



**Global Studies Association
Fourth Annual North American Conference**



**Crosscurrents of Global Social
Justice: Class, Gender & Race**



**University of Tennessee, Knoxville
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Sponsors:

**Global Studies Association/North America
University of Tennessee Department of Sociology
Global Studies Interdisciplinary Program
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Presentation Abstracts

FRIDAY 1:00PM – 3:00PM

AFTERNOON PANELS: SESSION I

Empire and Alternative Globalizations

Location: International House, Room 1

Moderator: Lauren Langman

Does Empire Matter

by Jan Nederveen Pieterse, University of Illinois

Many books have come out on empire, but is empire really the central question? Is empire the main street of history, a side street, or a cul de sac? In relation to American domestic problems and America's economic standing, does empire matter? In relation to global problems, does empire matter? Does the American preoccupation with global primacy contribute to global stability or is it a destabilizing influence?

Empire, Global Governance, and Global Democracy in the Twenty-first Century

by Dr. Ganesh Trichur, St. Lawrence University

This paper addresses prospects for global democracy in the context of the new contradictions of global governance in an imperial conjuncture. I argue that the current system-wide chaos in the world system arises out of the dissolution and transformation of Cold War Bretton Woods institutions, the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, the new wars of the 1990s, the alternative globalization movements, and the unilateralism of US power in the context of the war on terrorism. The uneven combinations of these components of systemic crisis reflect the uneven and contradictory development of plural regional configurations.

Response to Hardt and Negri

by Abdul Alkalimat, Toledo University

[Abstract Not Available]

Empire/Multitude in the Light of East Asia

by Steve Sherman

This paper will reopen the questions explored by Hardt and Negri through a consideration of the East Asian experience. Viewed through the optic of East Asia, emergent forms of sovereignty and struggle differ from those of the Euro-US 'Empire/multitude' in important aspects: there is a de-emphasis on a transcendent vantage point from which to assess the economic or substantive rationality of social relations in favor of embedded diasporas developing relations on a case-by-case basis; a shift from a focus on self-consciously 'autonomous' struggle to SULNAM (spontaneous, unorganized, leaderless, nonideological, autonomous, movement); states are not declining as transnational relations become stronger; the importance of regional autonomy based on cultural and economic commonalities, rather than globalism or bureaucratic political integration; the importance of mercantile, rather than intellectual or affective immaterial labor, and, as a goal, the importance of socialized markets, rather than the reclaiming of the commons.

The Wal-Mart Challenge

Location: International House, Room 2

Moderator: Carl Davidson

Wal-Mart, Challenge to the Social Contract on a Global Basis

by Ellen Rosen, Brandeis University

Wal-Mart is the largest company in the world. As of October 2004, Wal-Mart had 4,872 stores around the world, with sales of over \$256 billion.(1) In this paper I propose to examine the role and power of Wal-Mart, as it leads the globalization of retailing and manufacturing, and challenges the power of the nation state to enforce the social contract in both developing and industrialized countries.

Wal-Mart and the Campaign to Build a High Road Retail Sector in Chicago

by Dan Bianchi, Center for Labor and Community Research

Following an unsuccessful bid to keep Wal-Mart out of Chicago, a coalition of community development organizations and not-for-profits who form a part of the New Chicago School for Economic and Community Development (or the New Chicago School) have responded to the Wal-Mart threat by proposing their vision for the creation of a High Road retail sector in Chicago as well as a High road retail store to compete against Wal-Mart. The New School has recognized that in order for such a project to be successful it must not only be able to create jobs and offer consumers low-cost retail goods and shopping options particularly in low-income communities it must be part of an over-all strategy for High Road retail development in the City of Chicago. Key to this strategy will be to bring community groups, organized labor, local government, as well as existing segments of the business and retail community around a vision for High Road retail development in Chicago. To this end the New School has assembled a national advisory board of experts in cooperative and community development to work with a local project board that will guide the development of this project.

Global Alternatives to Wal-Mart

by Dan Swinney, Center for Labor and Community Research

The destructive character of globalization is widely understood among US activists—leading to active opposition in the streets and in academic and intellectual circles. What's not understood is a compelling approach to economic development that's consistent with a commitment to social justice. Swinney argues for High Road development that requires competition in the market as well as the state, building strategic alliances with sections of the business community to defeat the powerful and destructive Low Road sections, and requires a labor movement that seeks control of the economy at the micro level.

Struggles for Social Justice In the Third World

Location: International House, Room 3

Moderator: Ligaya McGovern

Neo-liberal reform and the re-emergence of mass social movements in the Latin America countryside

by Stuart Easterling, University of Pittsburgh

This paper will examine the recent history of social movements among peasants and native people in Latin America, focusing on Mexico, Ecuador, and Brazil, and discuss their role in shifting the political center of gravity in the region. In addition, it will attempt to address the following questions: Will urbanization, economic development and neoliberal reform lead to the disappearance of the peasantry in Latin America? What is the relationship of such movements to "urban politics"? What role does the national state play in this context, and is it capable of pursuing a sovereign path within the global economy? Lastly, what can replace the neoliberal model? The fate of millions of rural Latin Americans depends on how today's social movements address these questions.

Struggling for Social Justice in the Era of Globalization: The Cases of African-Americans, Oromos and Southern Sudanese

by Asafa Jalata, University of Tennessee

African Americans in the U.S., Oromos in Ethiopia, and Southern Sudanese in Sudan have been dominated and have struggled for social justice in the globalized world system by opposing and challenging racial and colonial policies and practices of those respective countries that have subjected them to the status of second-class citizenship by denying them self-determination and human and democratic rights. As African Americans suffered under American racial slavery and apartheid for almost three and a half centuries, Oromos and Southern Sudanese have been dominated and exploited by Ethiopian and Sudanese racial and colonial dictatorship respectively since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Although there have been differences among the struggles of these three ethnonational groups, this paper focuses on their respective similar efforts in pursuing the dream of achieving social justice.

Food Production on New Terms: Lessons from the Cuban Experience for Agriculture Under Materializing Global Realities

by Evan Weissman, University of Tennessee

The case of Cuba, albeit fostered by political economic conditions and not emerging geophysical limitations, provides a model for the rest of the world. The collapse of the Soviet trade bloc in 1989 undermined Cuba's agriculture sector, as former subsidies (particularly petroleum) were no longer available. To feed its population, Cuba initiated the largest organic agriculture effort in history. In doing so, Cuba successfully thwarted potentially devastating hunger and possible famine. Although much has been written on Cuba's success, often overlooked is urban agriculture and the unmistakable popular characteristic of the movement.

A systematic examination of the Cuban case exemplifies the importance and feasibility of urban agriculture and provides a model for other nations. Degradation of the planet is inextricably linked to the degrading conditions of life for the majority of the world's population. Cuba provides a model for simultaneously addressing the root of both.

Cold War Poetics: Themes of Global Conflict in Poetry by Cuban Women Writers

by Dawn Duke, University of Tennessee

Poets Nancy Morejón and Georgina Herrera are presented here as the two leading Afro-Cuban writers of today who are among the most valued voices of the post-1959 generation of writers. As products of the Cuban revolutionary experience, they continue to reside in Cuba and to produce works inspired on contexts and trends from the 1960s to date. This study dwells on a particular thematic concern that appears in their works, and that brings to the forefront the broader cultural implications of their poetry. An important feature of their writing is their literary configurations of forms of ideological resistance from behind the Iron Curtain.

Given the characterization of their production as being from within the Marxist sphere, their interpretations of events such as the Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, the Angolan struggle, and the Grenada Revolution set up an interesting dialogue that surges from within that local island space, and that contributes to the broader picture of the effects of Cold War politics, this time seen through the discourse of specific black female voicing. Of particular interest here is how this last phase of the Cold War conflict in which we now find ourselves affects interpretations and readings of their works. Finally, this discussion will touch on just how effective and valuable today is this voicing from within Cuba.

Radical Philosophy Looks at Repression, Justice and Liberation

Location: John C. Hodges Library, 6th Floor Conference Room

Moderator: Bill Peltz

Towards Democratic Communism: What is to be Done When All are Interpellated and "Embourgeoisied" Capitalists

by Paul Mocombe, Florida Atlantic University

Recent debates in education theory have centered on the poststructural emphasis of the decentered (heterogeneous) subject within the cultural structure of schools. Emphasizing the dialogue, recent pedagogical practices have avowed, between constructed identities within schools, theorists of this poststructural persuasion attempt to demonstrate the resistance posed by constructed identities to integration into the capitalist structural logic of schools. This essay, on the contrary, argues that the observed resistance posed by constructed identities is in fact the result of contemporary capital reorganization. Thus Paulo Freire's dialogical pedagogy, as contemporarily practiced in American post-industrial 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 capitalist ideology.

