the developing countries.

The developing countries wanted to discuss implementation issues such as anti-dumping rules, agricultural subsidies to farm products in developed countries, and phasing out of textile and garment quotas. They also wanted to see the wordings of Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) agreement changed to outlaw bio-piracy and patents on life. This is a key concern of developing countries because they are in danger of losing all the wealth produced over centuries by multitudes of people to corporate greed (Armstrong 1999; Shiva 1997; Shiva and Holla-Bhar 1996). There is also a movement among developing countries to keep food out of trade talks because of devastating consequences suffered by many of these countries with the destruction of

subsistence farming<sup>6</sup>. This has happened as a direct result of trade policies imposed on developing countries as part of structural adjustment policies imposed by the WTO. They are also concerned about the price of drugs to treat diseases such as aids. The pharmaceutical industries in their greed for profit, are not allowing developing countries to produce generic drugs in their own countries. The developing countries were unable to challenge the agreement because their concerns were ignored in the meetings. The only temporary concession they got was an attachment to the Declaration which states that there is nothing in the TRIPs that would prevent countries from taking measures to promote public health. The wording in the agreement itself was not changed. This is a cause for concern since the countries that follow through this strategy to override the patents can be susceptible to challenges in the future since the wording in the agreement itself is not changed..

As a consequence of these outcomes, there were widespread feelings of frustration and a sense of powerlessness among the delegates from third world countries at the November meeting. Clear awareness of being marginalized and manipulated has resulted in a sense of alienation. Strategies of arm-twisting, blackmail and intimidation from big trading powers silenced and forced the delegates from developing countries to acquiesce. Thus a 'consensus without consensus'<sup>7</sup> was obtained in these meetings. The developed countries triumphed once again as their agenda to start immediate negotiation on investment, competition policy, government procurement and trade facilitation was agreed upon in spite of opposition from developing countries. Thus the developing countries will be facing more of the same policies that have had devastating consequences and the TNCs will continue to increase their profit margin by controlling and directing the economies of these countries.

## REACTIONS TO THE CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION PROJECT:

The situation looks bleak to a majority of people around the world as corporate sponsored globalization sweeps the globe and the power of corporations becomes entrenched.

Corporate rights have become sacred rights that override even the rights of sovereign states to protect their citizens. The TNCs have become the global Mafia with their enforcers in the form of global economic institutions and with states performing the role of facilitators. The only difference between this and the Mafia of the past is that the latter did not have legal legitimacy.

But there are signs of hope. There are some silver linings around the dark clouds of neo-liberalism enveloping the globe. The global economic institutions are losing their credibility as experts to bring about economic prosperity for all as they repeatedly claim that they would. No matter how strong the institutions appear to be, if these feelings of discontent continue to manifest and spread, they are bound to lose their hegemonic status and begin to unravel (Gramsci 1987; George 1999; Bello 2000). There is a growing awareness of the duplicity of their dealings and their manipulative tactics to serve the interests of TNCs. The heads of these institutions are not democratically elected but bureaucratic appointments and their goal is to implement the neoliberal agenda and not to serve the interests of people in general. The dictum that what is in the interest of corporations is in the interests of all is being questioned. There is accumulated evidence to prove that bad theory hurts welfare of people and even kills them (Hanhel 1999). There is growing evidence to show that the theories of development derived from the neo-liberal paradigm are indeed doing just that (Chossudovsky 1997; Khor 1996;McMurtry 1998). There is a growing realization that the widespread negative impact of corporate globalization is intrinsic and logical consequence of its

implementation not an accidental result (Mies and Shiva 1993; Korten 1996; Gray 1998). The number of people demonstrating against these institutions every time they hold a meeting shows a growing unrest among people<sup>9</sup>.

The question for most people around the world is not about whether people are for or against trade and technology. The concern is about the terms of trade and the imposition of different types of technology. The issue is one of democracy and freedom for all people not just for the elite as it is routinely accepted as the right version in the common sense knowledge under corporate sponsored globalization (Langdon 1999)<sup>10</sup>. As Langdon (1999) writes, “A new vision with strong social values is emerging in some of the democratizing countries of the South, and that vision may be what is needed. The new vision is community-based, decentralist, democratic, and egalitarian. It rests on six basic propositions that emerge from a fundamental reorientation seen in many Southern countries – views that are making changes happen.”

The problem of domination and exploitation is not exactly new for people in the South because under colonial rule the citizens of colonies did not have any democratic rights since the colonies existed to serve the mother country. This stance was justified on the basis of superiority of western cultures and their mission to civilize the heathons. Since the dissolution of colonial rule there is some discussion of recognition of rights of all people and an attempt to recognize the validity of all cultures. But this politics of recognition has resulted in liberal indifference at best. This position is articulated succinctly by Charles Taylor (1992; 1994) who speaking from the perspective of the West, states that westerners should recognize that there are many different cultures and should allow them to practice their cultures if those people choose to do so. But, he argues that no statements about the validity of these cultures can be made since the westerners do not know them. He does not argue for engaging in a discussion to understand and appreciate these different cultures. But rather prefers to leave them alone. Such liberal indifference is not conducive for the development of respect and

acceptance among followers of different cultures. More importantly this does not question the assumption of superiority of western culture over all the other cultures<sup>11</sup>. Thus it does not provide conditions conducive for democracy to thrive across the globe. Instead it creates conditions where the westerners can continue to impose their way of life in the guise of better expertise or to offer a choice of a better life to people in the missionary tradition but in fact pursuing their own self-interest.

