

GSA Brandeis Conference Presentation Abstracts

Friday, April 23, 2004

1:00PM – 3:00PM: PANELS

Oil, Democracy and Human Rights

Oil Corporations, War and Social Justice

by Arnold Baker, International Oil Working Group, New York, NY

This study argues that oil corporations and their drive for what Nitzan and Bichler call “differential accumulation” are at the core of the permanent imperialist war economy. A review of the oil-related dimensions of the movements against war and corporate rule indicates that peace and social justice have as their prerequisite the disempowerment of the ‘super major’ petroleum corporations.

Oil, Democracy and Human Rights in Latin America: The Case of Venezuela

by Humberto Brown, International Oil Working Group, Black Radical Congress, New York, NY

This study examines the struggle over resources and power in Venezuela. It identifies the central social forces engaged in movements for and against the corporate development of the oil industry. A historical analysis of the Venezuelan struggle focuses on Hugo Chavez’s domestic and foreign policies with regard to the uses and distribution of oil and oil revenues.

Petroleum and Subsistence: The Emergence of an Economic Alternative to Corporate Rule

by Terisa Turner, University of Guelph, Canada and Leigh Brownhill, University of Toronto, Canada

This study draws on the direct testimonies of Nigerian peasant women engaged in resistance to petroleum exploitation in the Niger Delta to outline the emergence of an economic alternative to corporate rule. Grounded in the subsistence perspective of Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies, it analyses the life-centered demands, autonomous organizational forms and global implications of the actions of Nigerian anti-corporate activists. The study suggests that the ‘commoning’ focus of much Nigerian resistance and transformation is crucial to the continued efficacy of the global anti-corporate and anti-oil movements.

Petroleum and Popular Struggle: Gendered Class Initiatives and Their Globalization

by Terisa Turner, University of Guelph, Canada

This study examines the contemporary women’s war against the oil companies in Nigeria. Drawing on the work of Dyer-Witheford and the subsistence perspective of Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies, it focuses on struggles not only by producers and consumers, but also by those engaged in ‘social reproduction’ and in the defense and restoration of nature. The war for ‘resource control’ is examined over three periods.

Forms of Resistance and Identity

A Global History of Queer Psychology: The Increasing Hegemony of European and American Ideas and Treatment

by Jed Foland, History Department, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Queer studies are highly developed in Euro-American academia and are almost non-existent elsewhere. There are few discourses concerning the globality of queer relationships, particularly among historians. This study will present the global history of queer psychoanalysis. Though it is a mere facet of queer studies, the

global history of queer psychoanalysis incorporates the narratives of identity, nationalism, colonization, capitalism and communism.

The Politics of Resistance: Anti-Capitalist or Anti-Globalist

by Erika Gates-Gasse, University of Guelph, Canada

Globalization has become the ubiquitous term to describe the rise of trans-national corporations and their increasing ability to control and circumscribe the actions of states. A prevalent view is that of considering globalization exogenous to the state, therefore leaving the state in a position of reacting to the processes of globalization rather than guiding them. The ‘death of the state’ is thus considered immanent, with the free market poised to take its place. In response to this, there is a view that considers the state, or a certain group of states, central to the processes of globalization. Rather than being a constraining, external force, globalization is considered the result of state action. As Ian R. Douglas stated “[g]lobalization must be questioned as a rationality of government, as a method of conducting, organizing, and regularizing politics.” The purpose of this paper then is to explore how these two differing narratives affect the “politics of resistance”. This paper theorizes that these narratives construct and guide the actions taken by both those who have been termed “anti-globalization activists” and are critical of globalization and those who support the dominant free market ideology. The research explores these narratives using a literature review of relevant journal articles, books, and “anti-globalization” literature.

The Savvy Savage: Anthropology and Irony in Globalist Myths of the “Techno-native”

by Jon Holtzman, Director of Global and International Studies and Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Western Michigan University

In this paper I consider images drawn from both popular culture and academic anthropology, which juxtapose so-called “primitive peoples” with “modern” technology. I argue that these images constitute a central mythic trope for globalist ideologies, which ostensibly destabilize the once central anthropological construct of the unique, non-Western Other that long presented an alternative to Euro-American values and practices. Anthropology was founded and developed around the exploration of human diversity, a pursuit undertaken for reasons which were scientific, but also explicitly ideological as non-Western peoples presented a quasi-utopian foil in destabilizing the naturalness and desirability of Western cultural practices. Within approximately the last two decades, however, a widespread trope has emerged in popular culture, which destabilizes this construct of the non-Western “primitive” Other by situating it within “modern” technologies or practices.

The Future of the World Social Forum Process – Arguments for Conservative Reform

by Suren Moodliar and Kim Foltz, North American Alliance for Fair Employment

As the World Social Forum (WSF) process has evolved over four years, so too has an emerging critique. Six distinct but interrelated lines of criticism may be identified: (i) the forum is subject to “giganticism,” i.e. the scale is too large for meaningful political and social activity; (ii) the forum is “getting old” and its debates are becoming repetitive; (iii) the forum process has resulted in too many regional, national and local fora for it to be coherent; (iv) the forum process is too inclusive of the political center; (v) the forum has too few concrete outcomes; and (vi) the forum’s governing body and secretariat are not accountable. This paper examines the actual practice of the WSF and concludes that while the critiques have a degree of validity, the process can overcome the critiques without a radical overhaul. It therefore argues for a conservative approach to reform of the WSF.

Educational Pedagogy for Global Literacy

Beyond Multiculturalism: Resistance, Empowerment and a New Pedagogy of Global Human Rights

by David Ortiz, Dr. Paul Petrequin, Deborah Barrera Pontillo, Lauren Servais, and John Van Leer, Cascadia Community College, Bothell, Washington

Our panel consists of founding faculty members of Cascadia Community College in Bothell, Washington, a college that has recently revised its vision and mission to provide an education that is globally aware as well as promote successful learning in a global context. We are members of Cascadia's Partnership for Global Studies, which currently engages in conversations of what such a "global literacy" might look like. This panel hopes to get us to think seriously about the fossilization of the old multicultural paradigm, the utility of a global human rights perspective, what kind of knowledge students need in a global environment, and how all of this can play out in the classroom. In exploring a new pedagogy of global human rights, we are also interested in the tension between our values of global human rights and the sometimes provincial values of our students: Cascadia Community College, located 13 miles north of Seattle, consists of a high percentage of privileged white students who are not necessarily aware of their participation in a global community. We are asking the question of how our practice in the classroom creates a critical pedagogy that calls into question practices that happen in the privileged space of academia and how those are linked to oppression, locally and globally. We will speak about specific classroom strategies that we have developed not only in response to where we are but also in thinking about our own place in the global community, our values, and our knowledge.

Migration, Immigration and Human Rights

Do (white, American) Feminists Care About Africans?

by Lisa Cassidy, School of American and International Studies, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Why should a white, American woman care about the poverty stricken, AIDS-afflicted, hungry, and politically repressed peoples of Africa? Globalization presents comfortable Americans with uncomfortable ethical questions about global poverty. I believe that the current disparity in the distribution of global wealth presents citizens in the Global North with the moral dilemma by which history will judge us: "Do we care?" This paper will analyze two approaches to caring for the starving children in Africa, Nel Noddings' position that "we are not obliged to care for starving children in Africa" and Peter Singer's view that we should impartially act to produce the most happiness for all peoples. After developing the tension between the two approaches, I hope to diffuse it. I believe that "we" can care about "them" by using our natural sympathy for fellow beings in pain.

Canadian Immigration and Neoliberal Governmentality

by Lisa Harris, Women's Studies/International Development, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada

This essay will examine the current tension between supranational global regimes that demand the free flow of capital and the simultaneous increase in national regulation and restriction of labour. I will present detailed analysis of how this tension manifests itself in Canadian immigration policies, which seek to both produce desirable economic actors and regulate the population according to highly racialized and sexualized ideologies. Numerous Canadian immigration text and policies will be discussed and in conclusion I will consider groups, which enact struggle against dominant discourses of immigration and potential theoretical tools for reconfiguring the self/other binary logic, which underpins the neo-liberal governmentality of immigration policies.

Human Rights and the Security Certificate: An Examination of Human Rights Abuses in Canada's Immigration System

by Andrew Langille, Political Science and Sociology, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada

This paper examines human rights within the context of immigration and the state security apparatus in Canada. It analyzes human rights abuses being perpetrated by the Canadian government and the effects of these abuses on the targeted immigrant population. The main focus is an in-depth analysis of the "security certificate" mechanism in Canada's immigration act, which is a secretive protocol used to detain, put on trial, and deport people said to pose threats to Canadian national security. In practice the security certificate targets innocent people on dubious evidence. The paper examines the use of the security certificate from its inception in 1991 through to present day usage targeting Arabs and Muslims in Canada.

