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Globalization Antenarratives

Globalization antenarratives compete for your attention. Antenarrative is defined as a prestory, an anticipatory bet that the world can be changed in profitable and sometimes progressively humane ways. You are schooled in linear and cyclical Globalization antenarratives, but may not of heard of the rhizome antenarrative. A linear antenarrative tells either a tale of Road to the Top (life just keep getting progressively better) versus a Road to the Bottom (life may be better for the wealthy, but the poor get poorer, & and earth's resources are being destroyed). Of the two linear narratives, the Business College sells you on the former, the evolution of a succession of Globalizations from imperialisms to empires, where transnational corporations are succeeding nation-states in a world governmentability through the likes of World Trade Organization (WTO), and through contractual trade agreements such as NAFTA. You are exposed to the other linear narrative, Road to Bottom, through TV, watching those protestors outside WTO annual meetings proclaim that transnational corporations are the ruination of living wages, democracy, and Mother Earth.

Cyclical Globalization antenarratives pose a different bet, a plot of eternal recurrence (to use Nietzsche's phrase). Globalization is not a line, not a succession of progressive evolution, where Enlightenment and reason, science and technology, are able to bring about world peace and harmony. Linear Globalization to the cyclical theorists is just illusion, entangled error, not even a persuasive narrative. The cycle of Dionysus and Apollo, Dionysian instincts and Apollonian reason explain the cyclically repetitive metamorphosis of

Globalization where the weak dominate the strong, again and again. Nietzsche (Genealogy of Morals XII: 209) :everything that exists, no matter what its origin, is periodically reinterpreted by those in power in terms of fresh intentions" and "all processes in the organic world are processes of outstripping and overcoming, and that in turn means all outstripping and overcoming means reinterpretation, rearrangement, in the course of which the earlier meaning and purpose are necessarily either obscured or lost." Cyclical Globalization focuses on its perennial degeneration, its cyclic rise, then collapse into decadence. Social Darwinism's linear evolution antenarrative was for Nietzsche, utterly devoid of spirituality.

The third Globalization antenarrative we will examine is the Rhizome. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987) book A Thousand Plateau: Capitalism and Schizophrenia is our starting point. A Rhizome is neither linear nor cyclical. A Rhizome is a creeping root stem below ground that forms fleshy tubers that send out aerial runners above ground. Rhizomes capture open territory by deterritorializing it, extending in all directions until an obstacle is encountered. In the Rhizome antenarrative capitalists and transnational corporations are tubers sending out creeping root stems and networks of runners that deterritorialize, and their primary obstacle is the declining nation states. The Globalization rhizomes deterritorialize at specific (foreign) locations, where forest recedes, or dessert advances, gnawing and growing in all directions. Deterritorialization shifts location to accommodate the human and ecological limits of local terrain. For thousands of years, the nation state also deterritorialized, and established colonies and used military and diplomacy to root its trading companies. The Globalization sees the nation states form of deterritorialization being eclipsed by transnational corporate global deterritorialization. The interesting nonlinear (& non-cyclic) hypothesis of the Rhizome antenarrative, is that Globalization is polymorphic, able to connect between different forms or systems, such as between the virtual core of a corporate headquarters in Oregon, and the subcontract

sweatshops in China or Mexico, between the WTO and heads of state, and the curriculum of the Business College.

We will contrast two linear antenarratives of Globalization: 'Empire's Race to Top' and 'Imperialism's Race to Bottom,' then develop a model of the cycle of becoming GlobalAware, and conclude with the Rhizome antenarrative of Globalization.

Chapter Outline

Linear Antenarratives of Globalization: Imperialism & Empire
Cyclical
Globalization and History of Imperialism
Empire Globalization and Carnival of Resistance
Living in a Globalized world
McDonaldization and Empire
Economic and Social Outcomes of Empire
Ecological Outcomes of Empire
Cyborg Hybridities of Globalization Milieu
Managing in the Globalized world
Alternative Approaches to Globalization & Empire
Studying Globalization with Postmodern & Critical Postmodern Theory
Defining Globalization, Imperial, & Empire
Supplement: Wal-Mart Case

Chapter Objectives

After studying this chapter you should be able to:

1. Be able to tell two stories of Globalization: Empire Race To Top and Imperial Race to Bottom;
2. Define globalization, Imperialism & Empire;
3. Critically assess the value and consequences of Globalization in terms of labor process, Cyborg, biotechnology, & postmodern republicanism;
4. Construct a historical timeline of the succession of imperialisms and empires from Babylonian through Spanish and British to U.S. ones;
5. Explore a theory of rise and fall of Imperialism & Empire;
6. Understand the relationship between globalization and organizational behavior, individual, social, and ecological outcomes of Empire;
7. Demonstrate an awareness of different approaches to the study of Globalization

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Key Terms

The following is a list of key terms that are discussed in the chapter. You will find a number of review questions in the accompanying CD ROM that are designed to strengthen your understanding of the terms. All of the terms are defined in the text of the chapter and also in the glossary at the end of the book.

Globalization   **Fair & Free Markets**

Colonization   **Empire**   **Imperialism**

Hypercompetitiveness   **Predatory Capitalism**

Free Trade Area of the Americas   **World Trade Organization**

McDonaldization   **Wal-Mart effect**

Society of the Spectacle   **Simplicity Movement**

Sustainability view   **Global Racism view**

Postmodernism & Empire globalization   **Neo-Liberalism & Imperialism**

Postmodern Republicanism   **Cyborg**   **GMO**

Comprehensive definitions of Globalization, Imperialism, & Empire

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Opening Definitions

Globalization – is defined as the dialectic opposition between Free Market and Fair Market ideologies; both commodify private space into universal public space; a hybridity of governance mechanisms including premodern monarchy, modern imperialism, and postmodern republicanism.

Imperialism – is defined as modernity projects by which one or more nations oppress the multitude of people by acts of conquest, enslavement, war, genocide, and colonization. Imperialism has a power center and expanding identifiable borders.

Empire – is defined as proliferating *network power* of supranational governance institutions and trade agreements that mediate conflicts

between transnational corporations and nation states. Empire is opposed by the forces of Counter-Empire (a networking of disparate movements such as global peace, world justice, global human rights, sustainability, simplicity, indigenous intellectual property rights, & anti-Franken foods).

Two Stories of Globalization

Two stories of globalization persist across the seven stages of becoming GlobalAware: The 'Empire Race to Top' and the 'Imperialism Race to Bottom.'

In its egotistic and ethnocentric stages, globalization has a spirit of expansion. In the early phases of globalization agrarian nations trade, and slavery and patriarchy are standard practices.

Imperial makes transcendent claims to the divine rights of monarchies (& now corporate rule) that extend from pre-modernity to modernity (e.g. Babylonian Greek, & Roman in pre-modernity; British & U.S. imperialism in modernity) to maintain order in the world; *God Save the Queen and King George*. We will treat Empire as different than Imperial. Both are theories of global sovereignty; Empire is the more postmodern of the two; Empire is characterized by a network of global governing institutions, such as North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Free Trade Areas of the Americas (FTAA), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank; *Long Live the Empire!* There is a global resistance movement that is Counter-Empire, viewing the trading Empire as a disguise for Imperial slavery, colonization by military and police force, the spread of cloning and GMO, and a clever mask for transnational corporate power that has succeeded the Nation State and operates behind the scenes controlling the network of globalization governing institutions. The stakes of the race are human rights, ecological sustainability, the Biotechnology revolution of human cyborgs (hybrids of animal, plant & human life forms), and balancing Nation State and Corporate rule with the needs of 6.3 billion people and the deteriorating diversity of species. Both storylines see a conflict between transcendent (spiritual) claims and the focus on humanism (science and empiricism).

Empire's Race to Top Storyline – In the globalization race, nations and transnational corporations learn to compete, to trade freely, across unrestricted borders, and in the process to develop their industrial infrastructure (transportation, skilled labor, communication, pipelines). There are many apologists and defends of global Empire, claiming that Empire is progress development over Imperialism.

An example of an apologist book would be Singer's (2002) *One World: The Ethics of Globalization* (Yale University Press). To prevent global genocide, famine and ecological collapse, Singer seeks to persuade the privileged in globalization to take care of the less privilege. Another book is Ferguson's (2003) *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (Basic Books). Fergeson's solution to Empire is to return to nation building as a way to control transnational corporate greed versus ethics behavior. Ferguson tells Americans to spread democracy and Free Market capitalism in contemporary Empire by moving beyond Queen Victoria's British Imperialism. World peace comes from unrestricted flow of goods, capital, and labor. Empire spreads democracy and neo-liberalism around the world. In sum, Singer and Ferguson posit that the world needs global governance, not just to benefit the powerful nations, but as a hegemon that is anti-Imperialist.

To the apologists for Empire, the storyline is, 'although it is tough at first, every nation needs to leave family farm behind, move to the city and endure the sweatshops and low wages.' This is part of learning one's way to efficient Free Market behavior. In this storyline, there were always human rights violations and environmental destruction; ask the indigenous people of the planet. That is just the way the 'Free Market' game is played. In the Race to Top there is also great progress by opening borders to transnational corporations. If you want to move from developing to developed nation status, then you have to take the bet, pay your dues, and invite transnational corporations to help them run the Race to Top of the heap.

Most management and organization theory textbooks only tell the Race to Top story, where, unfortunate consequences happen sometimes, but the only real hurdles are the obstacles protectionist governments put in the way of efficient market performance and trade with transnational corporations (pick a case from any management strategy textbook, & search for how globalization is presented in only the most positive light). You will find the conventional Race to Top mantra: 'We live in a global economy where the free market should determine wages and prices,' Or 'Its progress, the fit survive and the rest are left behind' (a modern day Social Darwinism ideology that permeates management texts). As Thomas Hobbes put it, life of the native is "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short (*Leviathan*, 1651). Empire Race to Top has these globalization assumptions:

- Globalization is a more efficient use of indigenous resources;
- Globalization with GMO and agribusiness is best way to feed the 6.3 billion people on earth

- Globalization spreads American business technical know-how, American culture, and American values to backward economies.
- Globalization frees people from religious fundamentalism and terrorist ideologies by spreading global republicanism.
- Those opposing Globalization have anti-American attitudes that are Barbarian.
- Globalization homogenizes cultural differences with computer, Internet and TV access, so it is impossible to distinguish local from global life and business practices. There is no point in resisting.

Race to Bottom - In this alternative storyline, the rich nations get richer and the poor ones get poorer through the enforcement of so-called "Free Trade Agreements." Humanist science and industrial succession over agrarian production frees the slaves, and given women are needed in the factory, extends some limited rights to women. Modernity's most positive contribution is the end of slavery and the liberation movements for women and Blacks. But, there are many dire consequences that breed an ethnocentric hatred. A book that presents this storyline is Amy Chua's (2002) *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global* Instability (Doubleday). Sylvia Nassar (2003) says the rich and free owe the poor and oppressed for globalizations spreading ill effects.[1] There is also Fareed Zakaria's (2003) *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad.* Compare these to the more Empire apologist books by Singer (2002) and Ferguson (2003).

Chua, Nassar, and Zakaria also focus on unintended consequences of U.S. Empire and Free Market democracy, namely the ethnocentric ones. These consequences include the concentration of wealth into fewer hands, increased genocide (racial murder & ethnic cleansing of the natives to appropriate their lands), Chua calls for tax transfer programs from rich to poor nations. Zakaria wants to extend the Bill of Rights to the world (but does not challenge the American-European project of colonizing the undemocratic with democracy).

Free Trade to those even more critical of globalization is just one more Orwellian word that means the opposite: Free Trade is only '*Free*' if you have the power, the military clout or bribes to enforce Unfair Trade agreements. Race to Bottom characterize transnational corporations as:
1. putting shareholder profits ahead of community and even customer interests;
2. putting mega profit ahead of ecological destruction;
3. putting hyper-competitive, even predatory behavior ahead of human rights;
4. putting small businesses out of business (including small farms) with agribusiness subsidies, and;

5. putting big corporate interests ahead of national allegiance (e.g. how transnational corporations avoid paying taxes).