#### ALTERNATIVES TO NEOLIBERAL CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION:

The charge that the critiques of corporate globalization have not come up with clear alternatives is not justified. They have not come up with one grandiose design because that is exactly what is wrong with the corporate globalization project. Being sensitive to variations in aspirations of people depending on their culture and history, and building enabling structures and ideologies to promote multiple ways of life is what is being advocated. Corporate globalization is literally smothering all such efforts thereby scuttling all other projects in their infancy.

There is an emerging consensus among the critics of corporate globalization to provide alternatives to the neoliberal paradigm. The goal is to provide conditions for the adaptation of diverse ways of life including diverse economic paradigms. The crucial point to recognize is that people should be free to choose a particular way of life that is in keeping with their history and culture. They should be free to choose appropriate terms of trade, appropriate technology and appropriate form of government that works best for them. The intent is to empower people and communities so that they can participate in decision-making processes that determine their ways of life. So the argument is for decentralization of power structures rather than opting for centralized bureaucracies. The call is made to build enabling structures to nurture and promote diverse ways of life<sup>12</sup>. With such consensus regarding goals several alternative methods for achieving those goals are proposed. Space does not permit an exhaustive discussion of such models. Here I discuss four models to illustrate the argument.

One such paradigm is suggested by Amartya Sen, a Nobel prize winner for Economics. In his book *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books; 2000), taking a holistic approach he states that development is for the enhancement of human capabilities. Economic production is not an end in itself but is one of the means albeit an important one, to enhance human capabilities. People are not just recipients of

development policies. They are also agents who participate actively in the process. Such participation is facilitated in contexts where their capabilities are enhanced. This requires that conditions conducive to promote freedom and autonomy for all people provide opportunities for them to increase their potential, and nurture their health and wellbeing, prevail. Thus all development policies should reflect this orientation. In concrete terms it translates into making the health and wellbeing of people and environmental preservation an integral part of development policies. Thus Professor. Sen seems to have a strong conviction that by integrating ethics and morality into its framework capitalism can accomplish the goal of empowerment of all people and insures their wellbeing. He seems to believe, that Adam Smith's and Friedrich von Hayek's Utopian vision of a humanity united by peacefully competing enterprises is possible. But the corporate globalization model is clearly guided by Malthus and Hobbes, and there seems to be a commitment to establish a new- world order where 'the war of all against all' will prevail.

Showing how the corporate globalization is essentially same as imperialism -- since its goal is to further enrich and maintain the privilege of those who always had both -- scholars such as James Petras, Henry Velmeyer and Oscar Ugarteche argue for strong nation-states to transcend class conflict to insure the wellbeing of all. They do not see conflict between strong state and private market. They show how industrial development in the developed countries took place over time through state protection and nurture of domestic industries. They do not agree that export-led growth is the way to achieve prosperity. Instead they argue for the development of strong internal market, technology and infrastructure before integrating to the global market. A strong interventionist state can successfully negotiate with the market to produce vibrant economies capable of dealing with external markets from a position of strength. Depending on the internal resources for development of the economy is the best way to go. Reliance on foreign investment should only be done with agreements that are fair and just. It is important that the capital is rooted in the community and not be transferred at the whim of speculators thereby destabilizing the economy, consequently social life in general. They argue that the neoliberal strategy of integrating weak underdeveloped economies of the south with well developed strong economies of the north means the former will be integrated as a dependent economy and destined to remain that way. The end result is

granting of monopoly over power and privilege to the corporate elite in perpetuity. They do not seem to be concerned about the growth of unmanageable state bureaucracies.

Many scholars on environment argue for decentralized economies with vibrant communities (Mander and Goldsmith 1996). They argue for establishing enabling institutional structures to sustain and promote such economies and communities. They are convinced that democratic way of life thrives under those conditions, through the empowerment of people and communities. Protecting the environment, nurturing diverse cultures and ways of life in cooperation and mutual respect would be best achieved under such circumstances (Kumar 1996). Living in harmony with nature realizing that the assumption of infinite growth in a finite earth is unsustainable is necessary to insure positive legacy for the future generations. In Walden Bello's words (2000:11), "We are talking more over, about a strategy that consciously subordinates the logic of the market, the pursuit of cost efficiency to the values of security, equity, and social solidarity We are speaking in short, about re-embedding the economy in society, rather than having society driven by the economy." Producing everything that is needed locally and depending on other countries for only those products that cannot be produced at reasonable cost should be the principle to follow. Trading under terms of fair trade in goods that are produced cheaply and in excess of local consumption is considered as serving the best interests of people in local communities. Self-sufficiency in food is a must, otherwise it can be used as a weapon to impose controls as it is being done by the TNCs. Engaging in economic activities in such a way that it does not deplete and pollute the environment is considered most important.