Guantanamo: Living With the Base, Cubans, Marines, and Migrants

by Jana Lipman, Department of History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

In this presentation, I will focus on the personal U.S.-Cuban contacts in the pre-Revolutionary era and illustrate the Cold War's ramifications for Cubans, West Indian migrants, and Americans who lived and worked in Guantanamo. My aim is two-fold. First, I will investigate the legacies and limitations of U.S. military empire in this peculiar land neither American, nor Cuban. Second, I will anchor this project in the Guantanamo region and study the relations between the U.S. marines, the local Cuban community, and the West Indian migrants who settled in eastern Cuba. I will thereby explore GTMO's importance as a site of Caribbean labor migration and local exchange. Thus, my project will make visible this often-invisible corner of U.S. empire and reveal the dynamics of local inter-national relations.

Culture and Imagery

A New typology of Television Content: Viewing Experiences and Nationalism in the Age of Multi-Channel Television

by Jonathan Cohen, University of New Hampshire and Anat Lewinsky, University of Haifa, Israel

The increasingly global market for goods and services has grave economic and social impacts and has contributed to an increasingly global life style. Though every foreign product and service plays a role in shaping our culture, imported cultural products such as television programs pose a more direct threat to local culture and identity because of their symbolic nature. The current paper offers a framework for analyzing the question of globalization in television, focusing on the television in Israel as a case study. But rather than taking an economic view that divides television programs into foreign and locally produced programs, we privilege the moment of reception, the viewing experience. Based on mass communication theory, we suggest that the TV viewing experience – which is structured by more than the show itself – places the viewer in a cultural context. Furthermore, the cultural impact of a television show depends more on which identity (national or global) it privileges and less on where it is produced.

The Need for New Social Imagery in the Fight Against the Total Market: Rethinking Revolution in the Age of Neo-Liberal Globalization

by Luigi Esposito, Barry University, Florida and John W. Murphy, University of Miami, Florida

Our aim in this paper is to argue the need for new social imagery in the fight against neo-liberal globalization, and draw from Zapatismo, anarchism, and various trends in contemporary social theory (particularly the break from Foundationalism) to redefine categories such as human nature, freedom, and democracy in such a way that completely breaks from structures of domination. Specifically, human nature is nothing other than people's capacity to act creatively and purposefully; freedom is no longer the liberty to pursue self-interests undisturbed by the plight of others (i.e. freedom is no longer personal but relational); and democracy is no longer an "open" struggle/competition for power (i.e. "power over" is replaced with "power with"). In short, the idea is to advance a new vision of global society as a thoroughly *human project* in which all people are both its contributors and beneficiaries.

Global Form, Local Content: 1st Pop Star Contest in Turkey

By Fulya Tepe, Istanbul Commerce University, Korku Tuna, Bir gul Kocak, and Devrim Vardar, Istanbul University, and Per Bauhn, Lund University, Turkey

1st Pop Star contest, which was sponsored by Coca Cola and was broadcast and supported by a mainstream commercial television channel in Turkey, has tied an important audience segment to itself in a short time period. This talent contest has started to occupy a lot of space in the public sphere, especially after it was learnt that one of the participants of the contest caused another person's death in the past. This study has chosen the Turkey-wide organized 1st Pop Star contest as its topic because of the important place the contest has taken in the public sphere. We will analyze the contest at two levels. At the first level, the question of what meaning should be given to the Pop Star contest and similar reality shows in Turkey will be addresses.

At the second level, 1st Pop Star contest will be examined both in terms of the clues that it gives about Turkey society and in its dealings with globalization, with its participants and its way of occupying place in the public sphere. At this level, it will be proposed that the above mentioned global form has implemented its capacity to reflect contemporary conflicts of Turkey's modernization experience but has distorted certain functions that media commonly are assumed to have in a democratic context.

NGO's and Globalization

Shapeshifting: Civil Society, Complexity and Social Movements

by Graeme Chesters, Edge Hill University, UK

[Abstract Not Available]

This is What Bureaucracy Looks Like

by James Davis, filmmaker

[Abstract Not Available]

Governing Through Community Empowerment: Oxfam's Trade and Development Campaigns

by Anita Lacey, Ph.D. and Suzan Ilcan, Ph.D., Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Following Barbara Cruickshank's (1999, 1994) work on the 'will to empower' and Mitchell Dean's (1999) Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of analysis of regimes of government, we analyze Oxfam's trade and development campaigns as a form of governance that is based on community empowerment programs, which aim to shape and guide poverty relations and the conducts of the poor in the 'developing' world. Oxfam's Make Trade Fair campaign and "Rigged rules and double standards" influential report serve as a basis from which to understand the organization's governing practices and how these are embedded in the NGO's programmatic statements, policy documents, and speeches. We argue that self-management and self-empowerment have been tirelessly put forward by Oxfam as solutions to poverty which have obscured this organization's means of government.

Networks of Transnational Feminist NGO's on the Web: North/South Linkages and Identities

by Tetyana Pudrovskaya, University of Maryland-College Park and Myra Marx Ferree, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Based on a sample of 30 websites of transnational feminist organizations, we analyze the multi-organizational field of feminist NGO's on the Web. Methodologically, we connect a network analysis of hyperlinks that geographically dispersed women's organizations post to each other on their websites to a content analysis of web-based textual materials. First, we examine to what extent linkages in cyberspace are determined by the groups' geographic locations. Second, we compare the identities that differentially located groups discursively construct in cyberspace. On the one hand, we focus on the appropriation of the global discourses of women's individual rights and gender equality by Northern and Southern NGO's. On the other hand, we examine how particularistic discourses influence global feminist arena and to what extent "western" organizations appropriate discourses originating in the South. Finally, we discuss the interrelationship among linguistic self-presentations, network structure, and geographic location. Specifically, we focus on the extent to which organizations transcend local and regional boundaries in their network preferences and discursive self-presentations.

National Contradictions Under Globalization

Russian Patriotic Anti-Globalism: Fighting the New World Order, the Mark of the Beast (666) and the Coming Global Apocalypse

by Catharine Danks, Department of History and Economic History, Manchester Metropolitan Univ., UK

Within Russia a range of forces identified as 'Red-Browns' (Communists, Nationalists and Fascists) and elements within the Russian Orthodox Church reject the New World Order, the West, capitalism and

globalization-globalism. They share a belief that globalization is not a spontaneous force, but a conspiracy by a small group of capitalists, using contemporary technology and vast financial resources in pursuit of world domination. They also believe that the aim of the capitalists is to weaken and destroy nation states using a range of economic, political and military means, and above all to destroy national cultures. A vocal section of the Russian Orthodox Church has also identified the mark of the beast (666), the herald of the apocalypse, in the computer technology that aids globalization. As the U.S. and Western Europe are under the control of this capitalist conspiracy, only Russia has the strong state and rich cultural heritage to be able to defeat this force and avert the looming global apocalypse.

An Economy of Violence: On Despair and Suicide Bombing

by Diane Enns, University of Toronto, Canada

In this paper I will explore Etienne Balibar's claim that the globalization of various kinds of extreme violence has produced a growing division of the world into life zones and death zones; in other words, a world violently divided along "bio-political" lines, just at the moment when humanity is becoming economically and perhaps culturally united. The practice of suicide bombing has become one such form of violence; a phenomenon that is crucial to investigate and interpret if we are to understand, as Giorgio Agamben puts it, the operation of security and terrorism as a "deadly system" of mutual legitimation and justification.

The Transnationalist Capitalist Class in Indonesia

by Rita Padawangi, Loyola University, Chicago

Indonesia has everything it needs to be among the First World nations. It has plentiful natural resources, proximity to the world's largest markets for consumer goods and a desirable climate. However, there are a number of factors that keep Indonesia mired in Third World backwardness and poverty and it is not simply due to the rampant corruption of the government as a legacy of the Suharto regime. Rather, it is a direct consequence of the transnational capitalist practices that are the driving force of development at the expense of the people. Transnational practices can be seen across such varied fields from textile and garment manufacturing to natural resources exploitation. Notwithstanding the superficial physical growth in the major cities, globalization has introduced a number of economic and social stresses into Indonesian society.

Local Spaces of Struggle in Globalization

Creating Resistance to Globalism Within the Belly of the Beast

by Ernesto Bustillos, Union del Barrio, San Diego, California

The objective of this presentation is to address, from a Mexicano activist-liberation perspective, the connection between world globalization and the growing fascism in the Mexican barrios/community within the U.S., how globalization of capitalism and neocolonialism affect the (forced) migration of thousands of Mexicanos/Centro Americanos north of the militarized border, how Raza, African Americans, and other oppressed nationalities are today's "colonial puppet" troops and the impact of this situation on their communities, the obstacles facing the "anti-war" or peace movement, and the anti-globalization struggle, in their efforts to include within its ranks Raza and other "minorities, and most importantly, what can be done to address these issues.