The Imperial Race to Bottom storytellers say, globalization is not progress; it is not new, and it is time for "Fair Markets" with "living wages" and "sustainable" global practices. Race to Bottom storytellers remember a long succession of Imperialisms, and see Empire as just Imperial in a mask. They see the succession of Imperials and contemporary Empire as a journey to planetary suicide, the exhaustion of all life-sustaining resources (oil, water, air, & trees).

A middle of the road book is Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's (2000) *Empire* (Harvard University Press). They reserve the term 'Imperial' for the modernity attempts at globalization, and the word 'Empire' for the more late postmodern forms of global capitalism.

Supplements to Empire - I would like to recommend extending Hardt and Negri's Empire treatment by complementing it with several texts. Hardt and Negri neglect the final ecological collapse from Empire capitalism, and movements such as simplicity as antidotes to Affluenza (see below).

The Ecological Collapse of Empire's Carrying Capacity - William Kötke's (1993) *The Final Empire: The collapse of Civilization and The Seed of the Future* (Portland, OR: Arrow Point Press). Kötke burst in my office in Las Cruces, New Mexico and told me, "I hear you care about ecology and business practices. I wrote this book, I'm moving tomorrow." The book adds something significant to Hardt and Negri's Empire, a thorough scientific looks at the collapse of the global ecosystem's carrying capacity for Empire, in terms of soil, forest, industrial agriculture, oceans, and species die-off. He gives a though history, psychology, and cosmology of Imperial colonialism, in the modern world. He contributes ways the ecosystem can be revitalized, how life on Earth can be restored, and how humanity can choose to live after Empire.

Affluenza - In terms of solutions to the impending ecological collapse from Empire, there is also DeGraaf, Wann & Naylor's (2002) book *Affluenza: The All-Consuming Epidemic* (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.). The book explores ways to live simpler lives with advice on how to overcome shopping fever, chronic excess, and the viral epidemic of overconsumption that is Affluenza.

Webview
Affluenza PBS Program
http://www.pbs.org/kcts/affluenza/

Biotech Century - Jeremy Rifkin's (1998) *The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World* (NY: Penguin Putnam Inc.)

is also an excellent supplement to Hardt and Negri's (2000) *Empire*. Hardt and Negri (2000: 218) trot out Donna Harraway's Cyborg Fable "… the ambiguous boundary between human, animal, and machine, introduces us today, much more effectively than deconstruction, to these new terrains of possibility - but we should remember that this is a fable and nothing more."[2]

Rifkin posits that a postmodern philosophy is essential to legitimating the new sciences of the Biotech Century. Science is reinventing Nature in the image of the Cyborg using genetic (re)engineering technologies traversing and blurring boundaries between human, animal, and machine. For example, "many in the postmodern culture industry view a body makeover as a vehicle of artistic expression" (p. 226). People are reengineering themselves and Nature to fit images of the postmodern marketplace. In less than a generation definitions of life are being radically altered by biotechnology corporations (p. 1) patenting indigenous plants, viruses, and transgenic bacteria, turning Natural Environment into Artificial Man-Made Environment legitimated with the New Cosmology narrative of postmodern science and economics. Transnational corporations with names like Monsanto, Upjohn, Du Pont, Eli Lilly, Rohm & Haas, and Dow Chemical are the dark side of postmodern organization (Rifkin, 1998: 15). Biotechnology, corporate takeover of Indigenous intellectual property rights, and the Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) in food and agriculture are the disputed subjects of international trade wars between the U.S. that wants them to go global and the E.U. which resists the invasion, calling it Biopiracy and Frankenfood. Biotech transnational corporations are reseeding the ecology in a Second Gensis chapter to postmodern evolution. Is it ecological roulette, this playing with Mother Nature or a way to protect the human, plant and animal gene pool from crippling diseases?

The Postmodern Adventure of Empire - The postmodern turn of Globalization into not just a Biotech Century, but a Third Millennium that introduces thorny ethical and philosophical issues explored by Steve Best and Douglas Kellner (2001) *The Postmodern Adventure: Science, Technology, and Cultural Studies at the Third Millennium* (NY/London: Guilford Press). The U.S. Empire is an unprecedented crisis of "overpopulation, rampant consumerism, ozone thinning, global warming, and rain forest destruction forecast massive species extinction and multiple ecological crises" (p. 3). Best and Kellner present the dark side of postmodernism, and develop a "critical postmodern" theory that we can use to analyze globalization in the 3rd Millennium. Best and Kellner (1993, 1997) are excellent guides for differentiating various postmodern and critical postmodern theories.[3]

Globalization and the Cycle of Becoming GlobalAware

This cycle of becoming GlobalAware is a spiral, what Nietzsche would call an eternal recurrence. Figure 1 depicts the cycle, and Table 1 summarizes the relevant dualities (either/or logics) within and between each stage. The model extends work by Plato (370 BCE), Wilber (1996) and Hardt and Negri (2001).[4] Plato, for example, posited a stage model whereby timocracy (a hybrid of military & sovereign imperialism, is succeeded by oligarchy imperialism, then by democratic imperialism, and as this self-destructs into a multiplicity of self-interest, into its successor tyranny, which is resisted and reverts to one of the other inferior forms of imperialism. Below we combine several models into seven stages of becoming GlobalAware (see Webview).

Webview
GlobalAware Site
http://PeaceAware.com/GlobalAware.shtml

7 Stages of Becoming GlobalAware – Each stage of becoming GlobalAware adds its own special differentiation which creates a duality that must be overcome and integrated in the subsequent stage. And the integration can fail and awareness cycles back to some earlier stage.

Stage 1 – Egocentric Isolationism - in premodern times, humanism (science & human rights) began to differentiate and dualize with transcendence (belief in Devine Gods & Goddesses). Ironically, slavery throughout agrarian economies is acceptable. Plato describes this stage as descending form belief in the one, to belief in the many; the conquest of the many and returning them to oneness, is the challenge of the next several stages. In Western hemisphere the mono-deity religions of Christian/Celtic (and later Protestantism) and Judaism did battle with Islam. In Eastern hemisphere there were many Gods and Goddesses. With the West's Renaissance, came secular humanism, and the beginning of western versions of Enlightenment, the beginning of modernity (the epoch rooted in science and rationality, and rejecting transcendence). Plato attempts to integrate the transcendence (unity) with immanence (humanism) using rational dialogs.

Stage 2 – Ethnocentric Imperialism - Imperialism is a combination of state sovereignty, and the beginning of corporate power of trading companies. Timocracy (rule of military & sovereign) has yet to be eclipsed by an oligarchy (imperialism by wealthy traders). The dualism between stage 1 and 2 is over the unity of the world (with Transcendent-God or rational-science) and a dim awareness of differentiation between cultures. Rationality culminates in mechanistic worldview of Newtonian science wedded to the rational empiricism of Enlightenment. Nature is

denatured, and all spiritual properties supplanted by rational empirical and mechanistic science. This is the beginning of a postmodern rebellion against Enlightenment. There is growing awareness that the world of modernity has many tribes, but the global philosophy of nation states is still ethnocentric, "join our tribe or be damned."

Figure 1 – Cycle of Becoming GlobalAware
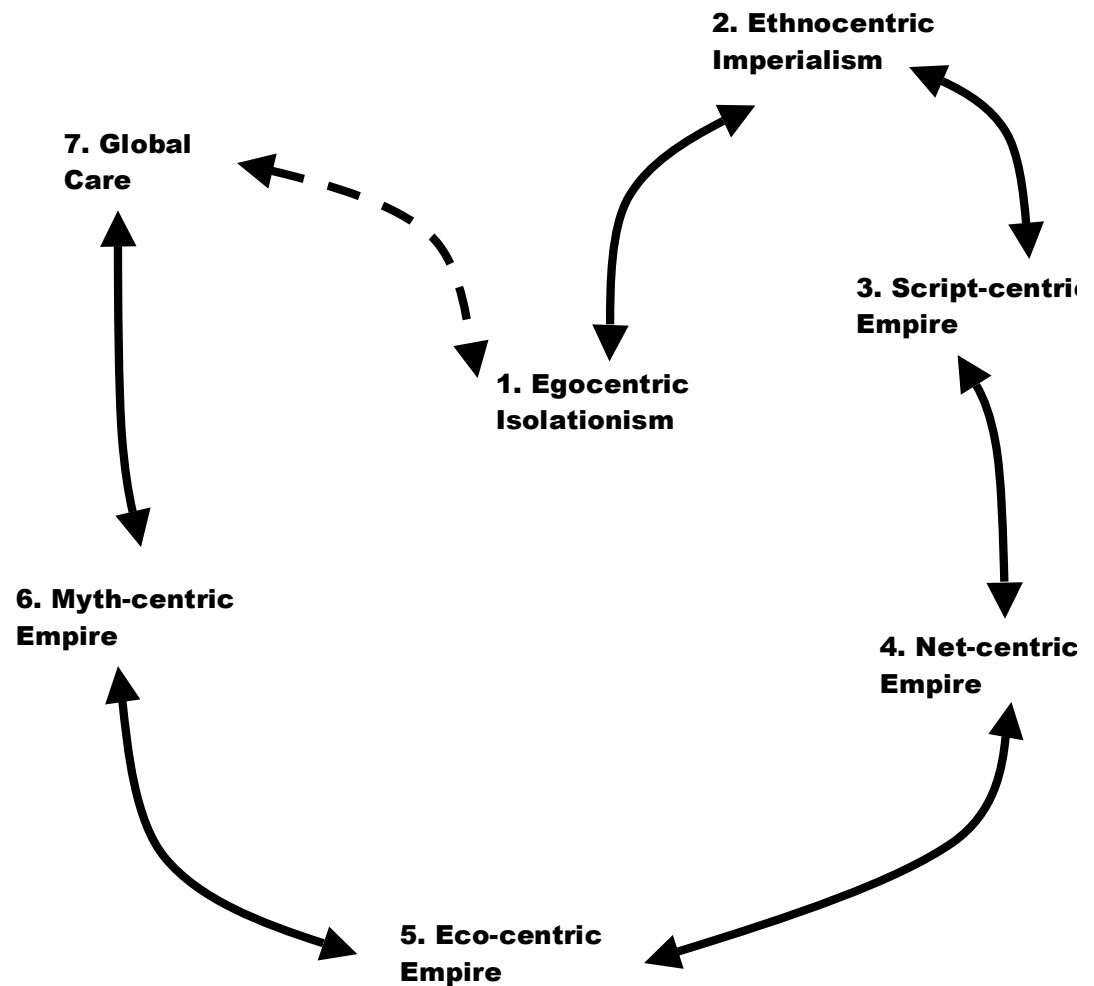
Stage 3 – Script-centric Empire - We rely here on Hardt and Negri's (2000) distinction between Imperialism (such as Greek, Roman, Spanish, & British) and what becomes Empire (the post-WWII and post-Cold War U.S. Empire). The duality between Stage 2 and 3 is whether to consume by colonizing or to govern the world. Modernity causes a fragmentation of the life world, and there is a struggle to incorporate the many social fragments into some kind of universal pluralism, but democratic imperialism is still stuck between the stages of oligarchy and tyranny. With industrialized economy, modernity has delivered the world from slavery, and released women from patriarchy in order to work in the factories, and oligarchy rules. There is only dim awareness of pluralistic

social roles, or what I will call metascripts (the multiplicity of script fragments). In becoming aware of multiple scripts, such as the role of decaying Imperials or emerging Empire to govern the world, oligaric rules of trade, treatises and agreements become increasingly central to globalization. The Dominant script is still Imperial, but there are some vague visions between WWI and WWII of a "League of Nations" that would govern globally. After WWII, the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) begin as institutions. They will become increasingly dominant to the role relations in the script of Empire. Plato's oligarchy form of world governance dominates this stage, though there is still forced conversion by military conquest. New scripts are imagined, with more egalitarian, even democratic roles for Superpowers, in the dialectic of Empire and Counter-Empire. The world is still dominated by a mechanistic worldview. Counter-empire resists the dominant script of Empire, with new scripts.