The emergent feminisms offer a model that includes a way of life where there is harmony with nature, cooperation and mutual respect among people and a pervasive concern for justice and care of all people (Dhruvarajan 2002). These visions promote a holistic interdependent world-view and social relations that emphasize cooperation (Lorde 1984; Mies and Shiva 1993). They also recognize the finite nature of earth's resources and our own mortality and insist on taking these factors into account while organizing our lives (Gross 1996). Thus the values of democracy and human values of caring, sharing and a sense of community provide the guiding principles to organize social and economic life. Promoting human dignity and welfare is at the front and center of all these paradigms. Privileging of economic aspects of life and subordinating all other

aspects as it is done within the neoliberal paradigm dehumanizes all people including those who enrich themselves from it in addition to destroying the environment thereby depriving the future generations of their rightful legacy.

Providing for the needs of all people and living a simple but meaningful life is considered important. The call is for grassroots involvement in determining the direction of social life by strengthening civil society. Instead of segregating private and public life, they advocate integration of these spheres with guidelines for behavior that promotes wellbeing of all people. They insist on resolving conflicts through peaceful means and avoid diversion of resource to non-productive military build-up.

One important issue to be considered under these circumstances is how to stem the tide of corporate globalization and change the direction of social life. The impediments in the way of achieving this objective appear insurmountable in view of the fact that corporate globalization seem to be gaining hegemonic status.

#### INVASION OF IRAQ:

Demonstrations against the invasion of Iraq have displayed the depth and breadth of feelings against American Hegemony. For the first time in history the protests against the invasion of Iraq and a deep yearning for peaceful solutions of conflicts have drawn protestors from a cross section of the population from around the world. People in wheelchairs, young and old, rich and poor, men, women and children demonstrated in big urban centers, and small towns and villages. From Pope Paul, Desmond Tutu, Ursula Franklin to school teacher from New Jersey extolled peace and abhorred war. They braved cold weather, gusty winds, pouring rain and scorching sun, and traveled miles to register their dissent. People made use of word of mouth, telephones, internet to spread the word, to inform and educate themselves about the issues. They were peaceful, thoughtful, well informed and believed that the exercise of their democratic right by showing dissent will have an impact on the decision-makers. There were peace vigils, prayer meetings, plays, skits, songs, speeches, and marches with banners and signs

displaying powerful messages. There were discussions, debates and teach-ins. The atmosphere was heady and inspiring. One could not help but be impressed by the concern and commitment shown by the participants. It was loud and clear that people were convinced that this war is unjust and unjustifiable. I can personally testify to these sentiments and commitments of many people as I participated in some of these events in Winnipeg. I am very proud to state that there are so many committed people who are yearning to make a difference.

But Iraq was invaded, conquered and occupied by the American troops with the support of British and Australian allies. Countless number of Iraqi men, women and children, many soldiers from all the parties in the combat lost their lives as the cities burned under heavy fire and military assault. Many treasures of the cradle of civilization are lost, stolen or destroyed. The infrastructure is destroyed, and environment polluted. Coverage of the war was extensive. Commentaries and opinion pieces in North America about the causes and consequences of the war were numerous—this was the case even before the war and continued afterwards. In North America even though there was general agreement among the bulk of dissenters that the invasion was not a good thing and not the right way to go, the reasoning behind the arguments varied. One often mentioned fear was an increase in anti-American sentiment in the Middle-East thereby providing a more fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists. If the objective of the invasion was to eradicate terrorism it would not achieve that goal but instead it might produce the opposite effect. These opinions were expressed generally by those who are concerned about the curtailment of civil liberties in the name of national security and fight against terrorism. The generally held conviction is that the ruling government should be paying more attention to problems of injustice and inequality within countries

rather than wasting money on wars in far away places. The concern here is for the safety and wellbeing of North Americans and their allies. The general concern expressed focused on what will happen to democracy in America and around the world. The cost of war for Americans and its allies is also a concern.

Another often mentioned concern was that it might impact negatively on the corporate globalization project. If the anti-American sentiment spreads because of the invasion this might lead to the rejection of this project that is widely perceived as a project championed by America. This concern came primarily from the economic elites worried about favorable climate to do business. On the other hand within Canada the business community demonstrated against Canadian policy of not supporting American invasion of Iraq. Thus it is the bottom line that is of concern for the business community not justice and morality of war.

The third set of opinions focused on the implications of the new world-order being imposed by American Hegemony. This includes particularly those who are concerned about the fate of global governance structures such as the United Nations. American policy of Unilateralism and Exceptionalism has raised concerns among its NATO and European Union allies. These countries are concerned about American preeminence in world affairs. These G7/8 countries, most of whom are colonial powers of the past centuries desire to be equal partners and reap the benefits of controlling and exploiting the 2/3<sup>rd</sup> world by spreading Capitalist Patriarchy through Corporate Globalization.