Capitalist Theocracy and the New Prison

by Stephen Gallagher, Radical Philosophy Association

The US prison population hit a staggering 2 million people in 2002. The U.S. now locks up its citizens at a rate 5-8 times that of the industrialized nations to which it is most similar, Canada and Western Europe. There is obviously something more than just a side effect of a cowboy/gangster mythos at play here. As the reality of the US "prison industry" mutates out of control, we must take a cold look at how the discourse on the goal of the prison has mutated as well.

Apropos of the new Bush Capitalist/Theocratic project, up pops Chuck Colson and his ilk, right on cue, with a new focus on an old mode of discourse: “penitence”, the prisoner as sinner. “Saved” vs. “sinner”. “Sane” vs. “ill”. “Human” vs. “meat”. “Saved” vs. “sinner”. Same as it ever was. The discourse is constantly (deliberately?) mutating, but the essential project remains the same after all these years. All are tools for the deployment of power and the increasingly naked exposure of a class/race structure that has been with us all along, and shows no sign of going away.

Conditions of Rightlessness: The Structural Conditions of Human Rights Violations

by Darren O’Byrne, Roehampton University, UK

This paper will take a theoretically-informed look at current human rights concerns in the UK and US. It will ask how we might best employ social theory to understand the broader implications of recent anti-terrorism legislation, incorporating Guantanamo Bay, Belmarsh, and the UK government’s recent attempts to defy both general human rights standards and the authority of an independent legislature by imposing detention without trial in different forms. To what extent might these and other examples signify the construction of what Hannah Arendt called ‘conditions of rightlessness’? Is it appropriate to draw parallels with or inspiration from Arendt’s analysis of the situation of refugees in post-war Europe, Bauman’s survey of the structural origins of the Holocaust, Elkins’s work on how the law served as a means of providing legitimacy for ante-bellum slavery in the US, or Cohen’s recent work on the stages through which torture is presented as acceptable to a liberal public in Israel? The paper will therefore present the case for the applicability and importance of the sociology of human rights.

The Commodification of Everyday Life and Popular Culture

by Bill Peltz, Elgin College

This paper will discuss the ways that ever more global consumer society reduces human relations to relations between objects and deflects class-consciousness into "consumer consciousness."

Women and the Struggle for the Commons in Africa

Location: To Be Announced

Moderator: Teresa Turner

Gendered Class Struggle for the Commons Versus the Global Corporate Male Deal

By Terisa E. Turner, University of Guelph

I argue that in growing numbers of oil producing societies, alliances of specific women and men have challenged the complex of ‘male deals’ at the heart of corporate crime. Male deals bring together local men, state actors and capitalist interests to extract wealth, which is accumulated as corporate profit. The male deal is the social mechanism through which ‘values’ are channeled up from local environments and peoples to corporations. It is the masculinized relationship that facilitates the exploitation of many women, peasants and other peoples both waged and unwaged, and their environments for the benefit of capital. The double power of the unwaged, and especially of rural women, resides in their simultaneous participation in social relations of commoning for the sustenance of life and in social relations of global corporate structure, which organize, discipline and unite us all. Theory and practice, as well as ecological realities, suggest that alliances with the unwaged around their life-centered demands may very well accelerate dramatic shifts in power from capital to popular movements. A case study of the Niger Delta women’s protests against Big Oil illustrates this argument.

Global Social Movements For the Gendered African Commons

By Leigh S. Brownhill, University of Toronto

In Kenya, as in Rwanda, 1990s imperial media constructed as ‘ethnic clashes’ what were in fact land clearances on behalf of international capital and its local collaborators. This propaganda tapped into subconscious reservoirs of racist fear. It delegitimized solidarity across borders. It justified militarism in the name of ‘humanitarian peacekeeping’. Beneath the imperial propaganda is the humanism of Kenyan social movements for land, food and freedom. These movements embody practical capacities to institute ‘commoning’ which is both local and international. These gendered Kenyan movements have merged with global social movements whose rise signals an immanent shift from global classes *in themselves* to global classes *for themselves*. The Kenyan case shows how the exploited have begun to seize the global relationships of capital and use them to build new relations of reciprocity, justice and the enhancement of life for all.

3:15PM – 5:00PM

AFTERNOON PANELS: SESSION II

Immigration and Globalization

Location: International House, Room 1

Moderator: Ligaya McGovern

Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers in Global Cities: Configurations of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Nationality and Class

by Ligaya McGovern, Indiana University

Although there is a growing body of literature on globalization, there are little studies that make visible the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, and class. Yet, with the current feminization of export labor and global migration, this intersection cannot be left on the wayside in critical studies on globalization. As a contribution to filling this intellectual gap, this paper examines how the experiences of Filipino migrant domestic workers in Vancouver, Chicago, and Rome configure the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, nationality, and class. Its focus on their experiences in these selected global cities provide insights into how the urban economy in these richer countries of the G-8 that control the globalization policies benefit more from the export of female labor from poorer countries --- thus perpetuating the social stratification of the world system. But the women are not presented as passive victims of this phenomenon. The paper examines as well the politics of the women's resistance and responses in these global cities where fieldwork was conducted at different periods.

Developing Trends of the Populist Right-Wing Parties in Western Europe

by Ridvan Peshkopia, University of Kentucky

What explains the dramatic rising of populist right-wing parties in Western Europe? Some authors point to ravaging unemployment in the old continent; others focus on fears caused by high numbers of foreigners living in these countries; still others to excessive welfare states that cause high taxation; others to lingering fascist nostalgia. I argue that rather, it is the relentless influx of illegal immigrants that fuels anxieties, uncertainty and anti-immigrant emotions in Western Europe. Yet these feelings would have remained loose without the presence of charismatic/maverick leaders that manage to harness them in political dissents and electoral votes.

Search for identity, status and happiness: The silent struggles of Indian women in Nairobi

by Divya Sharma, Utica College

This paper presents a comparative analysis between the Kenyan Indian women and those who are born and brought up in India and married to Kenyan Indian men. Another important issue that the paper explores is that of Mujra that involves young girls from India who are brought to Nairobi to sing and dance on Indian film songs, while men throw money on them. It may appear as a toned down version of the strip clubs in the west or Europe but in the Indian socio-cultural context it has many repercussions that has led to a lot of friction between men and women.

Migration and the Struggle for Mexican Liberation

by Ernesto Bustillos, Social Studies Teacher, Social Activist, and member of the Union del Barrio

I will present an edited version of the document that members of a delegation from Unión del Barrio (an pro Mexican self-determination organization based in California) presented at the International League of People's Struggle, Second International Assembly, held Eindhoven, Netherlands, from Nov. 10-14, 2004. The primary objective will be to present the question of migration from the perspective of Mexican community, the most affected entity of this very important question. A perspective that being silenced by the mainstream media, academia, and government institutions.

Globalization's Impact on the Southern U.S.

Location: International House, Room 2

Moderator: Carl Davidson

Labor Organizing in the South: The White Worker – Race, Class & Gender Issues

by Steve Rutledge, AFSCME, West Virginia

This presentation is by a long-standing veteran of the civil rights and labor movement in the south detailing the critical link between narrow self-interest organizing around economic empowerment and the broader multi-national civil

rights, women's rights and international solidarity movements for social change. By way of positive example, the link between organizing union locals and district labor councils to support the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday marches and celebrations will be elaborated upon in terms of reciprocity and class-consciousness. By way of negative example, the glaring absence of a "southern strategy" in the AFL-CIO for militant aggressive, grass roots union organizing with community support will be addressed.

Mexican Guestworkers in Carolina del Norte: Opportunities and Challenges for Transnational Organizing

by Fran Ansley, University Tennessee

My presentation will report on the transnational migrant-labor brokerage system known as "H-2A." It was created and is regulated by the U.S. government in the service of U.S. agribusiness by allowing huge numbers of foreign workers to enter the agricultural labor market each year. I will also highlight what I believe are some especially exciting opportunities and especially difficult questions associated with this unprecedented new arrangement and the efforts of church groups, community organizations, legal aid lawyers, and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee to expose abuses in the H-2A program and to promote organizing among guest workers and other farm workers in the state of North Carolina.