Table 1 – Dualities Between and Within Stages of Becoming GlobalAware

Stages	Within Stage Duality	Between Stage Duality
1. Egocentric Isolationism	Humanism or Transcendence	1: 2 - Unity or Differentiation; 2: 3 – Consume or govern; 3:4 – Fragment or Integrate; 4:5 –Rational or enchantment; 5:6 – Mythic or Existential; 7:1 – Global Care or Egocentric;
2. Ethnocentric Imperialism	Our tribe or their tribe	
3. Script-centric Empire	Mechanistic or sociocentric	
4. Net-centric Empire	Rational or existential	
5. Eco-centric Empire	Male or female ecology view	
6. Myth-centric Empire	Mythic or Spiritual	
7. Global Care	Global or Emptiness duality versus nondual responsibility of local to whole world	

Stage 4 – Net-centric Empire - After some dim awareness of playing democratic global governance roles (the Devine right of Kings & Queens) in Imperialism and the sovereign right of oligaric transnational corporations in Empire, as corporate rule succeeds nation state rule, a new duality emerges, the worldview of mechanistic-rational science is opposed by the existentialist worldview. I call this the Net-centric stage since rational systems of network power (e.g. Foucault's panopticon) come to the forefront. Existentialists (e.g. Kierkegaard & Sartre) want to shift these maps into a view where neither nature nor transcendence (deities) is important; instead the world is a flattened network of idea systems and

perspectives, none of which (except the existentialist) has centrality. Hardt and Negri's (2000) book, *Empire*, is a good example of Net-centric view. They build upon the postmodern theory of Foucault's *carceral* network power, where instead of a sovereign center, as in the days of Egocentric or Ethnocentric Imperialism, there is increasingly a decentered map of Empire, criss-crossed by trade pacts such as NAFTA, FTAA, and institutions like WTO, and transnational alliances give institutions like IMF and WB a new role. This is of course the oligarchic governance that Plato envisioned (370 BCE). Hardt and Negri, however, glimpse the emergence of more postmodern forms of globalization, taking over from the duality of humanism or transcendence (stage 1), and our tribe or be damned (stage 2) and the centralized scripting sociometry (stage 3) of emerging Empire. It should be stressed here that Hardt and Negri (like Plato) point out the tendency to revert to Imperialism, on the part of the United States, something they see as cured by the year 2000. However, I would be remiss if I did not critique this view, that is, with the crisis of 9/11 (collapse of World Trade Towers), fear and panic gripped U.S. Empire, and it is now more Imperial than it was during the cold war battle for world domination in its battle with the former Soviet Union. Plato anticipates that democracy is just one more form of imperialism, and degenerates into its cousin, tyranny. Net-centric adopts the logic of systems theory, where the parts are fragmented integrated by relations, all without spiritual sentimentality. The monological gaze of rational-empiricism, now wed to systems theory, is countered by a call to reenchant the denatured world, which leads us to the emergence of the next stage of becoming GlobalAware. Surely there must be something more than simple fragmentation and location theories in what Wilber calls *flatland* (a land of locations without transcendence).

Stage 5 – Eco-centric Empire - The forces of this flatland Empire are opposed by many Counter-Empire alliances, one of which is most certainly ecology idea systems. The premise is the Empire operates in Ecology, and like Imperialisms before it, when those resources are destroyed or exhausted, then every Empire will collapse. This is still a disenchanted, highly rational view compatible with industrial science. In the Road to Bottom scenario, the planet's ecology can collapse, which will also spell doomsday for the human race. There main duality within the Eco-centric stage is between *Deep Ecology* (e.g. Murray Bookchin) and *Ecofeminism*. Ecofeminist is a revival of transcendent religions and spiritual practices that pre-date Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The philosophy of these goddess religions is that Mother Earth is the womb, and that human kind needs to learn to live in harmony with Mother Nature. Deep Ecology is a more male oriented ecology (certainly its major priests are male). Deep Ecology, like Ecofeminism wants to reenchant our appreciation of the earth. Whereas, Net-centric world view is very lateral in seeing relationships between institutions and corporations and nations,

it does not have the transcendent (reenchantment of Earth as spirit) that the Deep Ecology and Ecofeminists practice. This stage culminates in post-Fordist and post-industrial practices, where the grid of rational empirical science refuses the bid to give flatland a more transcendent dimension. Another stage opens up to accomplish reenchanting the ecology, this time by myth.

Stage 6 – Myth-centric Empire - Myth-centric is a reaction to reenchantment. It extends back to Plato, and the attempt to overcome the duality of the plane of immanence (rational-empiricism) and the transcendent (reenchanting nature). IN postmodern critiques of Enlightenment projects, there is still the motto of "no more myths." There is a move to return to the ancient archetypes, made popular by Jungian psychology, as well as the imperials of Aztecs, Greeks and Romans. Nature, however, in the Mythic is still disenchanted, into quite a rational interpretation of archetypes. The archetype maps (e.g. Myers-Briggs) are not very spiritual, although there are some attempts to make them so. In fact the battle between Mythic archetypes that are exceedingly rational maps and more spiritual maps becomes the major duality of this stage of becoming GlobalAware.

Stage 7 – Global Care – Global Care envisions a post-Empire worldview, a sense of sustainability and the obligation of rich to help poor, but it is certainly not realized in contemporary times. The causal understanding here comes from Western as well as Eastern philosophy (that later is more transcendent). An example from Western thought is William James "causal empiricism." The idea is to get at the root causes behind phenomenon, which takes on into a meditation on consciousness. In Eastern philosophy it is the search for a nondual consciousness, something that is anciently rooted in Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain traditions. In the West, William James radical empiricism is as close as one can get to a nondual concept of emptiness. This could be viewed as an Eastern mystic approach to existentialism that is to seeing existence as a vast nothingness (as Sartre writes about it). In East thought, the idea is to meditate to develop consciousness of an empty space, a self-reflection on seeing you observe the world, objects, nature, relations, and sensations. The idea is to see that the self is not an object, and that there is something (perhaps divine) witnessing this conscious space. It is an empty space that embraces the world, so that there is no separation between global and consciousness. A more pragmatic example is the think global and act local motto. The key duality is between Global and Empty consciousness. If you take this path, you become GlobalAware that what you do has consequence for Nature, your sentiments affect world sentiments, and your relation practices locally affect global practices.

From here it is easy, I think to repeat the cycle, beginning at stage one, and the duality is between nonduality and more egocentric narcissism. Figure 1 present a cycle model of the spiral of becoming GlobalAware, and at each stage, it is possible to revert to the previous duality battles.

In the next section we see how various stages of GlobalAware emerge in the history of Globalization. As we proceed we will deconstruct many of the dualities in Table 1.

Globalization and History

Globalization is not new, and it has changed over the centuries, and over the last few decades. Throughout the history of the world, merchant adventurers teamed up with generals, financiers, and politicians to control and some say, 'exploit' the global economy with "Free Trade Agreements." With the invention of computers and cell phones, there are changes in the technology of globalization, but the global race is still the same: how to amass wealth by creating "free" markets. The rules of the race and the awareness of costs and benefits have shifted dramatically.

History of Trading Empires – Let the global race begin. History records the first Europeans to establish free trade agreements in India since the fall of the Roman Empire were the Portuguese, landing at Calcutta in 1498, and led by Vasco da Gama; then came the British, who seeing Dutch firmly controlled the East Indies, focused their attention on India, seeing a way to out compete the Portuguese there.

Webview
The East India Trading Company
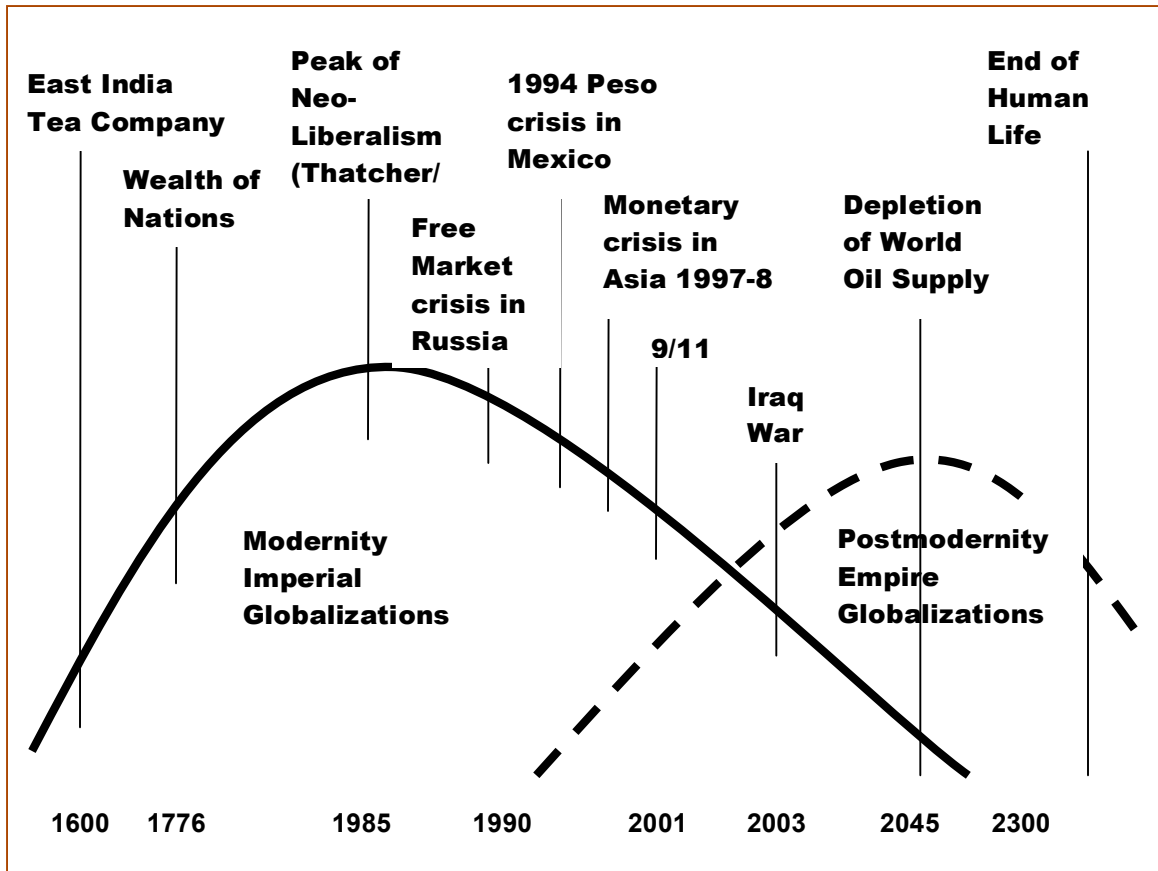http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/History/British/EAco.html

East India Trading Company - was among the early Merchant Adventurers promoting Free Trade and Globalization. This corporation founded Dec. 31 1600 under Queen Elizabeth I played the global race with much success for two and a half centuries, until it was dissolved in 1878. During its zenith, its corporate board of directors ruled over one hundred million people. It began as a monopoly of all trade (including slaves & spices with the East Indies. As the story goes, Sir Thomas Roe came to the court of Mughal Emperor Jahangir in 1615 and won the right to build a British factory at Surat. This was a time when the British Empire was gaining strength, especially in expanding trading operations in India, in comparison to the Spanish and Portuguese. Other trading corporations entered the global race. "In 1664, French finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert launched the French equivalent of the English East India Trading Company."[5] The French obtained a few cities such as Pondicherry and Chandernagore, and gradually expanded their trade. By 1740, however, this company's sales were only half those of the English East India Company.