Political Ecologies of Globalization in Central Appalachia

by Dr. Todd Nesbitt, Associate Professor of Geography, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania

Recent debates over globalization focus attention on the widening wealth gap between developed and underdeveloped regions at the international scale – typically presented as a development gap between the First and Third Worlds. Relatively little research, however focuses on how globalization exacerbates uneven development within core countries. In an attempt to fill this gap, this paper focuses on the intersections between globalization and contemporary rural life in Central Appalachia, with particular emphasis on West Virginia. Methodologically, I draw upon that strand of political ecology that aims to link development,

environment, and social movements, where the central aim is to explain how the relationship between people and the environment is mediated by political and economic structures operating at multiple geographic scales.

Global Feminism and the Hong Kong Women's Movement

by Carole Petersen, Center for Comparative and Public Law, University of Hong Kong

This paper examines the impact of global feminism within the Hong Kong women's movement in the post-colonial period, drawing upon documentary evidence and also interviews with local feminist organizations.

Locating Globality: The Formation and Subsistence of the New Maxwell Street Market

by Carrie Teitel, Social Science Department, University of Chicago, Illinois

Globalization is present at the global or sub-national scale and the project exists of decoding what is global. In 1994, the city of Chicago turned its attention to 'fixing up' the weekly Maxwell street Market, and the historic squatting stalls were relocated to Canal Street on the east side of the Dan Ryan Expressway. In late March of 2000, to complement the recently opened Science and Engineering Complex and Computing Center, the city council officially approved agreements with the University of Illinois, Chicago (UIC) authorizing the South Campus Regeneration Project which will include academic buildings, student housing, retail shops, parks and parking facilities, and the expansion of existing athletic facilities. Simultaneously, the physically contrived New Maxwell Street Market has become re-politicized and functions as a strategic micro-site for diverse global civil society actors with multiple political projects involving human rights, immigration policy and alter-globalization.

3:30PM – 5:00PM: PLENARY

Flows of Globalization

Space of Flows From Below: Our Globalization

by Abdul Alkalimat, Toledo University, Ohio

[Abstract Not Available]

Global Distribution: The Logistics Revolution and the New Vulnerabilities in Global Capitalism

by Edna Bonacich, University of Riverside

[Abstract Not Available]

Labor Immigration Under Capitalism

by Saskia Sassen, University of Chicago

[Abstract Not Available]

6:00PM – 8:00PM: OPENING NIGHT SPEAKERS

Another World is Possible

by Michael Albert, Founder of Z Magazine and Z Net

[Abstract Not Available]

Power and Relations of Production

by Seymour Melman, Columbia University

[Abstract Not Available]

Saturday, April 24, 2004

9:00AM – 10:30AM: PLENARY

Empire and Globalization

Global Capitalism and American Empire

by Leo Panitch, York University, Canada

[Abstract Not Available]

The Transnationalist Capitalist Class vs. the American Empire: The State as a Site of Struggle

by Leslie Sklair, London School of Economics, UK

This paper argues that, contrary to much of the literature on American Empire, the interventionist policies of the present government in the United States of America do not express the interests of capitalist globalization in any significant sense but that, on the contrary, they represent a formidable challenge to the hegemony of the transnationalist capitalist class (TCC). With very few exceptions, the leading members of the four fractions of the TCC (corporate, state, technical and consumerist) were not wholeheartedly in favour of the invasion of Iraq and most opposed it. The explanation for this is sought in the context of an analysis of the state as a site of struggle between the transnationalist capitalist class driving capitalist globalization and a group that has seized state power in the USA and is using it in terms of a series of misconceptions about its “national” interests. The paper concluded with the suggestion that an examination of the psychopathologies of the main actors might be helpful in understanding the long-term implications of the present crisis.

Global State Economic Governance Institutions

by William Tabb, City University of New York (CUNY), Queens

[Abstract Not Available]

10:45AM – 12:00PM: PANELS

Violence and Human Rights

Hermeneutical Violence: Human Rights, Law and the Constitution of a Global Identity

by Farid Benavides-Vanegas, Dept. of Political Science and Dept. of Legal Studies, Univ. of Massachusetts

In this paper I want to analyze the process of denationalization of the law, to show how the globalization of the law can be considered as a new form of imperial control, but this time, labeled as acting for the welfare of its victims. In the first part, I will analyze the national character of the law and show how it was used as an imperialistic instrument for the benefit of the imperial powers. In the second part I will show how the discourse of human rights and its universality has been the base to deny indigenous communities their right to define their own identity and how this discourse was used to destroy the old conception of sovereignty. The globalization of human rights implies the imposition of a western conception of rights, regardless of the contextual conception of the indigenous people. The discourse of human rights is part of a hermeneutical violence.

The Sociology of Human Rights and Globalization

by Darren O’Byrne, Roehampton University, UK

In recent years, ‘global studies’ and ‘human rights’ have started to emerge as disciplines (or, more accurately, fields of study) in their own right. This paper will explore the desired aims and objectives of these subjects, and in particular how they might contribute towards a more explicitly critical and politically engaged body of knowledge in the social sciences. It will survey the major theoretical literature in each of

these fields, drawing attention to the dominant paradigms emerging within them, how they relate to existing paradigms within established social sciences, and how they relate to one another. It will make the case that 'global studies' has to somehow incorporate the intellectual discipline of human rights, and that this intellectual discipline of human rights equally has to relate itself to 'global studies'. At present, in so far as human rights remains most commonly understood using philosophical rather than social scientific paradigms, there is, with some exceptions, little in the way of a dialogue between these subjects. Recent work within the perspectives of neo-Marxism and critical theory suggests some ways in which theories of globalization and theories of human rights might overlap, thus suggesting the possibility of a more integrated approach to the study of human rights in a globalized world.

Inhuman Capital: Structural Violence and the Capitalist Global Order

by Robert Torres, Department of Sociology, St. Lawrence University, New York

While violence is clearly manifest in wars and regional conflicts, it is also an inherent part of the social relations that underlie the global economic system. This work seeks to articulate a new theory of violence that takes into consideration structural and historical conditions of exploitation, and in so doing foregrounds economic forms of violence as committed through international financial institutions, 'free trade', and global capitalist policies. Though justified by rhetoric about the 'normal' functions of a 'free market', such historical conditions of exploitation continue today, and in their continuation they deprive people of food, humane living conditions, and respectable work. Using a framework of Marxist political economy and the fetishization of commodities, this paper provides a discursive and conceptual challenge to the neo-liberal project by showing how these violent processes are an inherent and inescapable part of the capitalist social and economic relations, which span the globe. Case studies centered on global food security, structural adjustment programs, privatization, and the liberalization of trade will help to illustrate how the functions of capitalism can have particularly violent outcomes.

Beyond Lenin

The New Militarism and the New Imperialism

by Trichur Ganesh, St. Lawrence University

This paper will intervene in some of the recent debates on the 'new imperialism' and attempt to contextualize these debates within a changing context of the pursuit of power over the *longue duree*. My paper will adopt a world historical perspective to investigate and address the following questions. (1) What are the foundations of the contemporary forms of a resurgent imperialism? (2) What are the characteristics of the new militarism and what is the nature of the dynamic between the new militarism and the new imperialism? (3) How complementary and how contradictory are these dynamics? (4) What are the long-run effects of the contradictions of militarism and imperialism on the changing contours of global capital accumulation? (5) What bearings do these questions have on the recent literature on "Empire" and "empires"?

Globalization and Labor: Internationalism Starts At Home

by Sam Gindin, York University, Canada

[Abstract Not Available]

To Be or Not To Be: The Nation Centric World Order Under Globalization

by Jerry Harris, Senior Professor of History, DeVry University, Chicago, Illinois

The major dialectic in the present period is the contradiction between the nation/state system and the transnational world order. This conflict between nationalism and globalization contains the main economic, political and social divisions in today's world. It is manifested as both internal class conflicts and as a struggle between classes. Underneath this dialectic there are further contradictions within nationalism and within globalization. But to interpret the deep structural moment of today one must grasp the central transformation around which all else revolves, the universalization of capitalism to a globalized system of accumulation based on a revolutionary transformation of the means of production.

Imperialism After Lenin*by Mel Rothenberg, University of Chicago*

[Abstract Not Available]

Political Economy of Globalization**Globalization and Welfare State: A Swing from Decommodification to Recommodification***by Anil Duman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

One of the main reasons for the emergence of the welfare state is decommodification and the recent pressures on social policy generated by globalization indicate a shift back to recommodification. By means of redistribution and social insurance, welfare states have aimed to diminish the market dependency of economically disadvantaged groups. However, openness of the domestic economies is claimed to bring additional financial constraints, which would necessitate cutbacks in public programs and increases in market reliance. This paper would look at the links between globalization and the changes in demand for social policy by examining the perceived costs of redistribution, the risk, and the norms. It would argue that globalization seeks to justify greater recommodification by transforming the social values and the risks in a society.