The Bush government driven by the Neo-Conservative think tanks appears to have dismissed all opinions that do not agree with its own. The inability or unwillingness of the Democratic party that is in opposition to come up with an alternate policy

statements, indicates, as many critics have pointed out, that the disagreements with the ruling party is only one of means not of goals (Moore 2001). The dominant elite controlling both the parties, agree with the project of extending American hegemony around the globe. There is clear evidence to suggest that the policies of the current government is in a significant sense a continuation of policies of previous governments rather than a departure from it. The only difference is that the current government is more robust in expressing up-front its goals and intentions. American Imperialism is openly promoted and all opponents are challenged in no uncertain terms to either accept it or face the consequences. The showcasing of military might in Iraq, the casual dismissal of United Nations' authority, establishment of military bases all around the globe and reserving the right of preemptive/preventive strike at the time and place of its own choosing, declaration of unilateral right of America to decide who is allowed to have Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), American exceptionalism in stating who is evil and who is good and thereby meting out the punishments and rewards, demonstrates the reality of American Imperialism.

“If we're not true to our principles, we're not serving our national interest”, states Paul Wolfowitz, one of the architects of the Project for the New American Century (Time Magazine, March 31, 2003). United Nations is thought of as interfering and obstructing the project that needs to be implemented and therefore must be ignored. The belief that America is endowed by providence with the power to make the world better, if it will only take the risks of leadership to do so is strong and vocal

The conviction about the white man's burden to civilize the world is not new. It is precisely such beliefs that legitimized colonialism of past centuries and the British Imperialism. In fact books such as the one by Niall Ferguson (2003), are comparing the

Imperial projects of America with that of Britain. The questions addressed are not whether Empire is just or moral but how to establish Empire effectively. In fact Ferguson argues that on balance the accomplishments of British Empire are for the good of humanity. He therefore shows how America can learn from the British experience of Empire building to become more effective.

#### PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE:

How do we confront the Empire? Is all resistance futile as the neo-Conservative American regime is declaring in no uncertain terms? Or do we see any openings to resist the Empire successfully? The millions who protested the war around the globe and the millions who have demonstrated against global economic governance structures over the years seem to be saying that it is possible to resist. They are making every effort to reach the hearts and minds of those in positions of power by appealing to their moral sensibilities and ethical responsibilities. There are numerous books and articles analyzing and critiquing these projects published in last two decades. Grassroots movements around the globe demonstrating that alternate models of life and living are workable. One can find many examples of these efforts in Latin America, India, Africa, to mention a few. Experiments in grassroots democracy are proving to be workable. The World Social Forum (WSF) of last three years held in Porte Allegra, Brazil, has significantly contributed to this debate by showcasing these efforts worldwide. There is vibrant alternate media giving prominence to new interpretations particularly the grassroots (for example, New Internationalist, Alternatives and 'Z' magazines). The objective is to prove that another world is possible. A world without war is conceivable. Earnest efforts of many thousands that have participated in these Forums is making this debate lively and bringing hope to many a heart. Those who have participated in these Forums testify to

the fact that the atmosphere in these meetings was electrifying, moving and brimming with optimism. One is sustained by visions of a better future for everyone even when the present looks stark. Nevertheless one needs to ask the question whether these efforts are effective in standing up to the Empire. If not, what needs to be done to make these efforts more effective?

It is evident that discontent with the project is widespread both in North America and around the world. Analysis and Critique of the project also has been done effectively. A glimpse of possible alternatives to the project is also available. A unified vision of a better world for all also is articulated. There is a strong conviction that a peaceful world where justice prevails and everyone is cared for is possible. What is lacking is a set of well-articulated programs of action and a set of well organized strategies for systematic implementation. It is understandable as to why there is such a lack when we realize that the concerns of people around the world are diverse because the culture and conditions of their life are varied. It is true that one can also recognize many commonalities in terms of concerns around the globe. For example destruction, depletion and pollution of the environment is affecting all of us and all people in the world share that concern. Capitalist patriarchy, by promoting immoral and unethical behavioral patterns is eating into the fabric of human life everywhere and leading to dehumanization of social life everywhere. It is also true that it is the economic and political elites everywhere are benefiting from the project at the expense of all others. The global structures of economic governance are serving the interests of these elites. The cost of implementation of the project of Imperialism is subsidized unevenly with the lower classes and other marginalized people paying a heavy price. The mainstream media is controlled by the elites and airs their opinions and promotes their interest.