The Dutch had their own East India Trading Company and attacked the Portugese, leaving them only Macao, Goa and the island of Mozambique. Between 1603 and 1799, the Dutch East India Company sailed 10 to 30 ships between Europe and Batavis (now Jakarta, Indonesia). Each ship carried approximately seven tons in gold and silver coins and ingots. The return voyage west was loaded with "precious objects of jade, mother of pearl, Chinese gold and the famous blue and white porcelain which was now 'all the rage' on the European market."[6] Then, between 1750 and 1850, the English ousted the Dutch, leaving them only Indonesia in their control. The East India Trading Company had a major success in 1717; a firman (royal dictat) from the Mughal Emperor exempted the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal. The East India Trading Company depended upon the military to sustain its trade practices. For example in the Battle of Plassey 1n 1757, British, under Robert Clive defeated the military forces of the Nawab of Bengal. Colonialism is a harsh part of globalization, and as native India states were annexed, the revenue policies worsened conditions for the Indian peasantry. This led to the Rebellion of 1857 *the Sepoy Mutiny). And in 1857, after almost two and half centuries, the East India Company was dissolved "despite a valiant defense of its purported achievements by John Stuart Mill" British colonialism continued in India. [7]The 1942 the great Bengal feminine killed 2 million people. That is when Gandhi started the "Quit India" movement.

Globalism, says the Imperial Race to Bottom storytellers, is a form of feudalism, a way for multinational corporations to take money out of other countries. In the birth of the USA, colonists fought for liberty, by boarding the East India shops, and throwing a Boston Tea Party. Colonists feared corporate power, and limited corporate life to a charter of 12 years; those times are gone. Now the corporation, while mentioned nowhere in the U.S. Constitution or the Bill of Rights, is considered a U.S. citizen. It was not always so. And it does not have to remain so. In Pennsylvania, Community Environmental Defense Fund is challenging the idea that the corporation is a citizen, in the courts.[8] New legislation restricting corporate rights is taking place in New Jersey.[9]

East India Tea Company

Wealth of Nations

Peak of Neo-Liberalism (Thatcher/

Free Market crisis in Russia

1994 Peso crisis in Mexico

Monetary crisis in Asia 1997-8

9/11

Iraq War

Depletion of World Oil Supply

End of Human Life

Modernity Imperial Globalizations

Postmodernity Empire Globalizations

1600   1776   1985   1990   2001   2003   2045   2300

Figure 2 – Rise and Fall of Globalization

Figure **2** is a Race to Bottom map charting the rise and fall of globalization ideologies and practices. It begins with the East India Trading Company (see section below), one of many global trading corporations that ruled trading empires). Adam Smith wrote the Wealth of Nations in 1776 at a time when the Spanish Imperial was collapsing and the British one was ascending. Globalization discourse reaches its peak around 1985 with the heyday of Margaret Thatcher (UK) and Ronald Reagan (U.S.) who advocate the doctrine of Neo-Liberalism (explained below. In 1989, the Berlin Wall began to crumble and collapsed. In 1990, Soviet Union collapsed, and U.S. Imperialism (not yet Empire) attained its zenith.

*"Let me tell you the basis of my optimism for our future. What has made the United States great is that ours has been an **empire of ideals**. The ideals of freedom, democracy, and a belief in the remarkable potential of the individual."* -- Ronald Reagan (*Wall Street Journal, 5/24/90,* p. A14, emphasis, mine).

Every Imperial and Empire collapses. The decline of Imperial globalization as a hegemonic discourse is marked by a series of crises such

as the 1990 Free Market reform crisis in Russia, the 1994 Peso crisis in Mexico, and the 1997-1998 financial market crisis in Asia. This is followed by the 9/11 2001 attack on the U.S. Pentagon and the collapse of the World Trade Towers (two dominant symbols of U.S.-style global capitalism). The Race to Bottom storyline is a doomsday plot in which the world's oil supply, despite the Iraq war (race for oil) runs dry, and somewhere about 2400 the planet's life-sustaining resources water and air, are so polluting no science-fix can save the final extinction of human kind. The counter-plot of Race to Top, is that through science of agribusiness, GMO, and even cloning life forms that live in more toxic conditions, humanity will survive the planet's transformation from natural to artificial habitat.

The dotted line in Figure 2 represents the failure of any Empire (defined as a counter-culture movement to Imperialisms) to save humankind form doomsday. Empire has its resistance, a Counter-Empire, a postmodern array of disparate social movements expressing such philosophies as simplicity (cutting back dependence on oil and other planetary resources), self-sustainability (living according to one's fair share of planetary resources), a number of allied peace and justice movements (espousing belief in fair trade, equality of trade, taking back democratic governance from corporate rule, & reducing the mega size of transnational corporations). In Race to Bottom, the opposing forces of Counter-Empire are no match for the resource predation of Empire. After a succession of Imperialisms, the struggle of Counter-Empire against Empire is too little too late.

Succession of Imperialisms   **Network Power Empires**

Babylonia/ Samaria 4000 BCE- 651 AD	Greek 700 BCE- 146 BCE	Roman 752 BCE- 700 AD	Spanish 1492- 1714	British 1700- 1997	Japan/ Germany 1930s 1945	U.S. Empire 1950- 2075	Counter- Empire 1960s- Now
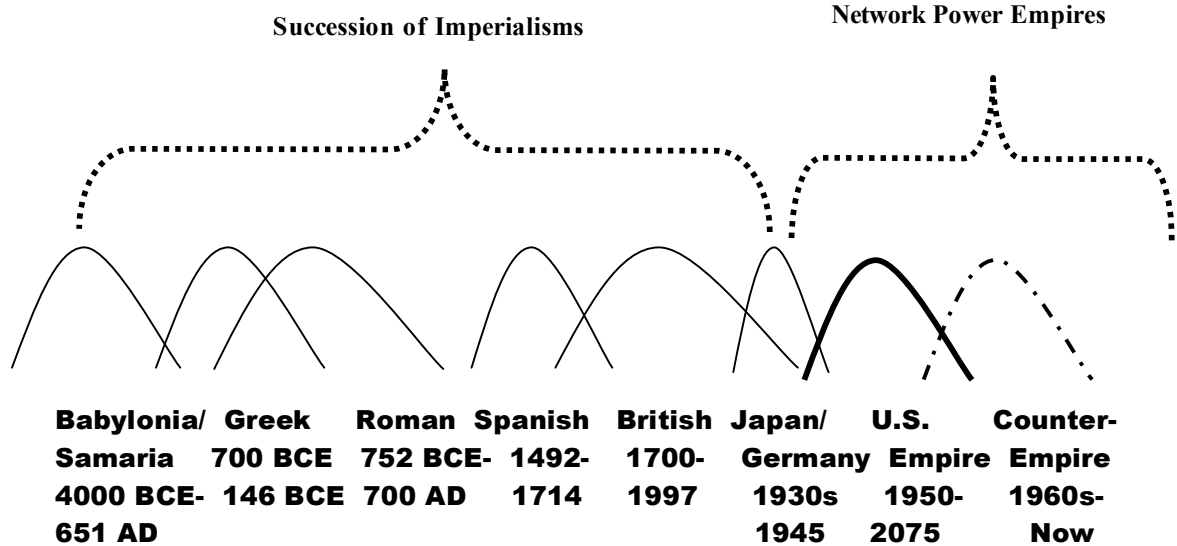
Figure 3 – Succession of Global Imperialisms & U.S. Empire

Figure 3 gives you an historical map to contextualize the current U.S. Empire, as one of a long line of Imperialisms. Each Imperial and Empire (& counter-Empire) has a delicate balance with the ecological resources that are coveted and traded throughout its colonies and allied nations. In each wave of globalization, these Imperials and Empires collapse when they outstrip the carrying capacity of earth resources. 2075 is a commonly predicted date of U.S. Empire collapse, as this is when the world's oil supply is depleted. You can get some sense of the timelines of Imperials and Empires in Webview.

Webview
Imperial timelines
Babylon - http://www.internews.org/visavis/BTVPagesTXT/Timelines2.html
Babylon - http://www.math.uvic.ca/courses/math415/Math415Web/meso/mtime.html
Greek - http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/landmarks/ancientgreece/timeline/
Roman - http://www.dalton.org/groups/Rome/RMap.html
British - http://www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/timeline.htm

Babylonia/Samaria Imperialisms – Imperials and empires have risen and fallen in succession since Free Trade began with the Babylonians and Samarians around 4000 BCE. In 3500 BCE Upper Egypt consolidated. In 1230 theExodus of the Israelites; Moses; the Ten Commandments. 333-330 BC Alexander the Great of Macedonia campaigns against Achaemenian Empire under Darius III. In 323 BCE Alexander dies in Babylon. 651 AD Death of Yazdagird III, end of Sassanian Imperial. Both

Imperials stripped the lands through overgrazing and deforestation, until the ecology could no longer sustain their enterprises.

Greek Imperial – About 750 BCE, Homer writes Iliad and Odyssey. "Plato complained of the ecological devastation in the area of Attica" (Kötke, 1993: 1). 508 BCE democracy begins in Athens. The Greek mainland was deforested to build war ships, the soil from the hills washed down onto the deforested terrain. Again, empire exhausted its environmental resources and collapsed. In 146 BCE Rome conquers Greece and incorporates it into its Imperial.

Roman Imperial – Rome was founded by Romulus in 752 BCE. Roman Imperial is series of uprisings, such as the 73-71 BCE slave uprising led by Spartacus. Julius Caesar was assassinated 15 March 44 BCE. The Roman Imperial colonized areas of North Africa for its "bread basket" until the ecology was destroyed. The Roman Empire like the Greek one exploited North Africa as the mainstay of its "bread basket" (Kötke, 1993: 22). There were 600 colonial cities from Egypt to Morocco that provided the Roman Imperial with two thirds of its wheat. In 451 AD, there is an alliance of Romans and barbarians that defeat Attila the Hun on the Catalaunian Plans in Gaul. In 455 vandals sack Rome and in 476 AD the last Roman emperor abdicates, and Britain, Spain, most of Gaul and North Africa is abandoned.

Spanish Imperial – The Spanish Imperial begins slowly with Christopher Columbus' voyage to Americas in 1492. It spreads in 1516 with the death of Fernando of Aragon, whereupon the Spanish Crown goes to Charles I of Spain and V of Germany; they unite under a single Imperial-sceptre the Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, plus the Italian and European dominions of the Habsburgs. The Spanish set about the conquest of Native Americans, including enslavement and genocide under the conquistadors. There is a Northern Renaissance in early 1500s, which meant the importation of Italian humanist ideas into northern Europe and calls for church reform. The Spanish Imperial collapse begins in 1700 with death of Charles II and war of Spanish succession breaks out. The war ends in 1714, when France imposes Philip V of Anjou; Spain also loses to Belgium, Luxemburg, Milan, Naples, Sardina, Minorca, & Gibraltar.

As empire begins to exhaust its own core resources, there is an explosion of colonies and conquest (oftentimes war) to compensate. As the colonies' ecology is devastated and its carrying capacity exceeded the empire implodes and collapses.

A typical mantra is "progress" seems to be "regress." These are the key issue

- No Job Security in empire
- No Health Benefits in empire
- Gender Discrimination accompanies empire
- Union Busting comes with empire
- Environmental Destruction comes with empire
- State Spying on citizens comes with empire
- State Violence against citizens comes with empire
- Landless Population of indigenous creates cheap labor of empire
- De-Democratization of nations critical to empire global control
- Increased Poverty insures cheap labor pool for empire
- When planetary resources exhausted, empires collapse

In Race to Bottom, there are three interest groups: the Resisters, the Reformers, and the Nation-Statists.