Southern Appalachian Refundamentacion: Radical voices and the Call for Renewal

by Jack Herranen, Rockefeller Humanities Fellow

From Aunt Molly Jackson (Ky.) and Ella Baker N.C.) to Myles Horton (Tn.) and Don West (Ga.), how do we remember and reintegrate the chorus of radical voices and visions of the south/ southern Appalachia? In the devastating context of imperialism and neoliberalism- advanced corporate driven globalization- how do we assist in regenerating a critical discourse, an alternative radicalism"(Fisher), shaping a rooted and creative praxis that is relevant to local dynamics, and conscious of international social and political movements for structural change? More catalyst for dialogue-and the raising of questions from outside of academia and professional social change circles- than presentation, [I aim/ folksinger-activist and Rockefeller Humanities Fellow Jack Herranen aims to offer up] thoughts/reflections based upon the work of establishing a transnational collective of artists, activists, and educators (PUENTES) rooted in southern Appalachia, Mexico, and Bolivia.

***Sí Se Puede* in the Southeast: successful strategies for reaching across cultural and class barriers to achieve collective victory for farmworkers**

by Laxmi Haynes, National Student Organizer for Students Action with Farmworkers, North Carolina

Farm labor campaigns based in the Southeast have met unprecedented success in the last 6 months as both FLOC's Mt. Olive Pickle and CIW's Taco Bell Boycotts ended. Is this a sign that the revolution is coming, or the result of successful strategies and hard work on the part of Farmworkers and advocates nationwide? Even huge successes don't mean it's time to rest and now is the best time to examine these victories and answer some important questions, such as - What exactly have farmworkers won in these agreements? How were these victories won? What do these victories teach us about the development of immigrant rights and labor struggles in the Southeast? How can we use these models in other struggles for justice?

This presentation is intended to describe the particulars of these labor agreements, introduce the collective organizing strategies that led to these victories, and initiate dialogue about organizing in the Southeast US and how these victories can be repeated in future farmworker campaigns and other mobilizing efforts. Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF) has actively supported these campaigns since their inception. Our organizing philosophy hinges on equitable relationships and collaborative work with student activists, labor unions and other small grassroots groups.

Globalization and the Third World

Location: International House, Room 3

Moderator: Robina Bhatti

Elite Stalemate and Workers' Control in Nicaragua and Cuba

by Sean Herlihy, Texas Southern University

In Nicaragua and Cuba, the balance of elites allowed working people to control production. Fieldwork was conducted in both countries between 1990 and 1997 with observations of 48 production units and 150 in-depth interviews with scholars, government officials, and working people, to learn the extent of workers' control and how it was achieved. During the Nicaraguan Revolution, when neither the Sandinistas nor the Somocistas were in complete control, the

Sandinistas allowed country people, to take over the land. Many landlords and managers fled, leaving workers to manage production for months before Sandinista administrators arrived. The Sandinistas, although sympathetic to worker participation, wanted to centralize agriculture. Peasant organizations and Contra fighters pressured the Sandinistas to turn over land to individuals and private cooperatives. When the Sandinistas fell, working people again exploited the hiatus between governments to take over workplaces. The new UNO regime tried to privatize industries to capitalists, but the Sandinista unions outstripped the demands of the Sandinista Party by taking over privatized industries. Ex-Sandinista and ex-contra fighters seized land, usually in conflict, but sometimes in concert putting pressure on the UNO to hand it over.

Challenging Neoliberalism, Mass Movements, Populist Governments and the Reinvention of the Third World

by Mark Frezzo, Florida Atlantic University

In his speech at the Fifth World Social Forum, Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva implored the countries of the Global South to bypass the “so-called developed world” in forging new economic, diplomatic, and cultural links with one another. A few days later, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez celebrated the progress of the “Bolivarian Revolution” and proposed to join Lula’s Brazil, Kirchner’s Argentina, and Vasquez’s Uruguay in “opening the path to realizing the dream of a united Latin America.” In the aftermath of these speeches, most analysts have explored the gap between the presidents’ populist rhetoric and the actual achievements of the Brazilian and Venezuelan governments. In contrast, this paper offers a symptomatic reading of the new “Third Worldism” (understood not only “negatively” as a rejection of US-supported neoliberalism, but also “positively” as an experiment in Fair Trade).

Drawing on a historically-grounded analysis of the rise, decline, and resurgence of Third Worldism, this paper explores a series of questions. First, how have recent mobilizations against the neoliberal policies of the international financial institutions contributed to a renaissance of Third Worldist ideas? Second, how have Lula, Chavez, and other ostensible Third Worldists proposed to renovate an old set of policy prescriptions to meet the demands of contemporary conditions? Third, to what extent does the new Third Worldist ethos escape the pitfalls of the old developmentalism? Fourth, what are the prospects for Fair Trade arrangements across the Global South? In examining these questions, this paper aims to demonstrate that the new Third Worldism constitutes an important subject for historical social science.

Southern Perspectives and Global Political Economy

by Robina Bhatti, California State University at Monterey Bay

This paper reviews Global Political Economy (GPE) scholarship to examine the way the global South is depicted. Eurocentric analytic paradigms dominate and this paper begins by critiquing the effects of discursive colonization of GPE scholarship on the lives and struggle of marginalized South. It draws attention to what has been left out of theorizing, to what is unseen and under-theorized in the production of knowledge about globalization: the material complexity, reality, and agency of the majority of the world or Southern bodies and lives. The paper asserts that political economy of capitalism is an urgent locus of struggle for both the global North and global South. But we need an analytic framework that is attentive to, and anchored in, the experience of the lives of people of the majority of the world or the global South. This experiential and analytic anchor in the lives of socially excluded communities of Southern women and men provides the most inclusive paradigm for thinking about global political economy and of global social justice.

The Impact of Globalization on Indonesian Urban Civic Spaces

by Rita Padawangi, Loyola University, Chicago

Civil society consists of voluntary associations of society. Traditional identification of civil society emergence includes availability of physical urban spaces accessible by the public, such as urban squares or even privately owned establishments as public gathering places. This paper examines the development of urban civic spaces in Jakarta and Bandung under globalization. While researchers argue on weakening role of nation-states under globalization, the State’s traditional instruments are supposed to protect vulnerable groups and public provisions, in which global market competition becomes reasoning for depriving social expenditures.

Media and Religion in a Global Context

Location: John C. Hodges Library, Room 129

Moderator: Rachelle Jacobs

This panel brings together three interdisciplinary scholars who work on aspects of contemporary religion in various parts of the world, and who are interested in the place of religious ideas and practices amid larger processes of cultural and political economic change. Each will present examples of religious ideas and images circulating within local and global flows of mass-mediated discourse, and place these examples in broader theoretical contexts.

Devil Bustin' Satellites: How Media Deregulation in Africa Generates Religious Conflict

by Rosalind I.J. Hackett, University of Tennessee

In this presentation Rosalind will discuss how media deregulation in various African countries impacts social conflicts that are religiously inflected and generates a climate of religious intolerance.

Appropriation, Postmodern Play, and Cultural Critique in Recent Work by Madonna that Addresses Asia and the Middle East

by Mark Hulsether, University of Tennessee

In this presentation Mark will discuss Madonna's recent interest in Asian religions and in critiquing US military policies in the Middle East, with attention both to problems of cultural appropriation and/or cultural imperialism and to her contribution to religious-inflected cultural critique.

David Beckham as the New Face of Thai Buddhism? Consumption, Consumerism, and Debates over Thai Buddhist Identity

by Rachelle Jacobs, University of Tennessee

In this presentation Rachelle will begin by describing an image of David Beckham at a Thai temple, and use this as a springboard for analyzing issues of cultural consumption, Thai identity, and discourses about the commercialization of Buddhism.

The Mechanics of Global Capitalism

Location: John C. Hodges Library, 6th Floor Conference Room

Moderator: Mel Rothenberg

The Null Society

by Gregorio Morales, University of California at San Diego

The dangers of credit use and expansions have been suggested through the works of authors and playwrights for thousands of years. In sources ranging from the Christian Bible to more recent works such as David Harvey's "The New Imperialism" these warnings about credit have been clearly stated. Countries participating in the global economy, even those with comparative skills, like technologies, and natural endowments enjoy different levels of access to world credit markets. These uneven conditions have been brought about by a new imperialist credit culture, which has taken root and is hidden in the imperfections of the once powerful capitalist economic system.

Networks, Network Science and Globalization

by Jim Davis, Writer

"Network" is a popular metaphor for talking about globalization. For the most part, "network" has been just that -- a vague metaphor with many meanings. "Network science", a new cross-discipline offshoot of complexity theory, brings a formality to thinking about network structures. "Network science" concepts like "superconnectors", "preferential attachment", and "small-world effect" are universal in most real-world networks, whether they be ecological, social or economic. "Network science" explains both the strengths of globalized capitalism, and its weaknesses. Perhaps more importantly, it provides powerful insights into the strengths and weaknesses of the "network form" of organization, the emerging structure of resistance to globalization.