Under these conditions, it makes sense that all those who are not benefiting from the project should get together and devise alternate strategies for a good life for all. It also makes sense to work towards development of democratic structures of global governance by dismantling the ones currently in place. The United Nations must become a representative democracy of all nations of the world rather than legitimizing the current global imbalances of power. The mainstream media must represent diverse opinions rather than being a mouthpiece of the elites. But there are many differences and diversities that divide people within countries and around the globe. This provides fertile ground for those in position of control to divide and conquer, a strategy followed by all Empires. In addition the differences within and between countries puts an impediment in the way of development of solidarity because they occupy differential positions of advantage in relation to one another. For example the legacy of colonialism and Imperialism has led to economic disparity among nations and has spawned racism thereby sowing distrust among white and non-white people. Historical legacy of patriarchy puts impediments on the way of men and women working together within countries and around the world. Within most of the Western industrialized countries capitalism has become systemic, that is, it has become a way of life. In such a context, the programs of action and the strategies for their implementation must be contextualized and modified accordingly. While the unity of purpose, namely resisting Imperialism and globalization of capitalist patriarchy is evident, the programs of action and strategies of resistance need to be modified according to the local needs, cultures and conditions.

To address the systemic nature of capitalist patriarchy in developed countries, quality of life issues must take center stage in terms of programs of action and strategies of implementation. The ethic of consumerism must give way to ethic of care and

compassion. Instead of catering to the greed we must all learn to focus on our own needs and the needs of others. If addressing capitalist patriarchy on the systemic level is successful there can be a mass turning away from the policies and practices of the project of Imperialism. Without the widespread support of the population as a whole implementation of the project becomes very difficult if not impossible. Such bottom-up approach erodes faith in the system thereby depriving it of its legitimacy. These strategies are necessary wherever capitalist patriarchy is thriving or making inroads. Perhaps these strategies are most urgently needed in places where it is entrenched. This became obvious during the aftermath of September 11th tragedy when people were exhorted to continue shopping as a patriotic duty so that business can go on as usual.

To address the imbalances in global structures of power, in addition to addressing capitalist patriarchy on systemic level it has to be addressed on structural and institutional levels. The so-called under-developed nations, the 2/3<sup>rd</sup> world has to come together and present a united front against the unrivalled Superpower. It is doubtful whether these countries can count on the support of other G8 countries to mount struggle against America since they have a vested interest in promoting Globalization of Capitalist Patriarchy. The kinds of disagreements we notice after the occupation of Iraq among the G8 countries appear to be focused more on each of them getting their own share of the spoils of conquest. One does not notice any attempt in the United Nations to censure the U.S. or to democratize the power structure of the UN so that the countries in the 2/3<sup>rd</sup> world can have an effective voice.

Democratizing of global structures of governance and depriving the elite of the control of the media are formidable tasks. Achievement of these objectives is conceivable if the success of grassroots democracy movement around the globe grow in

magnitude and spread in many directions. If capitalist patriarchy is addressed effectively on the systemic level and at the same time the grassroots democracy movement spreads, together they bring a halt to the implementation of the imperialist project. It is true that we have a very long way to go in this direction and we must recognize that there are many positive as well as negative signs. For example attempts at grassroots democracy have been successful in places such as Brazil and Kerala where the state governments and local culture have encouraged and supported decentralization of power. Women in Kerala have been able to participate effectively in urban and rural governance structures because family culture in Kerala is relatively more woman-friendly. Emergence of grassroots democracies is unlikely in places where religious fundamentalism is widespread and the state governments are under dictatorial control. Culture of consumerism is more entrenched in countries that have been under the hegemony of capitalist patriarchy which has resulted in widespread apathy and non-involvement in political processes even though opportunities exist for political participation.

Abandoning the belief that difference can only be treated in hierarchical terms leads to conditions becoming conducive for accepting and respecting multiple ways of life (Dhruvarajan and Vickers 2002). Valuing caring work, giving importance to cooperation and a sense of community among people in communities leads to integration of feminine values into the fabric of larger society. This leads to creation of conditions conducive for respecting women and valuing the kind of work they have been assigned to do historically (Mies and Shiva 1993).

Holistic outlook towards life and considering all life on the planet as equally important as human life promotes environment friendly attitudes and behaviors. This has the potential to facilitate acceptance and respect for diverse ways of life and diverse ways

of relating to the supernatural. Aboriginal religions everywhere and religions such as Hinduism promote this outlook. On the other hand religions such as Christianity that puts humans above all creation and gives them the power to control the resources for human benefit irrespective of costs to other species does not promote environmentally friendly attitudes and behaviors. Besides, Christianity, unlike other world religions claimed exclusive right to morality, goodness and salvation. Such a theme evident in the realm of this religion underpins the Imperial project. Only other religion that believes in such triumphalism is Islam. It is understandable as to why there is such intense conflict between Christianity and Islam. While most other world religions accept that there are multiple paths to the goal of relating to the Supernatural, Christianity and Islam believe that their way is the only way and they have a right and duty to spread that message. Even though this is the dominant opinion, scholars from both Christianity and Islam argue that there are some strands in these religions that promote acceptance of multiple paths but they are suppressed. My experiences in the meetings of Faith and the Common Good initiative (promoted by David Suzuki) indicates that at least in some circles serious attempts are being made to retrieve the more tolerant and less triumphant aspects of Christianity and Islam.