Globalization or Financialization: The Case of Turkey*by Armagan Gezici, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Liberalization policies implemented in developing countries have brought the rise in the rentier share of income and a 'financialization' of these economies. 'Financialization' refers not only to the growing weight of finance in the economy through the expansion of banks, brokerage houses, fiancé companies, and the like, but to the growing orientation of nonfinancial firms to financial markets. Whether this rise in power of rentier class is in conflict with the interests of industrial capital is still debated. The increasing importance of financial transactions and assets to the profitability of nonfinancial firms suggests a material basis for an alliance between industrial and finance capital. This paper provides evidence from the liberalization experience of Turkey to gauge financialization. The measures of financialization both at the economy and firm level are provided and the institutional changes leading into these new outcomes are investigated with an emphasis on the role of the state. The paper argues that although nonfinancial firms (industrial capital) have benefited from the increasing financial returns during the period, given a highly unstable economic performance, such behavioral shift suggests an unsustainable accumulation regime for developing countries.

The Impact of Capital Account Liberalization on the Functional Distribution of Income*by Arjun Jayadev, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

What are the effects of capital account liberalization on distribution? This important topic has been relatively neglected, given the very social concerns of many that openness can lead to profound consequences for the personal and factor distribution of incomes. This paper attempts to address this question by asking: what are the direct and indirect effects of capital account liberalization on the labor share of income? I use a consistent cross country panel of labor shares and a new index of capital account openness to test the various channels by which theory suggests that financial openness may affect the labor share. I find a persistent negative effect of capital account openness on the labor share of income across countries and in typical sub samples. The finding is consistent with the idea promoted by Crotty and Epstein (1996) and Rodrik (1998) that openness may reduce the bargaining power of labor and thereby reduce its share of national output.

They Still Don't Get It: Mainstream Economists' Blindness to the Flaws in the Theories Behind Their Push for Globalization*by P. Sai-wing Ho, University of Denver, Colorado*

To their credit some mainstream economists have made efforts to familiarize themselves with the literature produced by those who want to proceed with globalization in a more cautious and regulated way. However,

excepting for a handful of cases these efforts appear to be half-hearted and often reveal a reluctance to concede that there are some serious flaws in the mainstream arguments in support of the ongoing push for globalization. Those who are cautious about globalization can nevertheless usefully focus on these outstanding areas of disagreement and determine, with reference to the heterodox economics literature, whether they could sharpen their critiques and render them more forcefully effective.

The Politics of Globalization

Identity Formation of Transnational Coalitions in the WTO: A Case Study on the G22

by Louis Esparza, Department of Sociology, SUNY at Stony Brook, New York

The literature on defining globalization is rich in historical economic and cultural analysis. In this paper, by analyzing the 2003 World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Cancun, I argue that there is another, qualitative dimension to the definition of globalization that is not being discussed: that globalization is both a quantitatively new systemic transformation and a qualitatively new self-reflection and an acute awareness of this process of ever-increasing global interconnectedness. Through a content analysis of news pieces following the event, I find that the group of 22 developing countries (G22) that articulated a cosmopolitan vision of global trade at the WTO meeting is indeed an expression of this self-reflection and awareness.

Illicit Drug Flows, Globalization and Governance: National Responses to Global Threat

by Richard Huggins, Assistant Dean of Social Sciences and Law, Oxford Brookes University, UK

This paper will map some of the recent policy and organizational responses in the UK to the perceived globalization of crime and threat of crime, focusing on anti-drug strategy and policies. It will argue that the idea of global crime in general and the perceived threat of transnational illicit drug flows in particular, have become important policy discourses, vital to the changing architectures of statist rule. The present conjuncture facilitates easy links between unconventional and asymmetric threats – from cross-border movements of people, traffic in legal and illegal goods, transnational organized crime – and forms of terrorism.

The IEA Cartel, Oil-Price Swing States, and U.S. Oil Hegemony: How “Cheap Oil!” Remakes the World in America’s Image.

by Tom O’Donnell, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

The global oil system and the slogan “*No Blood for Oil!*” are examined using official data from the U.S. Department of Energy’s Energy Information Agency (EIA), the OECD’s International Energy Agency (IEA) and the EU Directorate-General for Energy and Transport. Beyond the ultimate ability of the U.S. Navy to block oil deliveries anywhere in the world, U.S. dominance within the oil-consuming nations’ IEA cartel, in concert with U.S. penetration and/or occupation of all the Gulf Region’s “oil-price swing states” (save Iran), brings to the U.S. control over the production rates and, hence, the global market price of crude oil. “Cheap Oil!” – the energy religion of the American bourgeoisie – is the relentless economic weapon with which it continually remakes all nations in the image of its own automobile- and oil-centered homeland.

Atlantic Capitalism: One World or More?

by Ingo Schmidt, University of Goettingen, Germany

During the 1990s the dominant notion in social sciences as well as in politics has been globalization, which means that there either is a world-wide process of economic and institutional convergence due to market integration or – from a more critical perspective – an ongoing struggle between the club of rich countries on one side and the mass of poor countries on the other side. This paper will answer the questions of whether globalization has ever been an appropriate term to qualify developments at least within the world’s rich countries, whether there are institutional differences across the countries sufficient to characterize varieties of capitalism, what the impact is of the international political economy on the formation of welfare states, and how likely is the emergence of a transatlantic rivalry between the U.S. or NAFTA on one side of the ocean and the EU on the other.

Global Labor and Poverty

Labor in Global Political Economy

by Robina Bhatti, Professor, Department of Global Studies, California State University, Monterey Bay

This paper is the result of disappointment with the panel discussion on ‘Globalization and Labor’ at the May 2003 University of California Conference on a Critical Globalization Studies. In the opening remarks, the moderator noted that everyone belonged to the same religious group. The panel itself focused on industrial, organized labor of the Northern portion of the world to the exclusion of agrarian, informal, gendered, flexible work and child labor found increasingly everywhere in the world. This paper addresses the deficit in a study of Global Labor as evidenced in a preoccupation with the North to the exclusion of the South in GSA discussions thus far.

The Poverty of the Global Order

by Philip McMichael and Dia Mohan, Cornell University, New York

The poverty of the global order, as we see it, is manifest in the economic reductionism embodied in current representations of world order. We identify the discourses of scarcity, poverty alleviation, and participation as tools for renewing the inequalities, which legitimize the development industry, while naturalizing an epistemology of development and social futures. We critique this conceptual poverty via Polanyi’s conceptual distinction between formal and substantive economy, where market fetishisation is expressed in the ‘scarcity postulate’, which governs state legitimacy at the expense of substantive, socio-ecological conceptions of economy. We illustrate our critique with reference to false distinctions based in the scarcity paradigm drawn between ‘food security’ and ‘food sovereignty’, and with reference to the power relations opposing market solutions to inequality to solutions based on alternative forms of representation.

The Rise and Fall and Rise of Sweatshops in the U.S.

by Robert Ross, Clark University

Understanding our society as a place where the bad old days of labor exploitation and injustice are over sustains our positive sense of our march through history. It also allows those of us who are employed and adequately fed to feel proud of our own accomplishments. The poor, many think, have only themselves and their self-inflicted joblessness to blame. Yet, a combination of political, economic, and social trends have come together to recreate working conditions that are nearly as bad as those of the early 20th Century. Sweatshops are back and they are right here in the United States.

Seminar on Economic Vision

Participatory Economics: Life After Capitalism

by Michael Albert, Founder of Z Magazine and Z Net

[Abstract Not Available]

Gender and Race Relations

The Role of the Neo-Liberal State in Addressing Femicide, Migration and Labor in the Border: The Case of Migrant Women in Cd. Juarez

by Martha Chew Sanchez, Ph.D., Global Studies Department, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

The general objective of this paper is to analyze the contradictory cultural repercussions of the feminization of the labor force in the racialized and gendered socio-economic dynamics that take place in the U.S./Mexico border area. This paper explores the ways in which sexist violence, social structures, and gendered patterns of domination are constructed, disguised, reinforced and disseminated in the official discourse of the neo-liberal state, particularly in regard to the killing of working class, brown young women. This paper

questions some of the social, economic and political repercussions of the globalization of the economy in the everyday life of borderland workers, particularly of working migrant women.

A Dangerous Liaison? Feminism and Corporate Globalization

by Hester Eisenstein, Sociology, Queens College and the Graduate Center, The City University of New York

In the 1970s and early 1980s, a heated debate took place over the relationship between Marxism and feminism. In the current historical moment an essay on gender might want to ask a related, but perhaps more disturbing question: has feminism entered into a dangerous liaison with capitalism? I review the profound changes to the U.S. and the world economy brought about by the “restructuring” of the 1970s, the rise of the women’s movement during the same period, and point to ideological and practical uses of this movement for capitalist interests at home and abroad. In particular, I will focus on the decline of the family wage and the abolition of welfare “as we know it” in the U.S., and on the use of micro credit and female labor in export processing zones in the “developing” world. I point to the incorporation of feminist ideas by the U.S. government as it pursues its “war on terrorism”, and to the kernel of truth in U.S. propaganda, feminism acts a cultural solvent, as globalization erodes the traditions of patriarchy. I conclude with a call to the left to take onboard the crucial contribution of feminist ideas and activism, as we contemplate a world where alternatives to capitalism have become devalued and de-legitimized.