Liberalism Then and Now: Towards a Polanyian Theory of the Contemporary Nation-State

by Cory Blad, University of Tennessee

This paper begins a research project of articulating a theory of the state based on the work of Karl Polanyi. Polanyi's masterwork, *The Great Transformation*, has seen a resurgence in relation to the study of neoliberalism as well as studies of the welfare state. This project seeks to understand Polanyi's work as a more generally applicable framework for understanding the nation-state and its role in the globalization era. The author argues that existing theories of the state and globalization are competing needlessly and working only to explain conceptually limited phenomena. A theoretical approach that stresses the interaction between the state and globalization processes would be more effective in broadly understanding how the nation-state and globalization forces exist and compete. The project will integrate the Polanyian concepts of the "double movement" and "embeddedness" to better understand the role of the state as well as the nature of globalization as it impacts the contemporary nation-state.

Globalization, Migration and Poverty: The Case of Bangladesh

by Mizanur Rahman, University of Singapore

Migration is not a new thing. People have always left their homes in search of better economic opportunities outside of their own homeland. But economic globalization has put a new spin on global migration, causing global uprootedness and human displacement on an unprecedented scale. Because economic globalization exacerbates the inequalities between nations, migration for many becomes not a choice, but an economic necessity. Bangladesh, a heavily indebted developing country, is not an exceptional case in this regard. This paper attempts to explore whether the movement of people across borders affect poverty scenario in developing countries through a case study of Bangladesh. In particular, the paper focuses on the role played by migrants' remittances to their families in Bangladesh. Remittances worldwide grew steadily throughout the 1990s. According to the World Bank's *Global Development Finance 2003* report, in 2002 remittances reached 80 billion dollars and were second only to FDI as a source of foreign capital for developing countries. The report points out that remittance flows are less volatile than other private capital flows and might even be counter-cyclical. Bangladesh received around US\$ 27 billion remittances from its migrant population between 1976 and 2003. The direct links of remittances to low-income migrant households make remittances a potentially important tool for alleviating poverty and raising living standards in Bangladesh. The data for this research comes from fieldwork conducted in Bangladesh in 2004.

Examining the Potential for Women's Widespread Mobilization for Social Change: A Look at Globalization and Women's Activism

by Kristen Van Hooreweghe, University of Tennessee

This paper examines the ways in which capitalist development impacts women's conditions throughout the world and the ways these conditions actually work to inhibit, rather than promote, women's means necessary for survival. By examining the literature on the impacts of globalization, specifically on the experiences of women, and the literature surrounding contemporary women's activism, I will explore whether the intensified impacts of capitalism increase the possibility of women's widespread mobilization for substantial structural change.

Examining the reported instances of women's activism and seeking out the patterns within these movements, as well as the various arenas for women's activism, it will be possible to gain a coherent picture of the motivation, goals and scope of women's activism and the inherent possibilities for substantial structural change.

6:30PM – 8:30PM

Keynote Speakers Presentation

Location: International House, Room 1 – 3

- **Frances Fox-Piven, "Globalization and Political Power"**
- **Dan Swinney, "The High Road Strategy: Building the Anti-Hegemonic Bloc"**

SATURDAY 9:00AM – 10:45AM

Morning Keynote Speakers Presentation

Location: Black Cultural Center, Rooms 1 - 3

- **Michael Zweig**
- **Patricia Fernandez-Kelly**

11:00AM – 12:30PM

MORNING PANELS

Race, Poverty and Globalization

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 1

Moderator: Jerry Harris

Black Liberation and Globalization

by Abdul Alkalimat, Toledo University

[Abstract Not Available]

Who Makes Race Matter In Post-Industrial Capitalist America

by Paul Mocombe, Florida Atlantic University

Since the 1960s, the radical era out of which contemporary understandings of black consciousness as Du Boisian double consciousness (i.e., the so-called adaptive-vitality school) or biculturation (both African and American) emerged, there has been one other school of thought on the matter—that of the pathological-pathogenic school, which argues that in its divergences black American consciousness is nothing more than a pathological form of, and reaction to, American consciousness rather than a dual (both African and American) hegemonic opposing “identity-in-differential” (the term is Gayatri Spivak’s) to the American one. The purpose of this essay is to understand black consciousness by working out the theoretical and methodological problems from which these two divergent paradigms are constructed in order to give a more sociohistorical, rather than biological (i.e., racial), understanding of black consciousness, which, I believe, will better equip us to understand for whom (the black middle class) and for what purpose (economic gain for its own sake) contemporary race matters matter.

Exploring the Thesis of Globalization and the Creation of Precarious Classes

by David Cormier, West Virginia University, and Harry Targ, Purdue

Vast bodies of literature have explored the processes of globalization, and the policies that promote neoliberalism. While global celebrants claim that neoliberal globalization is advancing the interests of workers and peasants worldwide, much data suggests that the life chances and living conditions of huge portions of the globe’s peoples have not been the beneficiaries of the significant increases in the generation of wealth in the world. In fact, Samir Amin, Fred Magdoff and others have argued that the historical trends in global capitalism suggest the rise of what Amin calls, “the precarious classes,” fifty to seventy-five percent of the world’s population living on the extremes of marginalization. This amounts to almost three billion redundant peasants and one and one-half billion underemployed and poverty stricken urban workers. Domestically, the working poor (those earning at or under \$9.08 per hour) in the U.S. included an estimated 28 million full-time workers and 15 million part-timers as of this past summer. This is 25% of the U.S. workforce between ages 18 and 64. Our studies give support to the argument that structural shifts in the global economy are converting a huge proportion of workers into excess labor.

A Round About on the World Social Forum

Location: International House, Room 1

Facilitated by: **Lauren Langman**, Loyola, Chicago

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, University of Illinois

Finding a Voice and Building Power

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 2

Moderator: Robina Bhatti

A Minority of the Majority: The Curious Place of Women's Political Parties in Electoral System

by Laura Fidler, New School University

Women's parties are a kind of political oddity; purely ideological in construction, they theoretically represent half the population yet almost never succeed in winning a fraction of seats in any of the polities where they have existed. And yet, a number of women's parties have recently emerged in places as diverse as Belarus, India, the Czech Republic and Iran. In what context do they form? What purpose do they have in forming? Do they tend to share similar ideological platforms? Why are they not more electorally successful, particularly considering the large number of potential supporters? If they form as "blackmail" parties and therefore do not seek electoral success so much as influence, are they successful in that goal? And if their purpose is as "blackmail" parties and not electoral success, why do they tend to fold?

To begin to answer these questions, I consider three women's parties: the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC), the Australian Women's Party (WAP), and Iceland's Kvinnalístinn. All three arose in democratic states with parliamentary governments and have had varying levels of electoral success; the latter two are defunct, while the NIWC undoubtedly in large part pins its future on the outcome of the Northern Ireland peace process. A comparison of the three should help to answer the above questions and shed light on the phenomenon that is the women's political party.

Spiritual Capital in West Africa: Emerging Hierarchies of Value, Religious Identity, and Perceptions of Male Success

by Erin Kenny, University of Kentucky

Temporary, transnational livelihood migration and return has played a key role in ideal life course strategies for Mande-speaking West African males since the colonial era. Male migrants working in extremely dangerous professions, such as public transportation or the infamous "blood" diamond trade, stand to gain profits but may yield lower status than other types of work that might be pursued because of Mande symbolic associations with mobility and diamonds. Upon return, however, strategic intergenerational alliances within the household allow returnees to negotiate their potentially ill-gotten economic capital into a kind of "spiritual capital" through either participation in or gifting of the hadj, the obligatory Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca.

This paper relies on ethnographic fieldwork, conducted with both transnational and regional return migrants in Upper Guinea in 2003, to introduce and discuss the construction of symbolic capital to illustrate how male Mande return migrants construct hierarchies of value based on destinations of migration, types of work conducted while away from the household of origin, and perceptions of spiritual and secular success at the time of return. This paper suggests that an anthropological approach to ethnographic detail at the household level yields important insights into the phenomenon of transnational, return migration.

This is What Democracy Looks Like? A Critical Examination of Exclusion and the Anti-Globalization Movement

by Ali Sauer, York University, Canada

'The anti-globalization movement' has been lauded by its proponents as a successful coalition of various, sometimes-disparate groups under the rubric of 'anti-globalization activism'. The "teamsters and turtles unite" slogan, which refers to the coming together of environmentalist and labour groups in Seattle, has been referred to endlessly to evoke this sentiment of solidarity across vast odds. During the 2000 protest against the Organization of American States, The Globe and Mail, on June 5, 2000, featured a photo of a young white activist with spiked hair wearing a gas mask, and the slogan read "the face of protest". This image and corresponding text expose a different take on the inclusivity of 'the anti-globalization movement'. The discourse of 'anti-globalization activist' is synonymous with the image presented -- a young, white punk male prepared for street-level confrontational protest. All of the other faces of protest, people throughout the world engaged in various different ways of resisting corporate globalization, are eclipsed by this image -- metaphorically and materially excluded from this movement.