## CONCLUSION

Confronting and resisting the entrenched power of global capitalism is daunting indeed. But all those who are concerned about the wellbeing of humanity cannot afford to turn away because of the monumental nature of this struggle. It is up to the intellectual and moral leaders to theorize and explain the severity of the problem, articulate visions for the future, make connections between the local and the global concerns and raise awareness among all people. But it is in the final analysis up to the grassroots who have the wisdom that comes from experience of daily struggles of life to provide practical solutions to these monumental problems. The solutions necessarily have to be diverse

depending upon the history and culture of a given locality. To come up with solutions and implement them people have to work together. Resistance bears fruit only when there is unity of purpose and solidarity in struggles. Building alternate media is necessary to spread these ideas and promote counter-hegemonic movements<sup>13</sup>.

Coalition building across differences is crucial in this context. Because people come from diverse backgrounds their interests may not always coincide, sometimes it might even appear to be antagonistic. It is sometimes necessary to distinguish between strategic and practical interests by identifying long-term and short-term goals<sup>14</sup>. For example, with regard to developing strategies to resist race to the bottom among workers from both the third and the first world, it makes better sense to resist liberalization of capital and trade. Instead if the WTO is empowered to impose labour and environmental standards selectively in the third world it would destroy solidarity among workers from first and third worlds even if it brings short term gains for workers in the first world. Worker interests are best taken care of when they help each other to address issues relevant within their environment always keeping in mind their common purpose. Michael Albert argues (2000:5) that “We must raise social costs to those elites to the point where they decide that giving in is their best course of action....Elites don’t respond to reason or to morality. They respond to movements that will do more damage to their interests if elites don’t give in than if they do.”

It is important for all of us to move beyond liberal indifference and make a sincere effort to know one another’s ways of life. When we interact as equals to explore our experiences, we often discover that we have many things in common along with our differences. Exploring these issues requires different ways of thinking and acting. It is only when we engage in such dialogues are we able to develop solidarity across differences. Such solidarity is imperative to achieve the goal of dismantling the powers of the corporate globalizers and reclaim our right to choose to live a way of life that is meaningful to us. As Walden Bello states (2000:12) “ More space, more flexibility, more compromise—these should be the goals of the Southern agenda and the civil society effort to build a new system of global economic governance. It is in such a more fluid, less structured, more pluralistic world, with multiple checks and balances, that the nations and communities of the South -- and the north – will be able to carve out the space to develop based on their values, their rhythms, and the strategies of their choice.”

It is only under such conditions, can we construct a world that is just and caring for all.

The focus of attention necessarily has to vary in different places. The hope is that the creative genius of all those involved in the movement will come up with viable set of program of action and will be able to mount organized effort around the globe to stop the Empire on its tracks. The fourth World Social Forum (WSF) scheduled to take place in India in 2004 promises to provide opportunities for dialogue to achieve these objectives. Millions around the globe are struggling everyday inspired by visions of a better future. All of us must continue to work towards that goal because the cause is worthy of our efforts.

Notes:

1. Free market rules and regulations are imposed on poor, helpless countries but the rich and the powerful countries have always had the help available for their industries--which were nurtured to grow. Same is true with regard to rich and poor people within capitalist democracies—children of rich are supported while the poor have to fend for themselves.
2. Petras and Veltmeyer state (2000:71) that “As democracy has been redefined as centralized elite decision-making with elections, the role of citizens as protagonists of public policy debates has declined. The result is greater voter apathy, increased abstention, rejection of political incumbents, ‘anti-voting’ and increased resorting to extra-parliamentary action.”
3. In the 1980’s Canada’s public opinion was solidly against free trade. But, in spite of this both conservative and liberal governments signed the free trade agreements.
4. The media is firmly under the grip of corporate interests. The trend of creating media monopolies means that only elites can dictate what the public will know. The corporate makeover of the news becomes effective when diverse interpretations of news are scuttled in favor of a few corporate managed news releases.
5. There have been widespread demonstrations every time the globalizing economic organizations have conducted meetings. All where discussions take place in secrecy even though the agreements reached have far-reaching consequences for everyone. The demonstrations in Seattle, Quebec City, and Genoa are only a few examples.

6. Countries from the South are working together to achieve this objective. In addition there have been widespread demonstrations by farmers, for example in India. There they demanded that either India negotiate to keep food out of the agreement or get out of the WTO.

7. Chomsky (1997) argues that manipulating attitudes and beliefs of the general public is routine since in a democracy citizens cannot be dictated to do the bidding of those who are in charge of running the affairs in society namely, the elites. Manufacturing public opinions to promote corporate interests is a big industry in North America. The so-called Third-way advocated by people like Tony Blair and Bill Clinton, is nothing but a public relations exercise to make the public swallow the bitter pill of corporate globalization.

8. The September 11 tragedy is being used by the big trading powers to push their own agenda. How to consolidate and entrench the North's hegemony everywhere is what is being discussed. Deliberate efforts are evident at every level including enactment of laws to neutralize dissent against corporate domination and exploitation. After September 11<sup>th</sup> the problems for the countries of the South have become worse. Renewed efforts have to be made to address these issues. As the Focus on the Global South ([www.focusweb.org](http://www.focusweb.org)) writes, "We must link our existing and common demands on neo-liberal globalization to an agenda that includes a clear voice against militarisation and imperialism and proclaiming peace, cultural and religious freedom and self-determination. This will be extremely difficult in a climate where ALL forms of dissent will be subject to much greater scrutiny and repression, and in a climate of heightened xenophobia and militarisation. The cry from the establishment will be if you're not with us, you're against us."