Militarization is Sneakier Than You Think: Some Feminist Clues

by Cynthia Enloe, Clark University

[Abstract Not Available]

Configurations of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Class in the Context of Globalization

by Ligaya McGovern, Associate Professor of Sociology, Indiana University

This paper will examine how the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, and class configure in the complex dynamics of micro and macro structures of globalization and imperialism. A useful way to begin this inquiry is to identify conceptual sites in which configurations of gender, race/ethnicity, and class are produced and help maintain the hegemony of capitalist globalization and empire. An equally important task is also to examine how these configurations are being contested locally and globally. This paper will examine these configurations in the context of Philippine labor export due to globalization and the forms of resistance they have engendered.

1:00PM – 1:30PM: Lunch Speaker Via Video Satellite From Holland

War, Imperialism and Resistance From Below

by Jose Maria Sison, Chairman, Center for Social Studies, Utrecht, Netherlands

This paper discusses 1) the phenomenon of war as a concomitant of modern imperialism, 2) so-called neo-liberal economics and neo-conservative politics as current policy expressions of imperialism and 3) the anti-imperialist resistance of the people and some states assertive of national independence.

1:30PM – 3:00PM: PLENARY

Resistance Movements for Global Justice

Labor Resistance in the Era of Globalization

by Sam Gindin, York University, Canada

[Abstract Not Available]

Striking Back at the Empire

by Lauren Langman, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois

The Hegelian-Marxist tradition informs us that every system of domination has within itself, the conditions for its own negation and overcoming. While on the other hand, the domination of particular historic bloc may depend on its economic resources and its access to means of violence, it generally attempts to secure willing consent to both its legitimacy, e.g. rulership claims, and specific policies there are distinguished as serving the “best interests” of the people. Contemporary globalization, in its current neo-liberal instantiation, attempted to secure its hegemony by promising mass consumption. Moreover, between its consumption-based forms of subjectivity and its hedonistic popular cultures, there has been a general privatization of self and retreat from social, political concerns. At the same time, contemporary globalization has caused major redistributions of wealth, in which most people, save the Transnationalist Capitalist Class, have faced job loss, income stagnation and/or erosion of job security and diminished benefits. Moreover we have degradation of the environment, a global sex trade, vast human rights abuses, etc. But at the same time, we might note that the very same Internet networks that have enabled the emergence of a global civil society in which a multitude of “virtual public spheres” have emerged to provide information outside of government or corporate control. Much like the bourgeois public spheres where absolutism was critiqued, today we find this critique going on in a number of NGO’s, INGO’s, labor groups, feminists, environmentalists, human rights activists, gays and others. This has in turn enabled a variety of social mobilization demanding alternative modes of globalization sustaining social justice rather than corporate profits. Further, this system has enabled the emergence of globally-based resistance movements in which local actor across the globe can coordinate their efforts – as for example in the worldwide, coordinated protests against the recent invasion of Iraq. Moreover, in the last 4 years, a World Social Forum, bringing together activists from the entire globe has emerged as a counterfoil to the World Social Forum of the capitalist elites. While the alternative globalization movements are quite recent, we can already see the fruits of such efforts, as for example the Zapatistas, Miami or Cancun. We can already note how the IMF and WTO, under attack from their own elites such as Soros or Stieglitz, are beginning to rethink the strategies that have wrought so much profit for so few and so much misery for so many.

3:15PM – 5:00PM: PANELS

Commerce as Empire, Consumerism as Lifestyle

Commodity Fetishism and the Discursive Construction of the Citizen-Consumer in “Third World Countries”

by Gabriela Delgado, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

In the context of development and globalization, this paper will link the creation/expansion of global labor markets with the discursive construction of the consumerist culture in “Third World” countries. An understanding of oppression and exploitation and the subsequent resistance against capitalism and imperialism has been placed on the worker-producer side of the market economy equation. Meanwhile the citizen-consumer on the other side of the same equation has been blurred by denial and misrecognition. In this context, a psychoanalytic and a Marxist-feminist analysis of how capitalist economy benefits from the complex interdependence between the citizen and consumer subjectivities may be worthwhile. The main goal of this paper is to search for alternatives and new possibilities of resistance and social change.

The Lifeworld Colonization, The Efficiency of Social Governance, and Their Relevance for World Order

by Kevin Young, Carleton University, Canada

This paper argues that understanding the dual role played by markets in facilitating social governance in liberal capitalist societies is crucial to understanding the hegemonic stability of neo-liberal world order. Highlighting the increasing market colonization of the lifeworld enables the identification of an economic

dynamic unique to liberal capitalist societies that acts as an important substitute for forms of active hegemonic control. Such a dynamic arises out of the dialectical interaction between the social manifestations of capitalist contradictions and the active agency of individuals striving for their own self-betterment in an environment of consumerism. This dynamic, which I call an ‘economy of passive mitigation,’ strengthens neo-liberal world order by substituting other forms of social governance, such as hegemonic rule, and makes the maintenance of capitalist contradictions more manageable.

Is the U.S. an Empire? If Not, Then What Is It?

by Roger Krohn, McGill University, Canada

Many people see the Bush administration as abandoning traditional U.S. peaceful, with important exceptions, ‘well intended’ economic world domination through a multilateral foreign policy and international law and institutions. Now they see a move for an explicit military led empire and the breaking of all such laws, agreements, and institutions. I will argue that ‘empire’ is misleading both its ‘neo-con’ advocates and its critics. While a commercial/democratic society suited widespread economic dominance, it contradicts ‘empire’ in any historical/theoretical meaning. I try to give an alternative interpretation, based on the nature of trade systems, that will help us understand the troubles and defeats of Bush foreign policy and to anticipate more problems to come.

Discourse on the New Imperialism

Dual Globalizations: War with War and without War: Empire Palace without Place – Resistance or Compliance

by Saied Reza Ameli, Sociology Department, University of Tehran, Iran

Dual Globalizations refers to emergence of a new world parallel to the old world – the virtual World beside and sometimes over the real World. War in the virtual world and the real world is though distinct; it is interlinked complimentary and accommodating projective process for world domination. Accordingly, this paper is an attempt for the theorization of a new global empire policy, which in nature is very cultural, and in necessary cases militarized in relation to dual globalizations that are taking place in two distinguished but unified environments. In the final part of the paper, I will examine new individualism, which is more free from political, economic and cultural norms and collective and network campaigning in a global extend are two new trends in response to new post-cold war policy for world domination.

Global Bio-Politics and Corporations as a New Subject of History

by Ewa Charkiewicz, National Council for Research on Women

This paper was inspired by the author’s curiosity about the sudden avalanche of statements on corporate social responsibility (CSR) from state and inter-state organizations. The first part of the paper offers a discourse analysis of CSR, while the second investigates CSR by looking at the effects of corporate activities on human and non-human life. Two theoretical toolkits are employed in the analysis of CSR: Michel Foucault’s analytic of power, and the social ecological life cycle analysis developed by the author in her earlier work based on feminist and ecological economics. The dissonance between the two parts of the paper underscores the efficacy of discourse on CSR in making invisible the social and environmental costs of profits and a high tech consumer society.

Economic War and the New Imperialism

by Neal Curtis, Senior Lecturer in Communication Studies at Cambridge, UK

Many of the political left questioned the legitimacy of Gulf War II arguing that was not humanitarian but economic. This paper asks what is meant by categorizing Gulf War II as an economic war. It also asks how such a war might contribute to what is being referred to in much of the contemporary literature on globalization and the ‘war against terror’ as the ‘new imperialism’. In order to examine these questions the paper explores the three Greek words *oikos*, *nomos*, and *polemos* in order to allow the many meanings attached to these worlds to develop an understanding of economic war. Issues addresses include ways of

life, being-in-the-world, confrontation, the public and the private, division and partition, self and other, and possible paths of resistance. Theories used to think through *oikos*, *nomos*, and *polemos* are those offered in the work of Lyotard, Heidegger and Nancy.

Persistent Dominance: Considerations of Space, Globalization, and Collaboration Inside the Discourse on Imperialism

by Hero Montilla, City University of New York (CUNY), Graduate Center

A universal understanding of imperialism benefits from an organizational framework. Such an effort demonstrates certain traditions that continue to persevere; from this stand are we able to understand the concept of imperialism and also link it to globalization. This method of analyzing particular viewpoints still visible within discourse on imperialism is able to clarify the nature and substance of distinct groups of theories. In particular, these are the dispositional, Marxist theories, peripheral theory or theory of collaboration, and theory of imperialism that absorbs into its analysis consideration of the processes of globalization.

Global Labor and Sweatshops

Latin America in the Post-MFA Global Apparel Industry

by Jennifer Bair, Department of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

In the 1990s, Latin American countries emerged as major apparel exporters to the United States market. This paper will present an overview of developments in the global apparel industry, focusing on the developmental implications of heightened global competition and the likely consequences for labor. The growing role of U.S. retailers, such as Wal-Mart, and branded marketers, such as The Gap, influencing the geography and organizational dynamics of global apparel production will also be highlighted, alongside the decline of domestic textile and clothing production in the United States.