Theorizing Localities in a Context of Globalization: Development and Cultural Politics in Rural North India

by Rebecca Klenk, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

This paper addresses itself to the under-theorization of global development processes as culturally-specific lived experience, and analyzes the ways in which development has encouraged new gendered understandings and positionings of self (that is, new gendered subjectivities), and shaped definitions of place in a marginalized region of rural north India. It draws upon ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the new Himalayan state of Uttaranchal and analyzes how practices and discourses of development circulating at global levels have been understood, appropriated and produced by women participants in a culturally specific development setting. It also examines how ideas about development and progress elsewhere, along with colonial and postcolonial histories in the region, have produced particular understandings of locality and nation.

Information and Globalization

Location: International House, Room 2

Moderator: Kendra Albright

Sponsor: The School of Information Sciences, University of Tennessee

Despite the recognition of the role of information in the global economy, the methods by which information contributes to globalization are often overlooked. This panel begins with a critical examination of information policy in a global context and its resulting implications for class, gender, and race. Contextual uses of information follow, with examples from Egypt and Uganda.

International Information Policy: Constructing a Role for Information in Globalization, Constructing Globalization

by Doug Raber, Interim Director and Associate Professor

Within the context of international relations and development politics, information can be regarded a multifaceted resource that may serve a variety of ends. Current international information policy discussions and regimes tend to privilege the economic facet of information to the exclusion of political, social and cultural facets. This condition results in particular constructions of information as a resource that in turn contribute to particular, politicized, and unexamined constructions of the meaning of globalization. This presentation will provide a critical overview the meaning of information at play in international information policy regimes.

International Students in American Universities as Cultural Bridges to 'Other' Worlds: Information Policy Implications in a Globalized Environment

by Bharat Mehra, University of Tennessee

Traditional studies on international students in American universities identify "one-way" unidirectional learning mechanisms. Such prior research presents a deficit approach for it focused merely on improvements in effectiveness of international student learning experiences and the application of American education to the home countries of the participants. These might be perceived to reflect an underlying notion of imperialist dominance since they project an egocentric world-view (instead of an eco-centric perception) and consider that the cultural experiences and potential contributions of international participants were irrelevant or inconsequential in the growth of knowledge or application of policy. In order to rectify such potential gaps, based on findings from a case study of international doctoral students in American LIS education, Mehra applies a critical perspective in information policy research via suggesting "two-way" learning strategies from the cross-cultural experiences and knowledge base of international constituents.

Egyptian Children's Use of Digital Libraries

by Dania Bilal, University of Tennessee

[Abstract Not Available]

The Role of Information in Uganda's Reduction of HIV/AIDS Prevalence: Organizational Issues

by Kendra Albright, University of Tennessee

The spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa over the last two decades has seriously impaired the continent's health care services and overall welfare. Unlike other African nations, however, Uganda has developed and implemented a unique approach to combating this problem. Part of Uganda's success has been attributed to a formalized Information, Education, and Communication (IEC) strategy, lowering estimated HIV/AIDS infection rates from 18.5% in 1995 to

4.1% in 2003. The Uganda AIDS Commission reports that there are over 1,500 organizations involved in the dissemination of HIV/AIDS information. This study reports the types of information and methods for dissemination of HIV/AIDS information, which may contribute towards the overall decline in HIV/AIDS prevalence in Uganda.

Neo-liberalism, Marxism, and Alternatives to Globalization

Location: International House, Room 3

Moderator: Harry Dahms

The Economic Fault Lines of the US Economy

by Mel Rothenberg, University of Chicago

Robert A. Blecker began a discussion on the risk of a global economic contraction in 1998, updated in 2000, relating it to the capital account and trade balance deficit of the U.S. The Economists Wynne Godley and Alex Izurieta continued and broadened this discussion, focusing on a possibility of an implosion of the U.S. economy, and its potential international effects. We will review their arguments, interpret them in the context of contemporary theories of Imperialism, and investigate how and whether subsequent developments have born out their prognosis.

Economic Democracy: A Socialist Alternative to Neoliberal Globalization

by David Schweickart, Loyola University, Chicago

I argue that Marx's critique of capitalism is fundamentally a democratic critique that points to a model of socialism quite different from the Marxian model that was hegemonic in the twentieth century. I argue further that the nation-state would play a fundamental role in a world economy reconstituted along Economic-Democratic lines, more fundamental than any international institution or set of institutions. This view, I submit, is in full harmony with the perspective that Marx and Engels articulated in *The Manifesto*.

Connecting Global Capital and Domestic Neo-liberalism: The Continued Relevance of Marxism, Class Struggle, and the Circuit of Capital

by John O'Connor, Central Connecticut State University

In utilizing the Marxian notions of crisis, class struggle and the circuit of capital, this paper addresses both the theoretical and empirical limitations of previous research on globalization. It conceptualizes and historicizes the processes of capitalist transformation over time, highlighting the crisis of capital accumulation and its subsequent reordering through neo-liberalism and economic globalization. As a response to the 1974-82 economic slump, I argue that there was a rejection of state intervention in the management of capital accumulation and an embrace of "coercive competition" that acted on and transcended domestic institutional-policy frameworks. As a consequence, the circuits of money, productive, and commodity capital were spatially disjointed and unevenly integrated into the world market. And the domestic and international institutions of accumulation were remolded to attract mobile capital and/or help structure the movement of capital. With each of these shifts, capital was able to change the conditions of profitability and restore the profit rate from the 1974-82 slump low point.

2:30PM – 4:00PM

Afternoon Keynote Speakers

Location: Black Cultural Center, Rooms 1- 3

- **Jerome Scott**
- **Walda Katz-Fishman**
- **Bill Robinson**

4:15PM – 5:45PM

AFTERNOON PANELS

Global Organizations and the Challenges of Social Justice

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 1

Moderator: Bill Peltz

Practices of Globalization and Aid: The 'New Aid Regime' of Oxfam and CARE Canada

by Suzan Ilcan and Anita Lacy, University of Windsor, Canada

The development of market-based orientations on a global scale is reflected in the policies, programmes, and practices of major global organizations, including the World Bank. These orientations, often proclaimed as a means to solve particular economic, social, or cultural inequities, present challenges to social justice and to activists, researchers, and policy-makers working towards bringing about a more just society.

Compassionate Allies: Role of South Asian Women's Organizations in Preventing Domestic Violence in the United States

by Salli Vargis and George Vargis, Georgia Perimeter College

A majority of South Asian immigrants who came to the United States in the second big wave of immigration were professionals such as doctors, engineers, and nurses. Soon most of them became naturalized citizens and brought siblings and family members. By the 1980s, the number such immigrants increased tremendously and were the single fastest growing immigrant community in the United States. Along with numbers came problems of acculturation as well as multiplication of those inherent in the community because of distance from social and family networks in their home countries. One of the problems that South Asian immigrant women face today is domestic violence. This includes, but is not limited to wife beating, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, being left alone in an apartment with no money, threat of deportation, etc. Because a number of South Asian women come to this country as dependents of their husbands, live isolated lives, and are not familiar with the laws of the United States that deem wife beating and sexual abuse as illegal and punishable. They are also unaware of provisions such as restraining orders against abusers or the existence of battered shelters. In addition, cultural norms prevented them from talking publicly about marital problems.

This paper analyzes the work of various South Asian Women's Organizations (SAWOs) in the United States such as Manavi, Apna Ghar, Raksha, and Sakhi. SAWOs have provided women a network for psychological and emotional support. These support groups have aroused in their clients a consciousness of sexual abuse by enlightening them of the laws against abuse, providing legal and economic assistance, and empowering women to gain self-esteem. But, lack of resources, political clout, and visibility in the American mainstream women's movement prevent many of these organizations from demonstrating their full potential.

Academic Activism

Location: International House, Room 1

Moderator: Scott Byrd

Working Class Studies

by Michael Zweig, SUNY Stony Brook

[Abstract Not Available]

Sociologists Without Borders

by Judith Blau, University North Carolina

[Abstract Not Available]

Scholar Activism Network

by Graeme Chesters, Bradford University, United Kingdom

[Abstract Not Available]

The University and Social Justice Movement

by Scott Byrd, Oklahoma State University

Discussions from previous social forums will be summarized highlighting key themes relevant to the goal of re-defining relationships between the university and the global movement for a more humane globalization. In short, over the past several years many separate networks of academics have emerged to consider ways of strengthening relationships between the university and other parts of the growing movement for global justice. My focus will be on the key themes emerging from these discussions including ways in which academics may support civil society, expand access to knowledge & education (democratize knowledge), and resist the expansion of neoliberalism on campuses.