9. Demonstrations against the corporate agenda and their secret dealings are becoming more and more vocal. People from many different backgrounds are joining and are trying to work out a cohesive plan of action. A number of critiques are being written and posted on the web and teach-ins are held every time these meetings take place to make people aware of the implications.

10. The six basic propositions include the following: poverty reduction; gender equality; environmental protection; peoples participation in shaping their future; safeguarding rights of community based movements; having economic and political leverage to establish national priorities (Langdon 1999:217-18).

11. Audre Lorde (1984) and Philomena Essed (1991), argue that Western culture does not allow for treating difference as normal and natural. The only way to treat difference is through creation of hierarchy of superiors and inferiors. Unless there is a fundamental paradigm shift, the pattern of behavior in the West that has caused so much pain and suffering all through history and continues to do the same at present will not change (Gray 1998).

12. Establishment of democratic structures of global governance under the auspices of United Nations, which support and nurture all people, is one option. In addition we must build structures to empower people and communities around the globe. Such conditions help globalization to take place from bottom-up rather than top-down as it is happening now. It is only then that there will be democracy, equality and freedom for all.

13. It is necessary to strengthen and nurture alternate media. At the present time there are valuable efforts, such as, the New Internationalist magazine, The Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives. There are also websites such as, [www.newint.org](http://www.newint.org); [www.atac.org](http://www.atac.org); [www.agp.org](http://www.agp.org); [www.ruckus.org](http://www.ruckus.org); [www.aseed.net](http://www.aseed.net); [www.canadians.org](http://www.canadians.org); [www.50years.org](http://www.50years.org); [www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org); [www.worldbankboycott.org](http://www.worldbankboycott.org); [www.whirledbank.org](http://www.whirledbank.org); [www.wtwatch.org](http://www.wtwatch.org); [www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org); [www.WeAreEverywhere.org](http://www.WeAreEverywhere.org); to mention a few.

14. People from different parts of the world can help each other by providing support to one another in their struggles and by providing insights and knowledge about various strategies that work to confront and resist corporate globalization. For example as Hanhel writes ([www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org)), people in developed countries can help those in developing countries: Many third world unions and grassroots organizations appreciate help from first world progressives in their campaigns ...to publicize abuses—particularly when our multinational corporations are the perpetrators...Occasionally, when their struggle is at a crucial stage, third world movements for human, political, and labour rights ask us to pressure our governments and/or international organizations to take up economic sanctions, as was the case in the struggle against apartheid in south Africa and is now the case in the struggle for democracy in Burma.” People in the third world can help those in the first showing how participatory democracy works as in Porto Alegre as discussed by Judy Rebick ([zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org)). The struggles of farmers in India against bio-technology and patenting of plants and other life forms can provide insights to develop strategies of resistance in the North. Taichi and Yoga nurture spiritual aspect of life and

develop inner strength and self-confidence. Cultivating these arts in the North can be an asset in resisting consumerism and reducing dependence on pharmaceuticals in daily life.

REFERENCES:

Albert, Michael. 2000. "The Movements against neoliberal globalization from Seattle to Porto Alegre." Talk delivered electronically in the Anti-globalization Conference in Athens in March.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1999. "Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization".

*In Globalization and Identity: Dialectics Of Flow and Closure*, edited by Peter Geschiere and Brigit Meyer. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Armstrong, Jeannette. 1999. "Biopiracy: Colonialism in the new Millennium—The Final Frontier." In *The Case Against Globalization: For Local Communities*, edited by John Mander . San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Barnet, Richard and John Cavanagh. 1996. "'Electronic Money and the Casino Economy." In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books

Bakker, Isabella, ed. 1996. *The Strategic Silence: Gender and Economic Policy*. London: Zed Books.

Barndt, Deborah (ed).1999. *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain: Women, Food & Globalization*. Toronto: Second Story Press.

Bello, Walden. 1996. "Structural Adjustment Programs: 'Success' for Whom?" In *The*

*Case Against the Global Economy*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

-----2000. "From Melbourne to Prague; the Struggle for a Deglobalized World." Talk delivered at a series of engagements on the occasion of demonstrations against the World economic Forum (Davos) in Melbourne, Australia, 6-10 September.

Chomsky, Noam. 1997. *Perspectives on Power: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order*. London: Black Rose Books.

Chossudovsky, Michel. 1997. *The Globalisation of Poverty*. London: Zed Books.

Cohen, Marjorie G. 1999. "Globalization: Some Implications & Strategies for Women."

Address delivered at the 1999 NAC National Conference and the AGM.

Dhruvarajan, Vanaja and Vickers, Jill. 2002. *Gender, Race and Nation: A Global Perspective*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press.