Labor at Wal-Mart

by Ellen Rosen, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts

[Abstract Not Available]

Resistance to Sweatshops

by Robert Ross, Clark University

In January of 1999 a new student movement announced itself on the campuses of American universities. It began a campaign for a “sweat free campus” campaign and it announced itself in dramatic fashion – by occupying over the next four months Administration buildings on seven campuses. In each case, the students’ demands were focused on the apparel sweatshop problem. The workers evoked in the students’ rhetoric were usually distant from them in space both geographic and social. The objects of the students’ sympathy were at the base of a pyramid whose top includes big American and European corporations. The sit-ins were not all quick nor were they intended to be merely symbolic, so some took on a kind of siege structure and logic.

An Examination of the recent Trends of Outsourcing and the Impact on American Labor

by Maureen Steinel, New School University

The economic processes of globalization pose serious implications on workers worldwide. A more recent topic of concern relating to globalization is the trend of outsourcing U.S. jobs overseas and how it impacts the structure of the U.S. workforce. At the same time outsourcing became a more central force in the United States, the shift from manufacturing to service industry began. In this paper, I will evaluate the recent trends of outsourcing of work by United States multinational corporations to provide a better understanding of the restructuring of the American workforce. Specifically, I will explore how outsourcing has adversely impacted labor in the U.S. Finally, I will evaluate the changes in the U.S. workforce to explore the possibilities for the future of American workers.

Unilateralism and U.S. Hegemony

The War on Terrorism and the U.S. Elections

by Carl Davidson, Networking for Democracy, Chicago, Illinois
[Abstract Not Available]

Isolationism, Unilateralism, Multilateralism: Imperial Postures and Practices

by Leo Panitch, York University, Canada
[Abstract Not Available]

Imperial Globalism: Ideology and U.S. Hegemony After 9/11

by Manfred Steger, Illinois State University
[Abstract Not Available]

Glass Fortress America

by Richard Wolff and Max Fraad-Wolff, Department of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

In part 1, this paper offers evidence for (a) the historically unprecedented extent of explicit unilateralism proclaimed by the current Bush administration, and (b) the deepening fragility of an excessively debt-dependent economy confronting mounting domestic and foreign economic problems with shrinking domestic resources for solving them. Part 2 offers some historical argument to explain how and why this contradictory combination arose. Part 3 suggests how this contradiction may influence the future of U.S. global policy economically, culturally, and militarily.

Environmentalism and Globalization

The Business of Global Environmental Politics

by David Levy and Peter J. Newell, University of Massachusetts

This book proposes a political economy approach to understanding the role of business in international environmental governance. Despite increasing acknowledgement in the rapidly expanding literature on global environmental politics of the important role that industry has played in the negotiation and implementation of individual regime arrangements, we continue to lack both an understanding of the diverse ways in which firms contribute to the overall architecture of global environmental governance and a sophisticated comprehension of the reciprocal relationship between corporate strategy and international environmental regulation. The aim of this book, therefore, is to develop thinking about the ways in which business activity is both a response to, as well as constitutive of, environmental governance at the global level.

Global Corporate Social and Environmental Responsibility: A Hegemonic Discursive Strategy

by Alice Mah, Institute of Political Economy, Carleton University, Canada

This paper is concerned with understanding the advent of global corporate social and environmental responsibility (GCSER) as a discursive hegemonic project in the Gramscian sense for the legitimation and marketing of global capitalism. The rise of GCSER as an all-pervasive discursive strategy evident in all factions of capital can be seen as a response to threats to the power and legitimacy of global capitalism, such as corporate scandals, public demands for transparency and accountability with the increasing power of transnational corporations, and prospects of binding international regulation rather than voluntary self-regulation for corporate activity.

Globalization and the Promise of Partnerships

by Carolyn Pletsch, Environmental Design and Rural Development, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada

The central thesis in this paper is that globalization is a primary environmental variable that has given rise to changes in the delivery of social policy initiatives, which has in turn given rise to the reliance on public-third

sector, partnerships in the delivery of these initiatives. We will look at these changes within a general global context, and then use as a case study the province of Ontario in Canada, with a brief reference to Canada's federal response particularly as it relates to attempts to mitigate the effects of neo-liberal provincial policy and the general pressures of globalization.

Engels, Industrial Capital and the Environment

by Neil Seldman, Institute for Local Self-Reliance

Marxism would not exist if it were not for Engels. Marx contributed an elaborate philosophy of history, introduced modernizing philosophical concepts of ideology and class consciousness, fetishism of commodities and a 'scientific' economic model of capitalism; intellectual tools in the struggles for democracy and socialism. These were based on Engels initial insights into the mechanics of capitalist production and the emerging environmental and social dilemmas associated with the miraculous productivity of unfettered industrialization. Lessons from Engels' work prior to his partnership with Marx can help present day activists and thinkers with ideas and strategies that avoid the burden of Marxism which has been distorted in the public mind by contemporary history.

Human Rights and the National Security State

The Global Democratic Deficit and Economic Human Rights

by Carol Gould, Columbia University

Pursuing the theme of democratizing globalization that I introduce in my forthcoming *Globalizing Democracy and Human Rights* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), I propose to consider the democratic deficit in multilateral institutions like the WTO and the IMF in relation to the justice deficit, or the inequalities in the realization of economic and social human rights across different societies. I will briefly review some of the proposals that have been made for increasing democratic input into decisions by such organizations, as well as in new cross border communities along with territorially based and functional approaches to such democratization. I will go on to offer an original interpretation of the criterion that those importantly affected by decisions at a distance have a right to participate in them. The paper concludes with an analysis of some of the interrelations between the human rights, particularly the economic and social ones, and such democratic decision-making in this transnational context.

The Globalization of Torture, American Style

by Edward Greer

Without much discussion, the past few years has seen a novel phenomenon, to wit, planet-wide extra-territorial and extra-judicial systematic deployment of torture against citizens of dozens of nations, secretly captured independently of any territorial boundaries, and held indefinitely as prisoners pursuant to the untrammelled discretion of the American Executive operating through its intelligence and military apparatus. These prisoners are held within American military bases scattered throughout the world, in places where no other nation-state has jurisdiction or control. No one, nor any known combination of institutions anywhere in the world, has the slightest authority or ability to in any way affect this process. So far it appears that there have been hundreds of victims, possibly more, of this historically unprecedented global deployment of raw and arbitrary power. This unique form of globalization requires detailed scrutiny as a condition precedent to figuring out how to raise an effective opposition to this policy and practice, one, which it is hard to characterize as anything less than a 'crime against humanity.' Many of us do not want to live in a world where our own nation-state arrogates so idolatrous an entitlement: that of torturing at will any human residing anywhere.

Operation Atlas: A Case in the Growing Fusion Between National Security and Local Law Enforcement

by Valeria Treves, Hunter College, New York

This paper examines the NYPD's 'Operation Atlas;' an operation of heightened security for the duration of the United State's War in Iraq. I explore Operation Atlas as an example of the nation-wide trend towards the blurring of the boundaries between national security and local law enforcement. Further, I examine Operation Atlas within the social geography of New York City itself and argue that the neo-liberal character of the city and its revanchist social order are quick to absorb the re-definition of national security encompassed by the blurring boundaries between national security and local law enforcement.

In the Name of Human Rights

by Gordana Yovanovich, Professor of Latin America Studies, University of Guelph, Canada

Those who are guided by love and justice, and those who seek power and profit both argue for one world. "Rulers have always found it convenient to rule in the name of an abstract idea (i.e. God, Family, Universal Beauty, Justice)." Today, the Globalized world is ruled in the name of Global Economy, Universal Justice and Individual Human Rights. In Eastern Europe, Soros funded Human Rights Activists motivated the intelligentsia and local political activists to struggle for human rights and take down their governments. In my paper I look at the intellectual situation in Eastern Europe at the time of the break down of the Eastern Block and I ask why the philosophy/ideology/politics of human rights was not adopted and made popular by Latin American writers of the Boom who wrote at the time of the worst violations of human rights.

Seminar on Strategies for Change

How Do We Win in a New World?

by Michael Albert, Founder of Z Magazine and Z Net
[Abstract Not Available]

Forms of Resistance

Governance Crisis: Globalization, Social Movements, and U.S. Power

by Mark Frezzo, Florida Atlantic University

This paper argues that the future of global governance depends upon the interaction of two factors. The first factor involves the trajectory of the global justice movement. Will the movement overcome its internal divisions (e.g., between "revolutionaries" and "reformists")? Or will it collapse under the weight of its own contradictions? The second factor involves the trajectory of U.S. hegemony. Will the United States succeed in its bid for empire? Or will it 'return' to promoting multilateralism in the interstate system and developmentalism in the world-economy? These questions point to the need to theorize and historicize the relationship between social movements and world hegemonies.