Webview
What are three interest groups in Race to Bottom?
http://www.cafod.org.uk/policy/globalisationandcritics200301.pdf

Globalization and Three Counter-Empire Movements

There are three strands to the Counter-Empire movement:[10]

- **Rejectionists** see G8, GATT, WTO, FTAA, NAFTA, IMF, and WB as failed governance institutions that need to be decommissioned and abandoned as hopeless. The Race to Bottom is a rigged game, and cannot be fixed. Rejectionists believe that corporate profit interests will always supercede all humanitarian and environmental interests.
- **Reformists** believe that through greater participation by excluded Third World nations and excluded voices of labor and environment, the global governance institutions can be reformed, and a better system of global governance will be achieved. In this way the Race can be played by rules that are fair to all nations.
- **Nation Statists** - contend that balance in globalization between rejection and reform can be achieved by rebuilding the role of the nation state and by implementing the "Small is Beautiful" philosophy of E. F. Schumacher, that became popularized in the Simplicity Movement. It is like allowing the local races to continue with the global race. Statists include a return to Adam Smith's idea that corporations should be small, and locally accountable players; this is part of the movement to decharter corporations which are

anti-community, popularized by David Korten. It is like red-tagging corporations who do not play by fair race rules.

Globalization and Neo-Liberalism Worldview

Neo-Liberalism and Globalization - The 1980s saw the rise of Neo-Liberalism as a Globalization ideology. Neo-Liberalism became the favorite story of Empire's Race to Top storytellers" 'You entered the race, and made the bet that increased international economic integration of markets through privatization, outsourcing, and deregulation is the world's best hope for the world to alleviate poverty and starvation.' Neo-Liberalism was not always so popular.

In the early post-WWII climate of unions, job protection, and safeguards neo-liberalism was a radical idea. People still remembered the horrors of the depression, and preferred that government keep a close eye on markets and marketers. Neo-liberalism, by contrast, viewed everything as a tradable commodity and preferred unrestricted borders, harmonized food and product standards, trade free of tariffs free of government interference, where not only products, but capital is freely traded. Those were the rules of the Neo-Liberal race.

If you subscribe to Imperial Race to Bottom, then you will need your Orwellian language decoder to deconstruct several terms. "Neo" means we are talking about a new kind of liberalism; it is better phrased as conservative economics liberalism. The Corporate Watch Webview summarizes the main elements of Neo-Liberalism, decoding the Orwellian-speak:[11]

1. THE RULE OF THE MARKET. Liberating "free" enterprise or private enterprise from any bonds imposed by the government (the state) no matter how much social damage this causes. Greater openness to international trade and investment, as in NAFTA. Reduce wages by de-unionizing workers and eliminating workers' rights that had been won over many years of struggle. No more price controls. All in all, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. To convince us this is good for us, they say "an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone." It's like Reagan's "supply-

side" and "trickle-down" economics -- but somehow the wealth didn't trickle down very much.

2. CUTTING PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES like education and health care. REDUCING THE SAFETY-NET FOR THE POOR, and even maintenance of roads, bridges, water supply -- again in the name of reducing government's role. Of course, they don't oppose government subsidies and tax benefits for business.

3. DEREGULATION. Reduce government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job.

4. PRIVATIZATION. Sell state-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors. This includes banks, key industries, railroads, toll highways, electricity, schools, hospitals and even fresh water. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs.

5. ELIMINATING THE CONCEPT OF "THE PUBLIC GOOD" or "COMMUNITY" and replacing it with "individual responsibility." Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of health care, education and social security all by themselves -- then blaming them, if they fail, as "lazy."

How to sell the idea of Neo-Liberalism? It takes some heavy marketing of Empire's Race to Top storyline, to attain what Italian Marxist theorist, Antonio Gramsci, called, cultural hegemony. "If you can occupy peoples' heads, their hearts and their hands will follow" (see Webview on Neo-Liberalism).

Selling the public on Neo-Liberalism required a brilliant marketing plan backed by millions of ad dollars. It was successful, since most people of the X-generation believe that Neo-Liberalism is inevitable, that unprotected markets are a natural condition of the world economy.

"No matter how many disasters of all kinds the neo-liberal system has visibly created, no matter what financial crises it may engender, no matter how many losers and outcasts it may create, it is still made to seem inevitable, like an act of God, the only possible economic and social order available to us."[12]

How did Neo-Liberalism begin? Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, and undertook the neo-liberal sales campaign in Britain. In the U.S., Ronald Reagan became the chief sales barker for Neo-Liberalism between 1977 and 1988. Income inequalities grew, but people held tight to the Race

to the Top storyline. For example, "In 1977, the top 1 percent of American families had average incomes 65 times as great as those of the bottom 10 percent. A decade later, the top 1 percent was 115 times as well off as the bottom decile" (Susan, 1999 – see Webview – What is Neo-Liberalism?).

The Imperial Race to Bottom storyline grew in number of supporters. In the 1980s it became obvious to many economists that trade liberalization meant small farmers in developing countries were hit hard by dumping of subsidized food imports from the U.S. and European Union (EU) -- (Griffith, 2002: 7).

Environmentalist saw the reversal of decades of environmental protections for endangered species, and old growth forests. A growing number of activist groups began to challenge the empirical flimsiness of the case for Neo-Liberal "free trade" (see www.ethicaltrade.org). Authors such as Jeremy Rifkin presented the base against the Biotechnology era, Naomi Klein's *No Logo* book became a best seller. The ideology of the "race to the top" combined tax incentives with labor market suppression, to attract nomadic transnational corporate factory contracts. The storyline became increasingly challenged by labor, and by the strongest student organizing movement since the Vietnam War, the United Students Against Sweatshops movement in the U.S. and the Clean Clothes Campaign in Europe. It became apparent, to advocates of the Race to Bottom storyline, that free trade resulted in more inequity between weaker and stronger nations; which proved the Social Darwin thesis, as the poverty increases became measurable.

Continuous Crisis in Globalization - The Reagan-Thatcher case for Neo-Liberalism needed more and more advertising dollars to forestall popular disbelief. It was an easy sell in the mid-1980s, but a hard sell in the mid-1990s, and quite hard to sell in the post 9/11 era. Still the Race to Top storyline had lots of buyers. The 1990s gave its critics visible markers of the consequences of Neo-Liberalism ideology:

- 1990 Free Market reform crisis in Russia
- 1994 Peso crisis in Mexico
- 1997-1998 financial market crisis in Asia

By late 1990s, the transorganizational governance bodies (IMF, WB, G8, & WTO) began to capitulate, and softened a bit, the fundamentalist allegiance to Race to Top rules of trade. For example the 1998 G8 Birmingham summit put debt on its governance agenda. In 1999, the IMF committed to 2015 targets that would have world poverty. Two Nobel wining economists were critical of the Neo-Liberalism Free Market Globalization ideology (Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize in 2001; & Amartya

Sen, Nobel Prize in 1998). To get to the point, there were significant hegemonic shifts, in the rules of Free Market trade, and in the governance institutions dialog. And in the 2002 Annual Meetings of WB and IMF, the delegates admitted that the age of Neo-Liberalism fundamentalism concerning Free Trade and Globalization was over. There were also shifts in the Race to Bottom adherents.

In post-911, the Race to Bottom storytellers experienced a hegemonic shift. Few cared about the race. The anti-globalization movement lost the center stage to the Peace movement.

The Race to Bottom resistors and reformers once again entered the global stage. The November 2003 meetings of the FTAA began to see a unification of Peace and anti-Globalization groups and agendas. The convergent issue was how militarism and war were used to further corporate wealth acquisition in the Race to Bottom.

The questions for contemporary debate:

1. How sustainable is global governance by institutions such as IMF, WB, and WTO?
2. Should debts of the poorest developing nations be forgiven?
3. Will FTAA succeed NAFTA?
4. What is globalization when 1/5th of humanity (1.2 billion people) survive on less than a dollar a day; when 2,000 small farmers committed suicide in India, unable to escape the consequences of globalization?

In sum, the two storylines, Empire Race to Top and Imperial Race to Bottom resonate with different constituencies. There has been a shift between Fair Market protection after the Great Depression to Free Market Neo-Liberalism in the age of Thatcher and Reagan. Through massive advertising dollars the current generation believes Neo-Liberalism Free Market Globalization is the natural, god-given state. Social Darwinism of the 1800s reasserted its popularity in the 1980s and 1990s. With the Asian, Mexico, and Russian financial crises, the grip of Neo-Liberalism as the only globalization ideology lessened. Globalization has undergone a hegemonic power shift, in its popularity, and in the receptivity of transorganizational governance bodies such as WTO, IMF and WB to ignore popular opinion. People are making these institutions more accountable and turning out in larger numbers to protest G8, FTAA, IMF, WB, and WTO meetings. The public is demanding less secrecy, more transparency, and more equal participation by the less developed nations. There is a call form more rigorous empirical study of the side-effects of Neo-Liberalism globalization. Corporations such as Nike, Wal-Mart, and

Gap have become global brands, and visible symbols for the anti-globalization movement.

Globalization and Carnivals of Counter-Empire Resistance

The Imperial Race to Bottom storytellers have quite a postmodern assortment of participants, everything from Turtle to Tree lovers, and anti-war rebels to union workers (e.g. www.flfairtrade.org and International Forum on Globalization IFG www.ifg.org/)

Figure 3 presents a map of some of the Empire and Counter-Empire players. The map represents an important dialectic of opposing networking forces. The solid lines indicate direct working relationships and the dotted ones more informal affiliations. The depicted Empire organizations network into *transorganizational networks*. A *transorganizational network* is an informal or more formal alliance around a particular issue, in this case, Free Market trade as a passage way to Race to the Top. There is a jagged line blurring the boundary between Empire and Counter-Empire.

Counter-Empire is a bunch of transorganizational networks connecting local networking organizations, such as *PeaceAware*, to national and international networking organizations, such as International A.N.S.W.E.R., Move-On, International Workers Rights, United for Peace and Justice, USAS (United Students Against Sweatshops), and Food Not Bombs. Each of these transorganizations encourages local affiliation of volunteers to participate in their activism. Activism can range from doing teach-ins, marches, to letter writing campaigns, petition drives, and protests at annual meetings of Empire institutions such as WTO, FTAA, World Bank, and IMF (International Monetary Fund).

There are many other Empire and Non-Empire transorganizational networks, too many to list here. The question you can discuss, is what are the local peace, justice, and environmental Counter-Empire groups in your community?