Dhruvarajan, Vanaja. 2002. "Feminism and Social Transformation." In *Gender, Race and Nation: A Global Perspective*, by Vanaja Dhruvarajan And Jill Vickers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Finn, Ed. 2001. "Corporate PR experts see people as 'herd waiting to be led'" *The CCPA Monitor*, November 2001.

Food First. 2001. "Updates from Doha." [www.foodfirst.org/](http://www.foodfirst.org/)

Friedman, Thomas L. 2000. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Anchor Books.

George, Susan. 1999. "A Short History of Neo-Liberalism: Twenty years of Elite Economics and Emerging Opportunities for Structural Change." Talk delivered during the Conference on Economic Sovereignty in a Globalising world, in Bangkok, in March.

[www.millennium-round.org](http://www.millennium-round.org)

Ferguson, Niall. 2003. *Empire: Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the*

*Lessons for Global Power*. New York: Basic Books.

Goldsmith, Alexander. 1996. "Seeds of Exploitation: Free Trade Zones in the Global Economy." In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith San Francisco: Sierra Club Books

Gramsci, A. 1987. "Class, Culture and Hegemony." In. *Culture, Ideology*

*And Social Process*, edited by T.Bennett et al. London: Open University Press.

Gray, John. 1998. *False Down*. New York: New Press.

Gross, Rita N. 1996. *Feminism and Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Grossman, Richard L. and Frank T. Adams. 1996. "Exercising Power Over Corporations Through State Charters." In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander And Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books

Hahnel, Robin.1999. *Panic Rules*. Cambridge, Ma: South End Press.

hooks, bell. 1994. *Outlaw Cultures: Resisting Representations*. London: Routledge.

Kendall, Diana et.al. 2000. *Sociology in our Times*. Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson.

Kerr, Joanna. 1996. "Transnational Resistance: Strategies to Alleviate the Impacts of Restructuring on Women". In *Rethinking Restructuring*, edited by Isabella Bakker Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Khor, Martin. 1996. "Global Economy and the Third World". In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith by San Francisco:Sierra Club Books.

Klein, Naomi. 2000. *No Space, No Choice, No Jobs, No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. Toronto: Knopf Canada.

Korten, David C. 1996. "Global Economy and the Third World." In *The Case Against Globalization*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Kumar, Satish. 1996. "Gandhi's Swadeshi: The Economics of Permanence". In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith San Francisco: Sierra Club Books

Langdon, Steven. 1999. *Global Poverty, Democracy & North-South Change*. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Lorde, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider*. Freedom Calif: The Freedom Press.

Mander, Jerry and Edward Goldsmith. 1996. *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Mander, Jerry. 1996. "Facing the Rising Tide". In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Marchand, Marianne H. and Anne Sisson Runyan. 2000. *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*. London: Routledge.

McMurtry, John 1998. *Unequal Freedoms: the global market as an ethical System*. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva. 1993. *Ecofeminism*. London: Zed Books.

Ministerial Meeting in Doha Qatar 2001. "Press Statement By 'Friends of the

Development Box.” [www.focusweb.org/](http://www.focusweb.org/)

-----2001. Third World Network newsrelease. [www.twinside.org/](http://www.twinside.org/)

Moore, Michael. 2001. *Stupid White Men*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers Inc.

Nader, Ralph and Lori Wallach. 1996. "GATT, NAFTA, and the subversion of the Democratic Process". In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Norberg-Hodge. 1996. "Shifting Direction: From Global Dependence to Local Interdependence." In *The Case Against Global Economy*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Petras, James and Henry Veltmeyer. 2001. *Globalization Unmasked*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Rebick, Judy. 2001. "Porto Alegre." [Zmag.org/](http://Zmag.org/)

Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Shiva, Vandana. ed. 1994. *Close to Home: Women Reconnect Ecology Health and Development Worldwide*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers.

Shiva, Vandana and Radha Holla-Bhar. 1996. "Piracy by Patent: The Case of the Neem Tree". In *The Case against the Global Economy: and for a turn toward the local*, edited by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Shiva, Vandana. 1997. *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*, Toronto: Between the Lines.

Taylor, Charles. 1992. *Multiculturalism and 'the Politics of Recognition.'* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, Charles. 1994. "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism: Examining*

*the Politics of Recognition*, Edited by Amy Gutmann. New Jersey: Princeton university Press.

Teeple, Gary. 2000. *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*. Aurora, Ontario: Garamond Press.

Ugarteche, Oscar. 1997. *The False Dilemma: Globalization—Opportunity or Threat?* New York: St. Martin's Press Inc..

Waring, Marilyn. 1988. *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics*. San Francisco: Harper And Row.

Weisbrot, Mark and Dean Baker. 2001. "The Scorecard on Globalization, 1980-2000: Twenty Years of Diminished Progress." [www.cepr.org](http://www.cepr.org)

Wichterich, Christa. 2000. *The Globalized Woman: Reports from a Future of Inequality*. New York: Zed Books.

Young, Kate. 1988. *Women and Economic Development*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd.