Marxism and the Global Justice Movement: An Outline for a Dialogue

by John O'Connor, Department of Sociology, Central Connecticut State University

With assertions claiming the "End of History", "Clash of Civilization", and "Age of Empire", Marxism has been declared dead once again. This paper addresses Marxism's possible rebirth with the emergence of the global uprising against injustice. Starting in Seattle and spreading throughout the world, the global justice movement has targeted institutions, like the WTO, IMF and World Bank, and outcomes like environmental degradation, associated with neo-liberal globalization. I argue that the future of the global justice movement hinges on a revival of historical materialism. On the one hand, I contend that the character of the mass popular movement provides Marxism an important opportunity to reconcile some of its long-standing antinomies, but on the other hand, the long-term development of this international movement turns on forging a political program informed by Marxist insights and strategies.

The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: National and Global Influences on Transnational Association

by Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, Department of Sociology, SUNY Stony Brook, New York

A burgeoning literature examines an explosion of transnational associations and other manifestations of global civil society that are increasingly evident in recent decades. However, there are vast differences in the levels of transnational participations by citizens from different countries. What accounts for this uneven geography of participation? Our analysis of data from the Yearbook of International Associations explores the influences of national contexts and global political and economic factors on the levels of national participation in transnational social movement organizations (TSMs). We find that globalization's influence does not completely displace the role of the national state in affecting levels of citizen participation in TSMs.

Jane Doe: Jail Solidarity and the Global Justice Movement

by Beverly Thompson, New School University

This presentation will cover jail solidarity actions, activist legal trainings and the role of legal collectives in ensuring justice for protesters as they are arrested for practicing their right to expression. This presentation is based on fieldwork with three legal collectives, street activism and interviews with fifty activists either arrested or working on the legal team. By examining the legal trainings provided to activists as well as their own experience behind bars, direct action can be better understood as a tool in the activist arsenal that does not stop once in custody.

Sunday, April 25, 2004

10:30AM – 12:00PM: PANELS

Voices in the Wilderness

Speaking on Palestine

by Dr. Mazin Qumsiyeh, Ph.D.

[Abstract Not Available]

Speaking on Iraq

by Leah C. Wells

[Abstract Not Available]

Critical Theory

Swept Away by Cultural Globalization: The Impact of Globalization on Italian Literature

by Eugenio Bolongaro, McGill University, Canada

This paper will discuss Lina Wertmuller's controversial and successful 1975 film "Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto" (Swept Away) starring Mariangela Melato and Giancarlo Giannini, and the 2002 remake directed by Guy Ritchie starring Madonna Ciccone and Adriano Giannini (Giancarlo Giannini's son). I will begin by discussing briefly the "remake" as a genre and locating Ritchie's Swept Away within its parameters. At this stage it will begin to emerge that the 2002 film is a rather ambitious attempt to preserve the basic dichotomies (communist vs. capitalist, male vs. female, North vs. South, civilization vs. barbarity, etc.) exploited so successfully by Wertmuller's work while relocating them in a new global cultural space. The interest of this attempt lies not so much in the artistic quality of the outcome, but rather in the systematic (mis)understanding which characterizes this appropriation and recycling of a foreign cultural product by an Anglo-American director and crew.

Adorno on Globalization

by Harry Dahms, Florida State University

The central theme of this paper, examined from a variety of angles, including the fate of the welfare state, is how contemporary societies are sedimentations of Cold War practices and forms of organization that have been internalized and "normalized" to the point where they operate like an underlying program we implicit presume, without having the tools at our disposal to determine how (to what degree) this is so, and without being particularly inclined to do engage in related efforts to determine how this is so (due to priorities that have been directing research in the social sciences under Cold War conditions).

Turkey in the Age of Globalization: Huntington or Gramsci to Explain Cultural Globalization?

by Yesim Kaptan, University of Indiana

Today, in the context of terrorism debates and because of the struggle between secularists and Islamists within different countries, Samuel Huntington's theories and arguments have gained importance again. Huntington mentions "the revival of religion" or the "unsecularization of the world". From the 1920s to the 2000s secularism has been the most popular debate from time to time during the history of the Turkish Republic. During the 1980s and the 1990s the polarization between secularists and Islamists became very sharp in Turkey. However, Huntington's theory is inadequate in order to explain why "Islamic actors attribute a positive quality to cultural globalization and articulate in their discourses". Gramsci gives us the answers while explaining the "spontaneous" movements of the popular strata and subaltern classes.

The Great Global Refusal

by Hank Rich, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois

Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* was a critique of the political quietism of the 1950's. Marcuse hypothesized that philosophy; culture and the social sciences had vacated their historic mission of negating an irrational and unjust quotidian reality. At present, the rise of globalization has been dominated by one-dimensional discourses that seek to close off the universe of alternatives. The point now, as then is the abolition of the prevailing condition of one-dimensionality by a two-dimensional reality. Refusing one-dimensional globalization in the form of organized alternative globalization movements and spontaneous acts of localized resistance can be theorized as the emergence of two-dimensional globalization, the great global refusal.

Forms of Resistance II

The World Social Forum Unplugged

by Scott Byrd, Graduate Student, Oklahoma State University, Department of Environmental Sociology

The World Social Forum first convened in January 2001 under the slogan 'another world is possible' at the same time as and in opposition to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. The World Social Forum's Charter of Principles states, 'The World Social Forum is an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and interlinking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neo-liberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism, and are committed to building a planetary society directed towards fruitful relationships among Humankind and between it and the Earth'. Houtart states that the World Social Forum marks a turning point in social movement mobilization, a birth of a new culture, in gestation for several years, manifesting as a quest for alternatives to globalized capitalism and the neoliberal model, as seen at the World Economic Forum in Davos. The 2003 WSF drew over 100,000 activists, NGO campaigners, academics and trade unionists from more than 130 countries and 5,000 organizations, more than double the number from the previous year.

Striking Back at Empire: A Postmodern Resistance to Neo-Liberalism and Globalization

by Lawrence Byrne, Barry University and Jung Choi, San Diego State University

[Abstract Not Available]

Resituating Democracy: Cosmopolitanism, Regionalism, Global Civil Society

by Adam Lupel, New School for Social Research

This paper addresses three forms of transnational politics that could serve to broaden democratic legitimacy beyond the nation-state: *cosmopolitan democracy*, *democratic regionalism*, and *democratic network governance*. I will argue that each model encounters a tension between the particular contexts of democratic legitimacy and the universalism demanded of a transnational or even global political culture. And I will argue that in the context of globalization no form of politics may be thought of in isolation. Regionalism must be thought of in the context of the broader world order; cosmopolitanism implies transformations at the local, national, and regional level. And global networks are enabled or hindered depending upon the character of national and international politics as they traverse national and regional boundaries.

Lessons From Seattle: Resistance to Globalization, the Media, and the State's Response

by Joe Young, University of Connecticut

This paper attempts to explain how and why groups organized against globalization and its most prominent symbol – the World Trade Organization (WTO). To explain the protesters' perspectives I use archived interviews from the WTO History Project, protester's journal, and personal interviews of participants and activists. I contrast these perspectives with the media depictions and governments official's accounts of the events in Seattle in 1999. Based upon this comparison, I argue that the Seattle protests were met with a 'mobilization of bias' by the media and authorities. Isolated incidence of violence were used a spectacles to

mitigate the effects of teach-ins and other attempts to educate the public about the potential dangers of the WTO.

Consciousness, Education, and the Culture of Resistance

Resistance: International Education and Its Discontents

by Renate Briendenthal, Emerita Professor of History, Brooklyn College, City University of New York (CUNY)

Resisting the commodification of education by future trade regimes such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas and the General Agreement on Trade and Services, are various international education organizations some of which the Professional Staff Congress/CUNY has joined: the Trinational Coalition in Defense of Public Education (with Mexico and Canada), the Initiative for Democratic Education in the Americas (Latin America), Education International (through parent federation AFT). Joint projects include letter-writing campaigns, conferences, and sister-union relationships.

Globalization and the Logic of Resistance

by Roger Foster, Assistant Professor, Philosophy, Borough of Manhattan Community College, CUNY

This paper will defend an interpretation of the role and purpose of social movements in global economy as concerned with the creation of new meanings for human dignity. I will explore how oppositional movements can progress from the standpoint of reaction to the convergence around a positive set of meanings and values. My paper will focus specifically on the question of economic and social justice, and the ability of the transnational networks and groups to develop a normative perspective in opposition to the hegemonic project of neo-liberal globalization.

Where Did Freire Go Wrong? Pedagogy in Globalization: The Grenadian Example

by Paul Mocombe, Florida Atlantic University

This essay argues that Paulo Freire's dialogical pedagogy, as practiced in American postindustrial workplaces and schools, speaks to the continual role of education as an instrument that is used to facilitate integration, rather than as a liberating force against the partiality of its capitalist ideological structure. This essay offers a rereading of Freire's emphasis on dialogue, as practiced in the American and Grenadian contexts, which not only refutes it in favor of the antidialogical model or the "Banking system" – which, as a result of the nature of American society, offers a more realistic chance of freedom for those oppressed by it ideological structure – but demonstrates, contrarily to the post structural emphasis, how it is utilized within existing configuration of power, to foster normalization among diverse "cultural" identities.