Empire
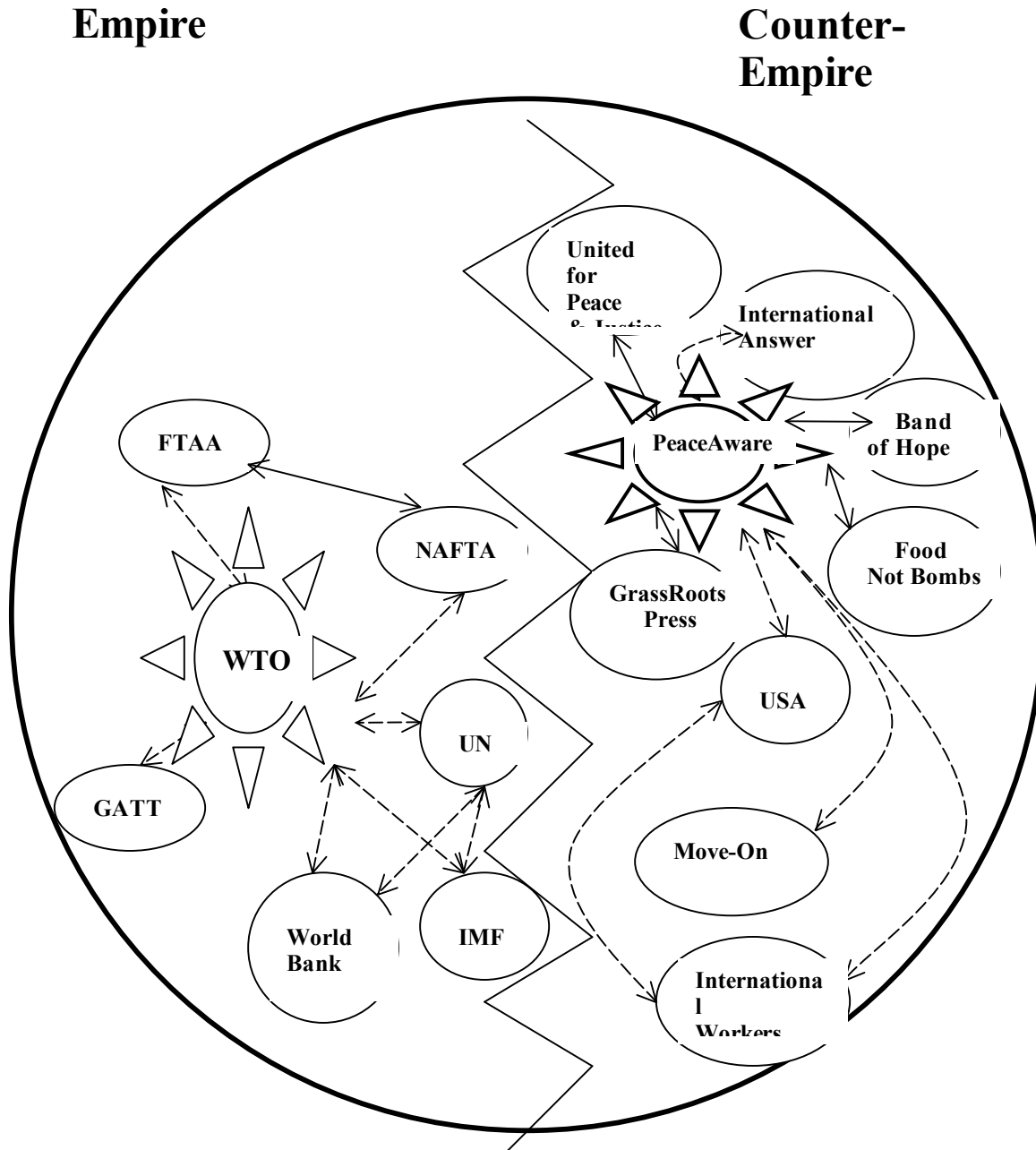
Counter-Empire

Figure 4 – Empire and Counter-Empire Transorganizational Networking

Who are the Counter-Empire Players? The Counter-Empire movement is not one movement, it is many movements, and their coalition behavior has undergone profound shifts in composition and strategy between 1980 and 2003. While there is a growing consensus that child labor needs to be addressed, that poverty can be alleviated with a living wage and that corporations need to heed environmental limits – there are numerous divisive differences over issues of how to deal with terrorism, war, and the

ecological consequences attributed to Empire. There is a good deal of networking between global and local, as represented in Figure 4.

More on a Local Counter-Empire Example - *PeaceAware* is a *transorganizational network*, facilitating coalitions in its network of 28 groups and organizations interested in Peace, Justice & Environment awareness issues in southern New Mexico. *PeaceAware* is one of many such transorganizations that are working to take back American democracy from corporate rule and militarism (for listing of more transorganizational examples, see Webview). *PeaceAware* has direct relationships to United for Peace and Justice, Band of Hope, USAS, and Food Not Bombs. It has more loosely coupled ill-defined relations to International A.N.S.W.E.R. and Move-On. All of the national and international Counter-Empire transorganizations want to encourage participative relations in terms of social action and fund-raising with local coalitions such as *PeaceAware*.

Webview
PeaceAware link
http://peaceaware.com
Transorganizational Link
http://peaceaware.com/transorg.shtml

I lead *PeaceAware* and co-organize local actions with an activist named Anne Wing. Anne founded the local chapter of *Food Not Bombs* and a *Global Exchange* initiative called "*Code Pink*." *PeaceAware* co-sponsors a local community newspaper called *GrassRoots Press*. Steve Klinger the editor is a member of *PeaceAware's* Steering Committee.

A key concern in the opposition of Empire is the corporate control over newspaper, radio and TV chains. The corporate press tends to undercount Counter-Empire event turnout, report it in quite an Empire-biased manner, or just not report it all. Alternative media outlets such as Common Dreams, Alternet, and Indy Media have emerged as Counter-Empire and alternative media to what is available in corporate media (See next Webview for list of scores of alternative media, including postmodern theorist Douglas Kellner's blog).

Webview
Alternative Media link
http://peaceaware.com/links_for_peace.htm
Douglas Kellner's blog
http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/courses/ed253a/blogger.php

PeaceAware has many more local and international affiliates (some 28 local groups and organizations are on the *PeaceAware* Advisory Board). *PeaceAware* coalition organizations put one weekly Peace and Justice vigils in front of the Federal Building on Church Street. There are thousands of such vigils being held in communities around the world (click

on Webview to find photos, peace poetry, essays written by community members).

PeaceAware is a transorganizing hub that is an example of other transorganizational networking occurring in communities around the world. Dealing with the preferences and consequences of globalization, and trade agreements on local economies is an activity that mobilizes millions of people. Before the Iraq War, millions of people worldwide turned out to protest the war on March 20 2003.

Webview
Resistance in India to Globalization
November 27th, 2003 - Vandana Shiva, Indian Scientist and Leading Critic of Corporate Globalization
http://www.archive.org/download/dn2003-1127/dn2003-1127-1.mp3

Local Organizing in India - In non-violent trade "You do not destroy your lives to trade you look after yourself first…" Peasant economy means food first, before exporting the most precious items. Trade until the beginning of colonialism was by mutual agreement. "If what you have is really good you can sell it without any brute force…" - Vandana Shiva, Indian scientist (see Webview).[13]

Who Are the Empire Players?

Figure 4 lists some of the Empire players. The Road to Top and Road to Bottom players meet to persuade their audiences in the annual meetings of global governance institutions (such as GATT, G8, NAFTA, FTAA, WB, IMF & WTO).

WTO - The World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed April 15, 1994. It includes agreements on trade-related intellectual property rights that are being opposed by a variety of activist groups seeking a voice in the trade agreements. Activists challenge GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, the WTO and the U.S. Empire's system of global trade, fronted by military invasion that enriches multinational corporations as it drives down environmental and labor standards around the world.

Monsanto Corporation is trying to persuade US and Canadian farmers to accept genetically engineered wheat, which no other countries will accept. Monsanto has taken a patent on wheat strain from India, forcing India to buy back their seed-knowledge. Is this modern day piracy? 20,000 farmers committed suicide, due to sale of expensive seeds and chemicals. Monsanto sells through the India companies they buy up, with pictures of India Gods, e.g. the Monkey God sells Monsanto as life giving mythology; god bringing you ultimate deliverance from poverty.

1n 1999, the WTO meeting collapsed into chaos, amidst what has been dubbed "the Battle for Seattle."

WTO talks among 134 member nations, in Cancun (Sep. 12-14 2003), collapsed after strong pressure of protest groups seeking to expose undemocratic and illegitimate mechanisms of corporate globalization.[i] "At 2:00pm on Sunday, Sep. 14, 2003, Dr Mukhisa Kituyi, Kenya's Trade and Industry Minister, entered the lobby of the Cancun convention center to announce that the 5th Ministerial meeting of World Trade Organization (WTO) had collapsed." [ii] The WTO is seen by the rejectionists as the mow powerful and most secretive global governance institution on earth.   In 1999, tens of thousands of people converged on Seattle to expose the real agenda behind "free trade" devastating the environment and eroding basic rights, protections, and services for the vast majority of the world's population.

According to Counter-Empire groups globalization promises progress and economic development, but seems instead to erode human rights, lower wages overseas, and decrease workers' rights at home, limit democracy, and erode environmental protection.

FTAA - Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) - met November 20-21 2003 in Miami, Florida. Again the pressure groups alleged that global governace decisions benefited multinational corporations at the expense of people and the environment. $8.5 million from the U.S. Iraq reconstruction bill went to pay for police in Miami.

In a posting to the Globalization Research Center, "Is anyone out there?!! Does anyone care about something other than themselves? What is the use of all this information if no one is willing to share it? Where were your clothes made? How much did you spend on them and how much did the person creating these clothes get paid? Do people even care about the exploitation of others in another part of the world? Does anyone even read these messages on this lame ass bulletin board? Obviously not!! You're all slaves to the systems you embrace. Wake up people and smell the coffee. Corporations would rather ruin some poor bastards' life than pay them a real wage to live on."[14]

GATT - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was first signed Oct. 30, 1947. The workings of the GATT agreement are the responsibility of the Council for Trade in Goods (Goods Council) which is made up of representatives from all World Trade Organization (WTO)

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[i] For more on WTO see http://www.ifg.org/analysis/wto/aboutwto.htm
[ii] http://www.ifg.org/

member countries. GATT includes trade related intellectual property rights agreements that give monopoly over life itself.

Financial Global Governance Institutions - The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created at the Bretton Woods Meetings in 1944, where finance ministers from the countries emerging victorious from WWII met to design a new architecture for the modern international economy. The Bank was set up to help rebuild war-torn Europe, but soon thereafter turned its focus to the "underdeveloped" world to bring poor countries into the international economy.

Debate continues: what should be the role of WB and IMF in today's global economy. Critics would like to see both the Bank and the IMF decommissioned. On the other hand, the U.S. government proposes expanding their role.

The Race to Bottom storytellers say that WTO, FTAA, World Bank, and IMF meet behind closed doors, deciding the fate of Third World countries, while outside participation happens amidst police dressed like Star Wars Storm Troopers. As this storyline goes, the WTO and FTAA are organized for the benefit of highly privileged transnational corporations at the expense of most of the world's population and the environment.

But to the Imperial Race to Top storytellers, WTO and FTAA are globalization governance, and those in the streets are trying to stop progress? In the interest of corporate control, the poor and environment suffer, but small price for progress; each developed nation was once undeveloped.

The debate rages. The Race to Bottom storytellers, say the Neo-Liberalism model of globalization is mega-corporate expansion through militarism, in the name of "free trade."

The Race to Bottom model for resistance and reform is to establish and protect local "fair market trade" form predatory transnational corporate greed. Can self-reliance and autonomy of sustainable communities be established when the mindset is "Free Markets" unrestrained by government interference is the way to go.

The Race is changing. In communities throughout the world, people organize a global uprising for peace and justice. Race to Bottom storytellers see some kind of connection between militarism, and free trade. Much of this is carnivalesque, with street theatre, puppets, signs, satire, and parody. In Mexico, a coalition of groups - comprising labor unions, farmers and other non-government organizations – on Sept 14

2003 burnt a banner reading "No WTO" and "Stop Free Trade" at the end of their forum on the impact of the world trade body on the poor. Some resistance to WTO and FTAA is more tragic. Lee Kyung-hae, a Korean farmer committed suicide in front of the conference hall in Cancun, Mexico, on the first day of the WTO meeting in 2003. In grotesque irony, Kyung-hae carried a placard which read ``WTO Kills Farmers,'' before stabbing himself.

In Thailand, local farmers say they would be hurt by "Free Trade" when cheap, imported farm products were dumped on the market. The government had already agreed to lift tariffs on 23 items including potatoes, soybean, corn, coffee beans, coconut and palm oil. Thai activists September 14 2003 burned a placard bearing the World Trade Organization's logo in Bangkok, expressing solidarity with anti-globalization protesters as the world trade talks in Mexico went into their final day.

Giles Ungpakorn, a political science lecturer at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand says "Suicide is not the answer, but mobilising our strength is… We must abandon our old ways of separating and fighting. Now is the time to fight together against our common enemy - free trade."[15]

As the peace and anti-war movements combine, the Race to Bottom story takes on new twists and plots. For example, "Advocates for corporate globalization are descending on the remains of Iraq to divide up the spoils of war even as the body count grows higher.[iii] But the Bush regime's "good news" media offensive, its blatant censorship,[iv] and fake letters to home from GIs can't obscure the realities on the ground. U.S. military morale is low and the Iraqi occupation is starting to be reminiscent of Vietnam."[v]

Living in a transorganizational world

GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, WTO, The World Bank, and IMF are transorganizational governance institutions.