Ruling the Empire: Political and Economic Fault Lines

Location: International House, Room 2

Moderator: Carl Davidson

Splits in the Ruling Class, Unilateralists vs. Globalists

by Carl Davidson, Networking for Democracy, Chicago

[Abstract Not Available]

Hegemonists, Globalists and Emerging Third-World Powers

by Jerry Harris, DeVry University, Chicago

The conflict between nationalism and globalization contains the main economic, political and social divisions in today's world. It is manifested in both internal class conflicts and as a struggle between classes. Underneath this dialectic there are further contradictions within nationalism and within globalization. But the central transformation around which all else revolves is the universalization of capitalism to a globalized system of accumulation based on a revolutionary transformation of the means of production.

Most schools of thought, whether Marxists or mainstream, still define the international system as one centered around nation/state competition based on the struggle for supremacy among groupings of nationally identified monopoly capital. The state represents these interests on the international stage and seeks security or hegemony as the ultimate guarantor of a strong nationally based economy. This interpretation of global capital, as an extension of industrial era imperialism, seeks to identify a single national hegemonic power. Within this analytical context only the United States qualifies as the dominant superpower.

But this analysis, empirically supported by the policies of the Bush regime, fails to place the US within the existing economic structures of global capitalism and the emergence of a transnational capitalist class. Today's dominant form of accumulation is based on transnationalized production and finance, global labor stratification, and the emergent transnational capitalist class and transnationalized state. Yet the political and economic interests that are connected to the old state system, its international structure of accumulation and the labor relations it produced still struggle to shape the new order more fully in their own image. This is the dominant split in the US ruling class today.

9/11 and Its Worsening Aftermath: The Empire Strikes Back?

by Tim Luke, Virginia Tech

This critique asks how much the allegedly "transnational terrorist threats" as framed by the events of 9.11.01 and their aftermath are a displaced struggle for global social justice mediated through cultural, religious, and ethnic conflict. The loosely articulated transnational networks of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalists, which appear to be behind the attacks of 9.11.01 as well as many previous incidents, have concentrated their efforts on finding vulnerabilities in several major Western nation-states, even though many of their attacks have been directed against high-profile U.S. targets.

A major line of analysis in this study is to what extent Hardt's and Negri's "empire" vs. "the multitude" thesis is, or is not, substantiated by the nature of the 9.11.01 terrorist actions. The post-9.11.01 global response to these attacks, the multinational invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, the new opening of the NATO alliance to Russia with operations outside of Europe, and the anti-terrorism campaigns inside many nation-states are signs of a different approach to national and transnational security that reflects a global struggle between newly found enemies and with newly affirmed allies. On balance, there are many indications that these terrorist attacks are aimed at the U.S., but the

role of the United States in the workings of what Hardt and Negri call "Empire" does lend support for seeing some Islamic terrorist networks as a counter-globalizing, anti-empire resistance movements that express class, cultural, religious, and ethnic conflicts caused by enduring economic inequalities.

Nonetheless, the battleground of this struggle continues to be found in nation-states, so their crosscurrents of social justice need to be addressed. Here the paper will look very closely at the outsourcing of military services in Iraq and Afghanistan to private contractors, foreign coalitional allies, and foreign national recruits in the US military as another sign of class, gender, ethnic, and racial inequalities.

Third World Emergence

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 3

Moderator: Robina Bhatti

Sino-Russian Energy Cooperation in the Age of Global Systemic Chaos

by John Gulick, University of Tennessee

On New Year's Eve 2004, Russia's Prime Minister approved the construction of a 4130-km pipeline connecting the oilfields of eastern Siberia to the bulk port of Vostochny on the Sea of Japan. Given that the project effectively sidelines a rival proposal to build the pipeline to the petroleum-refining complex of Daqing in northeastern China, it appears to violate Moscow's commitment to "energy cooperation" with Beijing, and even to undermine the much-celebrated Russo-Chinese "strategic partnership." However, the Kremlin's decision does not reflect an overarching retreat from energy cooperation with China. Rather, it is largely the accidental outcome of the Putin regime's ongoing campaign to wrest Russia's strategic resource export policy from the control of Yeltsin-era oligarchs. More importantly, momentous supply and demand trends in world energy markets mean that Russia and China's respective development models increasingly complement one another, suggesting that in coming years the Russo-Chinese strategic partnership will be buttressed by a real process of growing geo-economic integration.

Globalization and its Influence on Oil Trade: the case of China's Oil Importation

by Qiang Yan, University of Missouri-St Louis

In this paper, I will use China's overseas oil acquiring to discuss how globalization influenced the oil trade. I will discuss how the specific features of oil influenced the oil trade. In addition, I will also discuss how the *state* will do in fulfilling its national interests in the age of globalization. I will argue that the state will play a very important role in the oil trade, although the three state-owned corporations, which are the active participants in globalization, may still have their own interests and hence exert their influences on the oil trade.

Liberalization of the Economy in India in 1990: The Growing USA - India Economic Cooperation

by Tripta Desai, Northern Kentucky University

India had followed a state-controlled economy policy since 1950 to 1990 in which the Government of India controlled around 80% of the economy called, public sector undertakings, while only 20% was left to the private enterprise. The Indian economy began to slacken in 1970's and in 1980's which led to high inflation.. Political and economic corruption became more prevalent. Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, which was partly caused by the sluggish economy, the Indian Government made a turn around in her economic policy, called liberalization of economy. More economic activities are thrown open to private enterprise, which can also invite foreign collaborators. The USA economic presence has increased considerably which also has the accompanying impact of building up democracy in India. The two countries have also extended their collaboration in other areas like joint military exercises and in fighting more aggressively against Islamic terrorism in Kashmir, which has been a big drain on the Indian economy and the military.

Strengthening African Transnational Links: A Project for Socioeconomic & Technological Development for the New Global Age

by Rubin Patterson, Toledo University

This paper explores African transnational linkages in the newest age of globalization. Such linkages today among Africans are found to be amorphous and a mere shadow of their capabilities, which would be experienced if there were more strategic collaboration within the global African transnational community. Among the issues hamstringing such developments are the complex triangular linkages: (1) African immigrants in the United States (i.e., first, second, and

third generation African immigrants in the United States and the West, but the United States is looked at closely in this paper as a surrogate for the West) vis-à-vis their respective African nation of origin; (2) African immigrants vis-à-vis the “descendants” (i.e., African Americans who are descendants of Africans enslaved in the United States); (3) descendants vis-à-vis the Sub-Saharan portion of the continent, which is often “adopted” as their ancestral homeland since they cannot trace their lineage to a specific African country.

In addition to providing a framework for critically thinking about these triangular linkages, this paper posits strategic collaboration as a potentially effective vehicle for terminating the subordinated status of Africans in the global political economy and analyzes frameworks for repositioning African transnational communities politicoeconomically similar to what is occurring among other Southern-sourced transnational communities.

Globalization and Social Theory

Location: International House, Room 3

Moderator: Harry Dahms

Globalization Between Cold War and Neo-Imperialism

by Harry F. Dahms, University of Tennessee

Evidence is mounting that the specific configuration of business-labor-government relations that took hold in the West after World War II--during the so-called "Cold War"--has become "sedimented" in ways that continue to function like an underlying "program." While the configuration--as it was established in western democratic societies, especially in North America and Western Europe, but also in Japan--was historically unique, it perpetuated Cold War conditions, beyond the official end of the Cold War. Both historians and political scientists specializing in international relations have made efforts to determine the nature of the impact of the Cold War configuration on the present.

Yet to date, sociologists have refrained from scrutinizing the specificity and uniqueness of a configuration facilitating a period of unprecedented economic wealth creation in a context characterized by stability in international relations among societies with democratic political systems. In addition, during this period, civil rights, political rights and social rights spread to more and more countries around the world. Until the onset of "globalization," social scientists implicitly presumed that the configuration shaping developments during the decades following World War II would continue well into the twenty-first century. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the shift in the discourse about globalization, to issues of "empire" and neo-imperialism reveals how Cold War conditions have become "second nature" in advanced societies, posing an array of problems the West is not equipped to tackle effectively.

Transcending Dualistic Thinking in Conflict Resolution

by Marla Del Collins, Long Island University

Dualism, a doctrine espousing that everything in the universe is divided into polar opposites, is a defining characteristic of social discourse around the world. This article examines this phenomenon, and suggests that dualism's centrality in language, thought, and action produces divisiveness and limits conflict resolution options. This essay proposes that more dynamical systems of interpretation originating from a broad range of disciplines (including linguistics, the physical sciences, and Eastern religions), can be useful in a variety of conflict resolution situations because they encourage more complex and creative thinking.