Marketing [Higher] Public Education

by Anthony O'Brien, Queens College, City University of New York (CUNY)

Public [higher] education in the United States is threatened from several different quarters. One is the financial squeeze of federal and state funding, which pressures institutions toward various forms of privatization, of which rising tuition is only one. Less well known is the inclusion of services in trade agreements, which threaten to package educational "products" and sell them as commodities on a world market in a race toward the bottom price for producers. The effect on faculty control over curriculum and work conditions could be disastrous.

Finance, Capital and Globalization

Institutionalizing Global Neo-Liberalism: The Structural Transformation of the WTO and its Inherent Contradictions

by Nitsan Chorev, Central European University, Budapest

[Abstract Not Available]

Today's Global Economies: Capital Economy v. Credit Economy

by Gregorio Morales, University of California at San Diego

Even in this Global economy countries with comparative technologies and natural endowments enjoy different level of access to world credit markets. A new Imperialist Credit Culture (ICC) has taken root and hidden in the imperfections of the once powerful capitalist economic system, the ICC while avoiding any risk of association for the “Moral Hazard” involving labor markets of periphery and semi-periphery Economic systems – behind a veil of international cooperation (World Trade Organization – WTO) where the responsibilities for those countries populations are only the responsibility of their domestic governments and not the ICC and their use of those labor/commodity sources. The Consumer market of the United States – “The Core Economy” – which is now based upon consumption value and not labor value of the individuals in this market place – serves only as a source of credit value and neither of capital nor production at any level.

Dominant Capital and the New Wars

by Jonathan Nitzan, Department of Political Science, York University and Shimshon Bichler, Jerusalem

The new wars in the Middle East have brought back the ghost of ‘imperialism’. There is much talk of North-South conflict, of Western neo-liberalism versus Islamic fundamentalism, of intra-imperialist struggle between the United States, Europe and emerging Asia. Some even argue that imperialism has mutated into ‘empire’, an invisible rule of capital at large. The ‘Military Keynesianism’ of the 1960s and 1970s suddenly reappears as ‘neo-liberal wars’. The ‘permanent war economy’ is now repackaged, as ‘infinite war’. In lieu of a materialist criticism, there is plenty of post-modern discourse. And yet in all the commotion, one question – the billion dollar question – remains unanswered, indeed unasked: “How, precisely, does the new war fervour affect the *accumulation of capital*?”

Kondratiev Long Economic Cycles and Today's Current Situation

by Luis Sandoval-Ramirez, Institute of Economic Research, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico

In this essay I will discuss the central features of the long Kondratiev economic cycles (K cycles). These cycles are not someone's invention, since there is abundant proof of their existence at least since the time of the British industrial revolution, although many authors date their presence to at least 600 year previously in China during the Sung dynasty (960-1279). Statistically, however, I can only use “solid” macroeconomic data that go back to the British industrial revolution and subsequent development in European countries and the United States.

Technology and Globalization

Globalization, Property, Location and Dislocation

by Matthew David and Jamieson Kirkhope, University of Plymouth, UK

This paper addresses attempts to locate and dislocate music audiences in the context of global commercial and technical developments. Since April 2003, the recording industry has shifted attention in their war on ‘Internet piracy’ from Peer-to-Peer software providers to P2P users. Efforts to ‘locate’ responsibility have led to new forms of surveillance, legal frames to allow their application, and media campaigns to instill anxiety in users. Such campaigns have, however, seen the development of new ‘softwares of dislocation’ at three levels, those that seek to dislocate music from ownership, those that dislocate software providers from responsibility, and those that dislocate users from identification. This paper examines these developments and identifies divergent relocation strategies and scenarios.

Regime Building as a Prime Mover of Technological Progress: The Case of the Energy Sector in the Central Asia-Caspian Region

by Mikhail Molchanov, Department of Political Science, St. Thomas University, Canada and Yuri Yevdokimov, Department of Economics, University of New Brunswick, Canada

While geopolitics has traditionally categorized international relations in terms of power capabilities and inherent conflicts, it was much less attentive to the security, sustainability, and technological progress aspects of cooperation. This study postulates that establishment of a cooperative energy regime in the Central Asia-Caspian Region will lead to a technological breakthrough. The regime as such will play the role of a General Purpose Technology (GPT), bringing in broad technological improvements and innovational complementarities. Cooperation will give rise to large economies of scale and cause spillover effects on other sectors of international economy.

Globalization and the New Technology Revolution: Third World Interventions

by Rubin Patterson, University of Toledo, Ohio

The new globalization and the new technology revolution simultaneously enable and disable third world nations on numerous development fronts. Many observers of this topic are aware of some of the embedded contradictions of third world nations attempting to both favorably engage globalization and productively employ cutting-edge technologies as part of their overall development strategies. This paper catalogues an elongated set of such contradictions and seeks to contribute to movement beyond mere awareness to critical analyses. Attention is given to how some nations are working through a litany of contradictions to devise nimble approaches to dealing with the attendant challenges of the routinization and acceleration of global innovation.

Global Palestine

Deema Arafah

Global Palestine: New Approaches to an Old State Emergency

by John Collins, Global Studies Department, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

We are all potential “terrorists” now. And we are all potential victims. Are we all, then, Palestinians? In this paper I explore the globalization of Palestine and the Palestinianization of the globe. I discuss the conceptual underpinnings of the idea of “Global Palestine” and outline a research agenda for those who wish to move beyond the exceptionalism that has historically plagued our understanding of the Palestinian situation. In the process, I suggest some ways in which Global Studies can be enhanced by a closer look at the experiences of those who have always been Palestinians.

We Are All Palestinians: Examining Transnational Solidarity with Palestine

by Brian Lind, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

International solidarity with Palestine and Palestinians has a long history. However, the Second Intifada has brought about both renewed international solidarity and renewed attention to it. What drives international solidarity activism? In this paper I explore the solidarity that American activists have forged with Palestine and Palestinians. I examine how activists draw on their own identities (e.g., as Americans, as Christians and Jews, as gays and lesbians) and histories to craft a sense of solidarity with Palestinians. By looking closely at these processes, we can better understand the emerging social movement toward a Global Palestine.

A Global Intifada: International Human Rights Since 9/11

by Kelly O’Ryan, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York

While the world focuses its attention on US actions in Afghanistan and Iraq, the wider US-led “war on terrorism” is having a horrific impact on human rights around the globe, setting many movements back decades in their achievements. Governments from Israel to the Philippines are using US support as a green light for violent repression and the silencing of dissent. Not only has the US response to 9/11 thrown into peril the entire notion of international law and governance, but also it ultimately stands to redefine the meaning of dissent and push it towards increasingly violent expressions.

Globalization in Post-Socialist Regimes

Sites of Global China: Area Morphosis and Chinese (neo) Fordism

by Carolyn Cartier, Department of Geography, University of Southern California

This paper considers a series of spaces and scenes as China's new geographies, along three lines of inquiry. First, it considers the idea of a Chinese (Neo) Fordism as a mix of production regimes associated with both Fordist and Neo-Fordist modes of regulation and their dramatically uneven development in the Chinese space economy. Second, the paper places production in China's 'world city-regions', looking at them as distinctive regional economies experiencing 'industrial compression'. Third, the analysis views the coincidence of China's industrialization drive with conditions of globalizing capitalism, specifically the rescaling of the state and political economic power at urban and 'global' scales, in which the latter is the international reach of production and consumption processes associated with China-based, China-destined and 'Chinese-cultured' capital.

Commercialization, Neocolonialism and Aesthetics in Post-Tiananmen Avant-Garde Art

by Julia Chi Zhang, Department of Sociology, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

This paper uses the Chinese contemporary art community as an empirical case to examine the state of cultural production at the periphery of globalization. Chinese Avant-Garde art holds a notably disconcerting place in both the domestic and global arenas of cultural production. This art grew up under the crossfire of both the authoritarian state and an unappreciative domestic audience, and suffered from the resurgence of intense marketization and privatization in the Post-Tiananmen era. The paper will discuss extensively the process of the commercialization of Chinese Avant-Garde art as well as the consequences it suffered following its integration into the international art market.

Geoeconomic Integration with China and Bipartisan Consensus Over the U.S.' 'New Imperialism'

by John Gulick, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee-Knoxville

In this paper I endeavor to analyze one crucial plank of the U.S.' 'new imperialism', emerging *de facto* geo-economic integration between the U.S. and China. I will argue that indeed there is a fundamental link between the ascendance of China and the fate of U.S. hegemony, with a most important caveat attached: the future of U.S. hegemony will depend not on whether the U.S. wins or loses a zero-sum competition for global dominance with China, but rather on the ecological, economic, social, and political workability of progressively evolving geo-economic integration between a declining U.S. and a rising China.

Failed Response to Globalization Challenges? A Case of Ukraine's Post-Communist Transformation

by Hennadii Korzhov, Donetsk Institute of Management, Ukraine