The transorganizational world also includes major transnational corporations, the former Enron, plus Bechtel, Halliburton, Wal-Mart, General Electric, Monsanto, and a hundred more. Many have revenues higher that gross national product of nation states. These powerful and

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[iii] See Iraq Body Count at http://www.iraqbodycount.net/
[iv] Censorship – see http://wmass.indymedia.org/otherpress/display/51
[v] Source of quote Source http://indymedia.org/on Oct 30 2003

wealthy transnational corporations are able to influence and benefit from the trade policies of the transorganizational institutions, the GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, WTO, WB and IMF. Together this transorganizational network of institutions and transnational corporations affects the daily lives of 6,333,168,366 people (6.3 billion) as of 12/01/03.

We are living in a transorganizational world, one that is part of the newest empire.

According to the Global Policy Forum, "Throughout history, adventurers, generals, merchants, and financiers have constructed an ever-more-global economy. Today, unprecedented changes in communications, transportation, and computer technology have given the process new impetus. As globally mobile capital reorganizes business firms, it sweeps away regulation and undermines local and national politics. Globalization creates new markets and wealth, even as it causes widespread suffering, disorder, and unrest. It is both a source of repression and a catalyst for global movements of social justice and emancipation."

Webview
Empire and Aids
http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=17281

Aids and Globalization

Joanne Mariner writes, "Here are some numbers to consider: 14 million, 35.9 billion, and 1. The first is an estimate of the number of people who will die of AIDS and other treatable diseases over the course of the coming year, most of them in the poor countries of the developing world. The second figure represents the combined 2002 profits, in dollars, of the 10 biggest pharmaceutical companies listed in Fortune magazine's annual review of America's largest businesses. The third figure corresponds to the number of countries that, last week, voted against a U.N. resolution on access to drugs in global epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. The resolution emphasized that the failure to deliver life-saving drugs to millions of people who are living with HIV/AIDS constitutes a global health emergency. One hundred sixty seven countries voted in favor of the resolution. The single vote against it was cast by the United States."

Welcome to Empire - Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's book is titled, *Empire* (2000). TO BE CONTINUED ----

Water privatization is at the heart of the new empire. E.g. in Iraq occupation, the reconstruction was a multi billion contract to Bechtel, for a water contract.

In response to Empire, is a postmodern mishmash of squabbling, discordandent groups ranging from United Students Against Sweatshops, Clean Clothes Campaign, to environmental groups such as People for Ethical Treatment of Animals, and the peace movement, such as International A.N.S.W.E.R., Move-On, etc. Carnivalesque overflows as imaginative differences turn the streets outside WTO, FTAA, WB, and IMF meetings into street theatre, into satire and chaotic patterns of defiance mixed with anarchy and deviance, nudity and chanting.

Bush administration is on a reckless quest for empire, combining the global might of the United States military with the global reach of massive corporations. . WTO rules provide a "security exception" that protects and fosters weapons manufacture and the arms trade. Basic worker and consumer rights and environmental protections could be jettisoned as "unfair barriers to trade."

Hypercompetitiveness – Hypercompetitiveness results from the fear of losing to the competition, it can be come so great that every strategy and tactic is used to disable and destroy one's competitors. In globalism, hypercompetitiveness is accompanied by the fear of losing to the competition, so international organizations such as WTO and FTAA are set up to control competitive urges by working out agreements between heads of state and heads of multinational corporations.

Globalization and Social Outcomes

In the global world, gender inequality and indebtedness allow wealth to be concentrated in the hands of a few fat cats. The corporate agenda implemented by the WTO and FTAA pits worker against worker and nation against nation in a race to the bottom.

People are addicts to globalization. It is harder to persuade communities to be self-sufficient, to resist the Wal-Mart Superstore, the inevitable arrival of Home Depot, Best Buy, and Office Max, Wal-Mart is a nomad, locaing in a thriving community, then lowing its prices to drive competitors out of business, providing sweatshop goods until such time as the level of community wages drops to the point that customers can no longer afferd to buy goods. The Wal-Mart wages lower community wage level, so Wal-Mart must move along, closing its Superstore, opening a new one elsewhere, and repeating a cycle that defines the globalization tragedy, the "Wal-Mart effect." When Wal-Mart moves out, small business open up, the community rebalances, to become self-sufficient, wages increase. The

Wal-Mart scouts report the harvest, and the Superstore makes plans to move back in; the community resists, but has a short memory; the promise of more jobs and lower prices for consumers is too great a temptation, and the cycle begins again.

Privatization means the shift of activities from the government and nonprofit sectors to the market. It may take the form of the sale of public (or non-profit) sector assets to private companies or the contracting out of services previously supplied by public employees… The privatization wave over the past twenty years is rooted in increased corporate power. This growth, based partly on greater capital mobility, has led to renewed aggressiveness by business, political successes (including the elections of Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and neo-liberals widely), and a parallel weakening of labor.[16]

Globalizing for the Successful Organization

The success of an organization -- whether it be a transnational corporation, a global governance institution like the WTO, or a activist movement like Sweatshop Watch -- depends in large part on how its people are organized and how they relate to one another, to clients and customers and to other associated people. In short, the behaviour of people in an organization or transorganization or an activist movement contributes to the ability achieve its ends. As the next scenario (8.1 Wal-Mart – see appendix) indicates, the management of success often begins with the successful management of organizational behavior.

Studying Activist Organizing against Globalism

The Managerialist or Mainstream Approach: The study of globalization developed from an interest by business managers in improving trade practices, gaining market efficiency and profitability. It is a managerialist or mainstream approach, taking the view of globalization of the manager.

Alternative Approaches to the Study of Globalization

A Post-Empire World Is Possible

In Counter-Empire people are make a choice to exit the world of militarism and transnational control of democracy. Students are making a choice to be

in solidarity with workers in countries around the globe. Choices are being made to unplug from the Empire matrix, and engage in simplicity living, go literally go off-the-power grid and live in ways not dependent upon Empire. They seek to bring about a Post-Empire world.

Today Empire globalization is a well-established discipline throughout business schools in North America, Europe and other parts of the world. As a business school discipline, globalization has remained primarily concerned with a managerialist focus on how to manage workers in other nations to attain the highest levels of performativity. Nonetheless, in recent years, a number of new postmodern theories of globalization in have developed into schools of thought that focus on different areas of concern. The new schools of thought include critical postmodernism and postcolonial theory and have contributed to a broader understanding of the consequences of globalization.

The Postmodern and Critical Postmodern Approach: Beginning with the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000), more critical postmodern approach than the typical postmodern theory of Lyotard, Derrida, and Baudrillard began to be applied to globalization and Empire. Work by Steve Best and Douglas Kellner (1993, 1997) helped to begin to differentiate various theories of postmodernism, from more critical postmodern approaches. Work in organization studies has followed the work of particular postmodern and critical postmodern philosophers in ways.

Webview
What is Critical Postmodern Theory?
Study Guide
http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/pages/what_is_critical_postmodern.htm

Best & Kellner On Line
Best, Steve & Douglas Kellner - Kevin Kelly's Complexity Theory: The Politics and Ideology of Self-Organizing Systems http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/best7.htm
Best, Steve & Douglas Kellner - Preface. The Postmodern Turn: Paradigm Shifts in Theory, Culture, and Science http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/best8.htm
Best, Steve & Douglas Kellner - Debord, Cybersituations, and the Interactive Spectacle http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/best6.htm
Best, Steve & Douglas Kellner - Debord and the Postmodern Turn: New Stages of the Spectacle http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell17.htm

Critical theory in combination with postmodern theory is called "Critical Postmodern Theory. This hybrid theory traces the transition of Marx's accumulation of products to a more consumption model of capitalism, as exemplified in Guy Debord's (1967) *Society of the Spectacle*.[17]

Critical Theory - Key works contributing to the emerging critical theory perspective in organization studies include, Braverman, [18] Cooper &

Burrell, and Clegg and Dunkerley. [19] The work of Marcuse, Ordono, Horkheimer of the Frankfurt school has been particularly influencial.

Webview
The Frankfurt School
http://education.yahoo.com/search/be?lb=t&p=url%3Af/frankfurt_school
http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/

What is Postmodern Organization Theory? - Specifically, some postmodernists contend that OB is a discipline that serves to control people at work by defining what is, and what is not, *appropriate* behaviour[20]. According to Townley, Human resource management `comprises a nexus of disciplinary practices -- a technology of power -- aimed at making employees' behaviour and performance predictable and calculable, in a word "manageable."[21] Deconstruction is a useful way to explore the dualities posed in Globalization (see Webview).

Webview
Link to Deconstruction Study Guide
http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/deconstruct.html

What is Critical Postmodern Organization Theory? - Specifically, some philosophers and organizational scholars are working to mix the disciplines of postmodern and critical theory. Table 1 gives an overview of the varieties of Postmodern and Critical Postmodern Theory.

Webview
Link to Critical Postmodern Organizational Science
http://TamaraJournal.com
Link to Critical Postmodern Theory Study Guide
http://cbae.nmsu.edu/~dboje/pages/what_is_critical_postmodern.htm

Table 2 – Varieties of Postmodern and Critical Postmodern Theories

	Postmodern Theory	Critical Postmodern Theory
Philosophy	- Baudrillard - Lyotard's (1984) Death of Grand Narrative[22] - Derrida's deconstruction - Harvey's fragmentalism - Bauman's (1993, 1995)fragments of discontent & postmodern ethics[23]	- Jameson's late postmodern capitalism - Deleuze & Guattari's (1987) Rhizomatics of reterritorialization - Debord (1967) *Society of the Spectacle* - Best & Kellner's (2001) postmodern spectacles - Foucault's (1979) panopticon and carceral networks of power
Organization Theory	- Cooper & Burrell's series on *Organization Studies*[24] - Kilduff's deconstruction of March & Simon - Martin's deconstruction of sexism - Bergquist (1993) complexity[25] approach - Cilliers (1998) complexity approach	- Burrell (1997) *Pandemonium*[26] - Alvesson & Deetz (1996) call to integrate critical theory with postmodern theory - Boje (1995) Disney as Tamaraland study - Boje, Gephart & Thatchenkery (1996) ecological focus of postmodernism[27] - Hardt & Negri (2000) application of Jameson & Deleuze & Guattari to Empire

Table 2 contrasts postmodern and critical postmodern theories. Hardt and Negri (2000) argue that work by Lyotard, Derrida, and Baudrillard is less useful to understanding globalization process. Instead, a more critical

postmodern theory is useful in analyzing Empire and Globalization processes. In particular Hardt and Negri (20020 rely upon Jameson, Deleuze & Guattari, and Debord along with Foucault's concepts of network power and panopticon. Best and Kellner (2001) point out the difference in an analysis of the Biotech aspects of Empire in a postmodern (Baudrillard) versus a more critical postmodern (Debord) approach.

Webview
Debord Guy (1967). Society of the Spectacle.
http://www.nothingness.org/SI/debord/index.html

The alternatives of postmodern and critical postmodern theory can also be seen in the choices made by organization theorists.
x

The Post Colonial Approach to Globalization: From its early beginnings until quite recently the study of globalizaiton ignored or minimized the issue of race and ethnicity and colonization. Studies of globalization in organization theory generally failed to examine or question post colonialism and global racism.

Racioethnicity[28] **-** In fact, prior to 1975 studies of organizational behaviour had little or nothing to say about race or ethnicity at work In North America racioethnicity critiques of OB have had several important impacts on the field.

"I am unaware of a mainstream journal in organizational behaviour ever before devoting a special issue to the subject of race, authorizing a black scholar to be in charge of the issue, and publishing a complete set of papers by black authors", Clayton Alderfer, 1990, pp.493.

In Canada a 1991 issue of the *Canadian Journal of Administrative Studies* was devoted to the theme of `managing an increasingly diverse workforce', and included discussion of issues of gender as well as race and ethnicity.

The issue of "diversity" and "diversity management" are themes that have developed alongside the racioethnicity approach and have seen, in recent years, numerous books and articles on the subject. Unlike the racioethnicity approaches which are primarily concerned with improving t/he opportunities and self-worth of people of color, the management of diversity literature has mostly developed within a managerialist framework in which the central concern is the improvement of organizational efficiency.