Bushwacking the Empire: Gods, Mammon, and the Fallout of American Hegemony

by Margareta Swigert and Lauren Langman, Loyola University, Chicago

The United States is currently facing a number of fiscal, political and ideological crises that mutually reinforce each other. The economy has been chronically stagnant yet with rapidly rising levels of personal debt, governmental debt and balance of trade deficits that have led to the decline of the dollar and fears of even lower levels to come. With its disregard of treaties, and its unilateralist intervention into Iraq, it is disliked throughout the world and is today less able to forge collective solutions to global problems. Finally, the power of the evangelical Christians, payment for their support of the fiscal elites, has seen what may be the most reactionary policies in the modern world. Our theory suggests that the assent and stagnation be understood in terms of the intersection of its character and political economy. More specifically, the radical Puritans who settled in New England saw themselves as a “lost tribe” of Israel, coming to the new Jerusalem.

While the original religious fervor might wane, its underlying messianic Puritanical vision, compounded by its Manichean view of the world, propelling a missionary stance to politics, would become its “tragic flaw” and the seat of its demise. This could be seen in the construction of a vast global military empire following WWII, and a number of illegal interventions and wars against evil. This would begin a contraction investment into leading edge, domestic enterprises that could sustain economic wealth and growing incomes. Finally, its “dominant” ideologies preclude radical transformations and restructuring. We are now at a moment of fiscal and political crises of geopolitical and domestic overreach that not only undermine the economy, but the now dominant political value orientations rooted in Manichean Puritanism.

SUNDAY 10:30AM – 12:00PM

MORNING PANELS

NAFTA After Ten Years: Analysis and Action

Location: International House, Room 1

Moderator: Mehrene Larudee, DePaul University International Studies Program

The Contradictions of Latin American Export Promotion: The Growth of Manufactured Exports, Debt and De-industrialized Labor

by Jon Jonakin, Tennessee Technological University

Under the neoliberal trade and capital market reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, the promotion of manufactured exports in Latin America was thought to lay the foundation for both sustained economic growth and the easing of debt and liquidity crises. In fact, economic growth has slowed notably and dollar denominated debt generally worsened. The author proposes to analyze the discrepancy between the idea and the reality of the current export promotion regime. The paper will show that in spite of impressive increases in manufactured exports in the 1990s, the imported capital and intermediate inputs more than offset export earnings.

Much foreign direct investment was in the service sector and, thus not likely to generate foreign exchange. Moreover, the growth of manufacturing induced a 'de-industrialization' of the workforce, which was displaced toward the service or informal sector. The capital-intensive forms taken by manufacturing export promotion--the upgrading of natural resource-based industries and the expansion of low, valued-added assembly industries--reflected both the foreign exchange problem and the tendency toward labor expulsion during a period of manufacturing growth. The resulting trade imbalances and profit repatriation led to persistent balance of payment deficits and debt. In the process, the conditions of labor worsened.

The Political Economy of NAFTA

by Mehrene Larudee, DePaul University, Chicago

Developing countries have long sought to attract foreign investment, hoping that it will bring more capital (hiring additional labor), more foreign exchange, and chances for training in the latest technology. Foreign investment has been viewed by some, such as the Mexican government, as a powerful engine of growth; but evidence for this is mixed. But recent research says that the Mexican economic boom after 1994, especially the increase in *maquiladora* employment, was largely a result of the U.S. economic boom, along with the 1994-5 peso devaluation – and that the effects of NAFTA itself were limited. We can draw the following lessons from Mexico’s experience under NAFTA:

- (1) When a country with a high-productivity or highly subsidized agricultural sector opens up trade with a country whose agricultural sector is low-productivity, workers in both countries may well lose.
- (2) If large swings occur in the real value of a currency, and if insiders are better able to predict these swings than the general public, then insiders will normally benefit. Many investors benefited from the hoopla around NAFTA, and this was independent of the real economic effects of the provisions of NAFTA.
- (3) Supporters of NAFTA said it was unlikely to displace many U.S. workers. Critics said it would. This paper briefly discusses the validity of arguments made on both sides and concludes that both have elements of truth.

- (4) Despite the march of globalization, in most countries, *most* production of goods and services is for domestic consumption. The implication of this is that raising the minimum wage, even though it may reduce inward foreign investment and export earnings, may increase GDP per capita. This has been described as “wage-led growth”.
- (5) Corruption is by far the largest obstacle to economic development, and the reform, which would make the greatest contribution to development would be transparency in payments received by government officials, as well as an end to secret bank accounts and tax havens. Unfortunately, the financial sector benefits from secrecy and tax havens, and this impedes reform.

What Can Tennessee Workers Do? Job Loss from NAFTA: Coping and Fighting Back

by Mike Knapp, Executive Director, Tennessee Economic Renewal Network

TERN is a coalition of labor, community and religious groups across the state that has worked on globalization and trade issues since 1989. This presentation will focus on job loss numbers in Tennessee since NAFTA caused by trade, spatial analysis of job location- rural/metro relationships, descriptive discussion of job location/income levels found by dislocated workers post trade adjustment assistance, and TERN international solidarity work with colleagues in Mexico, and State level legislative efforts.

Globalization and Labor

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 1

Moderator: Carl Davidson

AFL-CIO: Labor Imperialism – Again?”

by Kim Scipes, Purdue University

The AFL-CIO had long been known as engaging in labor imperialism. However, the 1995 election of John Sweeney to the presidency, suggested that labor imperialism by the AFL-CIO was a relic of the past. Coupled with Sweeney’s opening-up of the previously insular labor movement, the changed rhetoric and the restructuring of the AFL-CIO’s foreign policy apparatus—ending the four regional organizations (such as AIFLD) with the center-controlled American Institute for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS)—suggested serious change was being implemented.

However, a refusal to “clear the air” about past practices as well as evidence revealing ACILS in constructing unity among opponents of the Chavez regime in Venezuela suggested backsliding on the “international labor solidarity” approach. Were these efforts, in fact, a return to labor imperialism, or were they merely aberrations to Sweeney’s “reform” project? An examination of data developed to date suggests that labor is again engaging in labor imperialism.

Commodifying Nationality: The Globalization of Interactive Service Work in Indian Call Centers

by Winnie Poster, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Imagine if your employer asked you to act like the citizen of another country for your job, and moreover, to do this deceptively as you interact with the public. This is the experience of many service workers in India, as a result of the recent explosion of global “call centers” – multinational and subcontracted firms which provide customer service phone work for U.S. and European corporations. There are more than 500 call centers in India, some of which employ tens of thousands of workers. By 2008, the number of information technology-enabled jobs in India is projected to rise to 1 million – with 270,000 workers in call centers alone – at revenue of \$17 billion. These workers are asked to use American names, adopt American accents, and convey through conversation and prepared scripts that they are in fact in the U.S. I will argue that acting American in Indian call centers marks a new era of globalized service work in which “nation” has become a feature of labor control.

Transnational Steel? Some Notes on the New International Division of Labor Thesis

by Eric Boria, Loyola University, Chicago

Steel has become globally consolidated, decentralized, and networked. Not common in the imaginary of the global economy, the steel industry has much to contribute as to the specificity of globalization in different institutional frameworks. The literature on manufacturing, and especially heavy industry, has been characterized by deindustrialization as its destructive moment, while its creative moment is dominated by notions of flexible accumulation, which include capital mobility, outsourcing, and deterritorialization of production. Mittal Steel, by contrast is networking places of production between fourteen countries, a number that increases annually. These places

of production are tied by cheap transportation linkages, but with the specificities of the steel industry in that all of its facilities are contained under a common corporate umbrella. In order to conceptualize these emergent and specific developments, I propose a model of Global Decentralized Production that is characterized by decentralized production linked by, often cross-border, transportation linkages, and the rising importance of urban, industrial places in terms of its physical and institutional infrastructure.

Wage Labor, Slavery, and the New Slavery: What's the Difference?

by Frank Marshalek, Indiana University

This paper analyzes existing literature to determine the essential nature of modern slavery and its causes in the context of historical transformations in global capitalist production and the role of mobility in capitalist-labor relations in the struggle over surplus in the forms of wages, benefits, etc. Although the issues are global in scope, the primary focus of this analysis is on Europe and the Americas as immigration recipients. The analysis determines that the forces that make individuals vulnerable to human trafficking and slavery are multifaceted, including factors related to issues such as immigration, development, women's rights, racism, human rights and, most importantly, labor rights.

Globalization and the Environmental Challenge

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 2

Moderator: Ligaya McGovern

The Effect of Globalization on Alliance Formation Between National Labor Unions and National Environmental Organizations

by David Foster Steele, Austin Peary State University

How does globalization affect alliance formation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations? Seven national labor unions and seven national environmental organizations that are representative of the two movements are selected for examination by this study. This paper examines documents from the web sites of the selected organizations and interviews with high-ranking officials to assess this question and discovers the three issues that labor unions and environmental organizations share are global trade, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

A Biocentric Conception of International Right

by Edward Abplanalp, University of Nebraska

This paper combines the biocentric claim that Nature is inherently valuable with a Kantian contractualist model of international right. If, as the non-anthropocentrist maintains, natural entities possess a value beyond any fancy price or usefulness to humanity, then we must view these entities as legitimate members of a global Kantian Kingdom of Ends. In a neo-Rawlsian fashion, then, I maintain that the way to treat natural entities as ends, and not merely as a means to an end, is to abide by the hypothetical contract that symmetrically situated ideal representatives for those entities would agree to in an initial position of equality. As a result, before the establishment of any human made global order, we must conceptually view the earth as system of interrelated bioregional systems. There will be a non-anthropocentric original position for each bioregion. The hypothetical treaties that result from such positions of eco-impartiality morally trump the hypothetical agreements made by the ideal representatives of nation states found in the original positions of equality Rawls defends in his *The Law of Peoples* (1999).

Race, language and immigration: Black Francophones in Canada Resisting Racism and Language discrimination (LATE ADDITION)

by Amal Madibbo, University of Toronto

In this paper, I examine some of the strategies that Black African and Caribbean Francophone immigrants in Canada develop in order to fight racism and to enter power structures by means of resistance. This populace constitutes of heterogeneous groups in terms of language, history, culture, countries of origin and time of arrival in Canada. It belongs to a racial minority and to the Francophone official linguistic minority. As a double minority, Black Francophones face racism stemming from both the predominantly white and Anglophone State and from Francophone mainstream institutions as well as language discrimination. As a relatively recent immigrant community, Black Francophones also encounter the challenged of settlement and integration.

Paths of Development in the Era of Globalization

Location: Black Cultural Center, Room 3

Moderator: Mel Rothenberg

Development and the International Human Rights Movement: The Role of Organizations in Developing Countries

by Louis Esparza, SUNY Stony Brook

This paper tests neo-institutionalist approaches to explaining geo-political phenomenon by exploring the relationship between human rights and development. I use transnational data coded from the Yearbook of International Organizations (2000 data) to explore how Human Rights International NGOs (HRINGOs) serve as actors with other aspects of global civil society such as multinational corporations and IGOs.

It is well known that multinational corporations in developing countries do not have positive relationships with human rights. But they do have a positive relationship with human rights treaties, even though the enforcement of these treaties varies between countries. Neo-institutionalists argue that countries tend to adopt organizational forms similar to those that are adopted by most other countries more often than they adopt organizational forms that are very dissimilar. I explore this phenomenon by treating HRINGOs, multinational penetration, and human rights treaties as organizational actors and testing for isomorphic effects on countries. I also test for variability between these effects in countries according to development, measured as GDP.

Cultural Boxes, Voice and the Poor: the Role of the Individual in Understanding the Poor and What It Means for International Development

by Marcus Holmes, Georgetown

Culture matters in international development. Scholars and previous projects have illustrated how development and poverty reduction fail when culture is not emphasized and incorporated into the plan. A difficult question to answer emerges: why culture matters. This question is particularly vexing because it is at once deep and broad. However, an understanding of the role of culture will serve to facilitate more successful project efforts. This paper analyzes a specific component of culture: the individual, and answer why the individual matters. It is the individual that possesses capacity: the power to learn, to view the past, and ultimately, to create the future. In a sense, it is at the individual layer of culture that agency for change exists. By analyzing rituals, opportunities emerge for tapping into this agency and incorporating the power of collected individuals in development projects. The understanding and use of rituals represents a new strategy in understanding why culture matters and incorporating it into successful development projects.

From Conflict Diamonds to the Kimberley Process

by Franziska Bieri, Emory

This paper studies how international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), international governmental organizations (IGOs), industry, and nation states have interacted in the campaign against conflict diamonds and the Kimberley Process Certification (KPC). The KPC is a multilateral agreement that bans the trade of diamonds that has fueled civil wars in countries like Sierra Leone and Angola. The KPC took effect in January 2003 with over fifty signatory nations, including the United States. The two central questions are how the problem of conflict diamonds initially gained international attention and how solutions were negotiated and formalized in the KPC. Preliminary evidence suggests that the agenda-setting stage is characterized by hostile interactions between INGOs and industry and growing collaboration between INGOs and a few key states.

Multicultural Care Theory: Is There Such a Thing as Universal Caring

by So Young Kang, University of Tennessee

Human beings are socially constructed and constantly influence one another in constructing knowledge. Living in a global world of today, caring for one another becomes an essential issue. When the topic comes to care theory, many people tend to believe there is a universal caring. However, this is when the issue of social justice or the voice of marginalized are being neglected, which is related to the issue of hegemony. Many scholars in the field of education have discussed care theory, examining how caring the teacher is to the students' chances of becoming "knower". However, frequently the topic is presented from the perspective of what is considered the norm, White property owning male's perspective. Instead of thinking that the world is a melting pot, we need to see it as a salad bowl, where

we see each ingredient or individual more distinctively rather than just mixing them together and seeing them as one. That is what we need to do for care theory as well.

Intellectual Thought and Its Impact on Global Society

Location: International House, Room 3

Moderator: Harry Dahms

The Importance of 'Jose Maria Sison: At Home In the World' for the US people in the Post 9/11 Era by Richard Koritz, Open Hand Publishing

As the publisher of Jose Maria Sison's autobiography, my presentation will touch upon the dangers for this society of the Office of Assets Control (OFAC) 's seizure of the second half of the advance to Sison from Open Hand Publishing and its implications for free speech and inquiry in the USA. More importantly, it would deal with the serious implications for our country of demonizing national liberation movements, such as the decades old and still very formidable Filipino national liberation struggle in which Sison has played such a significant role.

Intellectual Transfer – The Transatlantic Effects of the Migration of European Social Thought by Almut Stoletzki, University of Hanover, Germany

The emigration of German scholars to the United States and their partial remigration back to Europe since 1945 both can be regarded as part of a process of intellectual transfer between two constantly changing, dynamic societies. Instead of being the subject of a broadly conceived research agenda, this concern is buried under a specifically German distortion of perception of the transatlantic relationship. My historically specific analysis of these two migration movements I am focusing on unmasking existing stereotypes and opening up a new perspective on the transatlantic relationship.

Applying the Chaim Perelman Model of Justice to a Landmark Case Involving Copyright Liability by Richard J. Knecht, University of Toledo

Among the contributions of modern theorists of rhetoric, none stresses the inter-relationship of philosophy and rhetoric more strongly, nor reveals more clearly, the relevance of rhetoric to twenty-century man than does the theory of Belgian philosopher, Chaim Perelman. Perelman uses a judicial model as an aid for philosophical task rather than making judicial tasks easier. His model includes three elements: a judge, the law, a need to remain with the status quo or to reason for replacement. Perelman writes, "only change requires justification, presumption playing in favor of what exists just as the burden of proof falls upon him who wants to change and establish a state of affairs."

The proposed paper will apply the Perelman Model of justice to the landmark case of Sony Corporation vs. Universal City Studios, which dealt with the question of whether the sale of the petitioner's copying equipment to the general public violated any of the rights conferred upon the respondent by the Copyright Act. By examining the argument put forth by both sides in a court of law, judges had to decide in favor of one of the litigants and determine if a change in the law was mandated. Essentially then, the author will demonstrate that what might be considered an abstract theory can in reality be made practical in the courtroom drama of the world.

Scholars/Merchants/Curators: The Discourse of 'The Transatlantic Slave Trade' Database by Brenda McComb, York University, Canada

Taking as a case a recently published electronic database on the voyages of the Atlantic slave trade (the Harvard-Dubois Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Eltis et al), the paper applies some techniques of critical discourse analysis to delineate aspects of the relationship between the dominant discourse of "western" traditions of scholarship and the academic attention (developing now over some fifty years) to groups or individuals previously neglected or misrepresented (ethnolinguistic in this case); this particular case also involves the intersection with technology. It raises questions of whether, and if so how, through myriad discursive practices, the dominant western tradition has been managing at once to increasingly recognize hitherto neglected and overlooked groups or individuals and maintain a grip on dominance. It thus seeks to distinguish some of many discursive threads operating in combination and in varying proportions: that of revisions from a less restricted, "global" perspective; that of continuing commodification akin to past orientalizing; that of a developing curatorial perspective allowing both domination and recognition.