Webview

Defining Globalization Imperialism and Empire

As we can see from figure 8.4 below, there are many different *definitions* of *globalization, Imperial, and Empire*.

Empire is defined as "universal republic, a network of powers and counterpowers structured in a boundless and inclusive architecture" (Hardt & Negri, 2000: 166).

Negri (2003) defines Empire as -

"The transition we are witnessing today from traditional international law, which was defined by contracts and treaties, to the definition and constitution of a new sovereign, supranational world power (and thus to an imperial notion of right), however incomplete, gives us a framework in which to read the totalising social process of Empire. In effect, the juridical transformation functions as a symptom of the modifications of the material biopolitical constitution of our societies."[29]

So which definition is valid? Which definition is the most useful? The answer is that it depends on your viewpoint. No definition is more important than another. Which definition is appropriate for any one person will depend on what s/he is trying to achieve. The manager concerned with the relationship between behaviour and organizational efficiency, for example, will likely find the managerialist definition the most appropriate one. On the other hand, the person concerned to understand resistance to global sovereignty the postmodernist definition more appropriate.

For our purposes we believe that it is important to understand organizational behaviour to improve the operation of organizations **and** to address the impact that organizations have on the way people feel about themselves (e.g., self-esteem) and others (e.g., racial discrimination). To that end, we have developed a comprehensive definition of OB that combines the concerns of several of the OB approaches:

Benign definition: *Globalization is the* increasing interconnectedness of individuals, groups, companies and countries.[vi]

Empire definition: *the transorganizational* structures of global economic governance by transnational corporations influencing trade agreements such as GATT, NAFTA, FTAA, and WTO, and the financial players, WB and IMF.

If OB as a field of study is to make an important contribution to social life it needs to help us to understand how to produce our needs in a more efficient manner (managerialist), how to understand what organizations mean to people (actionalist) and how to address the impact that it has on their lives (feminist, racioethnicity, radical). It also needs to encourage us to question how and why we study organizational behaviour and how and why we think of organizations in the way we do (post-modernist).

Study Break: Now turn to the questions and the cases on the CD-ROM to test you understanding of this chapter.

[vi] p. 2 http://www.cafod.org.uk/policy/globalisationandcritics200301.pdf

Scenario 8.1: Putting People First - Culture Change at Wal-Mart[30]

Wal-Mart is the largest corporation in the world. Wal-Mart is three times the size of its largest competitor, Carrefour, and is poised to double in size. "It does more business than Target, Sears, Kmart, J.C. Penney, Safeway, and Kroger combined." (Fast company 2003).

Just in the U.S., it has over 3,400 stores, over $244.5 billion in annual revenue, accounts for one third of consumer food purchases and over 1.1 million employees (the 2nd largest employer; Federal government is 1st). According to economist Tom Muller, the average American household spends around $1,100 a year at a Wal-Mart."[31]

Wal-Mart, an Arkansas-based corporation, is systematically colonizing the planet, has over 300,000 employees outside the U.S., and is the world's largest retailer, expanding into one new country each year. Everyday a new Wal-Mart megastore opens somewhere in the world. Wal-Mart is an imperialist colonial expansion of dominant capitalist interests, aided by U.S. military and loan structures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is overwhelming 3rd world countries, and changing the phantasmagoria of shopping and employment worldwide.

Like other behemoths, Wal-Mart defends siphoning pennies from each shopping dollar from lowly paid associates and sweatshop workers by claiming that consumers and communities are to benefit. Opponents say U.S. consumers by getting pennies off their purchase prices are destroying the job and small business base of their own community, and further impoverishing the poor worldwide. Some sweatshops, it is alleged, use child, prison and even slave labor under the most inhumane conditions. Wal-Mart siphons money out of local communities; it does not spend money on ads in local papers; it does not do its banking locally; the money is sent out of town.

Wal-Mart is the biggest buyer of sweatshop goods in the world. 85% of Wal-Mart products are made in Third World sweatshops where workers earn $.33 per hour and work 70-hour weeks, without overtime pay or benefits. Wal-Mart store employees, called 'associates,' carry signs on their back, "At Wal-Mart our people make the difference." Between low paid associates, and sweatshop wage earning subcontract employees, Wal-Mart is lower living wages to poverty wages.

Wal-Mart hires consultants to prevent workers form obtaining a voice in any unionizing movement. "One of the things that limits or slows the

growth of imports is the cost of establishing connections and networks," says Paul Krugman, the Princeton University economist (in Fast Company, 2003 Webview).

Wal-Mart has a strong presence in the UK (Asda Superstores) and Germany (Hypermarkets), and is expanding to other parts of Europe, and to Japan. In Japan, Wal-Mart has gained a foothold by purchasing shares in Seiyu, a supermarket retailer; Wal-Mart plans to increase ownership to two thirds by 2006. It is not all smooth sailing. In Germany, where Wal-Mart purchased 95 stores in 1999, it has also cancelled plans to launch 50 new super centers due to strong unionizing pressures.

Wal-Mart is experiencing its strongest resistance to further global domination from countries such Sweden, which says, "Wal-Mart is not welcome in our neighborhood."vii Commerce trade unions across Europe are denouncing Wal-Mart. For example, in Poland, the Solidarity trade union movement is trying to unionize multinational retailers, such as Wal-Mart, and to negotiate collective agreements. There is resistance, as well, in Canada, where a British Columbia Labour Board found Wal-Mart was in violation, of yet another right to organize initiative. The concern is the global expansion of Wal-Mart will be a race to the bottom in wage and benefits for workers. This is also known as "social dumping," He also condemned "social dumping," one country's undercutting another in tax, labor or wage costs. Wal-Mart is also widely known as a poor employer since it does not provide medical insurance for its workforce, and pays wages below collective agreement wage rates of UFCW members (UFCW stands for United Food and Commercial Workers International Union).

Wal-Mart & Sexual Harassment – Did Wal-Mart discriminate against over 1.6 million women workers? The National Organization of Women (NOW) named Wal-Mart, the "merchant of shame" for its repeated sexual harassment and discrimination practices.[32] Wal-Mart is facing the largest class action employment lawsuit in U.S. history.

On 24 Sept. 2003 a U.S. District Court judge in San Francisco, California, held his first full day hearing. Lawyers in a major Wal-Mart class action lawsuit said, "Male managers at Wal-Mart Stores Inc. required their female counterparts to attend meetings at strip clubs and at Hooters restaurants."[33] "In June 2001, seven California women, all former employees of Wal-Mart Inc., filed a lawsuit against the company alleging female workers unfairly receive lower salaries than men and are consistently subjected to sexual harassment. In their complaint, the women claim female employees are wrongly denied promotions, proper training

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vii See http://www.union-network.org/unisite/sectors/commerce/Multinationals/Wal-Mart_not_welcome_in_Europe.htm

and equal pay and are forced to attend strip clubs with male colleagues on business trips and attend business meetings at Hooters, a predominantly male restaurant" (Injuryboard.com).[34] In Iowa, "after being pursued, touched, and talked to incessantly about sex by her supervisor, a former Wal-Mart pharmacist was awarded damages in a 1998 case" (WalMart Watch).[35]

Webview
Wal-Mart's On Line Union Busting Manual
www.union-network.org/unisite/sectors/commerce/Multinationals/Wal-Mart management handbook on union busting.pdf

Wal-Mart & Union Busting - Orson Mason (1991: 7) prepared a 111 page handbook for Wal-Mart on union busting in which he says, "Staying union free is a full-time commitment." Mason (1991: 19) says that Wal-Mart's philosophy of "participative management" is one way to keep union-free; participative management is described as a way managers can "receive as much information from associates as possible" by conducting "grassroots meetings," an "open door policy," "open channels of communication," "associate involvement in various committees," "cookouts and holiday meetings," and "Management By Walking Around" (Mason, 1991: 19-20 – see Webview).

The "PLAYBOY-PLAYGIRL" manager/supervisor warns Mason (1991: 13) can cause Wal-Mart associates to unionize: "This type of manager" says Mason (1991: 13):

> … Is one who thinks the manager's position entitles him to additional fringe benefits and special favors from those associates of the opposite sex under his direction. This type of supervisor abuses his duties and responsibilities by taking liberties and advantages of his position. He rapidly loses credibility and respect from the remainder of his associates.

Webview
Wal-Mart & Foreign Workers
www.union-network.org/unisite/sectors/commerce/Multinationals/Wal-Mart_exploited_undocumented_foreigners.htm

Wal-Mart & undocumented foreign workers – In Chekleslovokia, a grand jury is investigating the exploitation of undocumented workers who clean Wal-Mart stores. "We Czechs are willing to sacrifice and work hard, but we definitely weren't earning enough money," said Pavel, one of the detained workers who told the New York Times (11/5/03) he worked every night for eight months without a night off, overtime pay or health benefits (10 November 2003, see Webview for full story).

Webview
Wal-Mart & Healthcare
www.union-network.org/unisite/sectors/commerce/Multinationals/Wal-Mart_AFL-CIO_healthcare_study.htm

> **Wal-Mart & healthcare** - AFL-CIO study says that Wal-Mart sets a
> "troubling standard" for poor healthcare. Wal-Mart exemplifies the harmful
> trend among America's large employers to shirk health insurance
> responsibilities at the cost of their workers and the community, according
> to a report by the AFL-CIO, which was published yesterday (22 October
> 2003, see Webview for full story).

[1] Nasar, Sylvia (2003). What the rich and free owe the poor and oppressed. Strategy +
Business. Issue 33 (Winter): 95-99. This is a publication of Booz, Allen & Hamilton.
[2] See Haraway (1991) *Simians, cyborgs, and women: The reinven tion of nature* (NY:
Routledge).
[3] Best & Kellner (1993) Postmodern Theory (NY/London: Guilford Press). Best &
Kellner (1997) The Postmodern Turn (NY/London: Guilford Press).
[4] Plato (380 BCE) Republic, particularly Book VIII "Four inferior types of government –
timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, & tyranny; Wilber, Ken (1996) A Brief History of
everything. Boston/London: Shambhala Publications, Inc.
[5] http://165.29.91.7/classes/humanities/worldstud/97-98/imper/india/early.htm
[6] http://www.surcouf.net/anglais/history.htm
[7] http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/southasia/History/British/EAco.html
[8] Tom Linzey, president of the Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund
(www.celdf.org), and Dan Brannen, a Santa Fe (N.M.) attorney.See http://www.celdef.org
[9] In New Jersey, legislation has been drafted.
Seehttp://rachel.org/library/getfile.cfm?ID=324 and
http://rachel.org/library/getfile.cfm?ID=323
[10] Griffith, Matthew (2003). Globalization and its Critics: An examination of the 'anti
globalization movement.
http://www.cafod.org.uk/policy/globalisationandcritics200301.pdf

[11] What is Neoliberalism? A Brief Definition for Activists - By Elizabeth Martinez and
Arnoldo Garcia. National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights January 1, 1997
http://www.corpwatch.org/issues/PID.jsp?articleid=376
[12] George, Susan (1999). A Short History of Neoliberalism. Conference on Economic
Sovereignty in a Globalising World. March 24-26.
http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/econ/histneol.htm
[13] November 27th, 2003 on Democracy Now,
An Hour With Vandana Shiva, Indian Scientist and Leading Critic of Corporate
Globalization Listen to: || audio http://www.archive.org/download/dn2003-1127/dn2003-
1127-1.mp3 || Watch 128k stream
http://play.rbn.com/?url=demnow/demnow/demand/2003/nov/128/dn20031127a.rm&prot
o=rtsp&start=   Watch 256k stream at

http://play.rbn.com/?url=demnow/demnow/demand/2003/nov/256/dnB20031127a.rm&proto=rtsp&start=

[14] Posted by Slave to the Traffic -
http://www.globalhawaii.org/bulletinboard/postings/1022696230.208.200.215.150.shtml
The person is reacting to this article:Fred Riggs, "Globalization, Ethnic Diversity and Nationalism: The Challenge for Democracies"
http://www.globalhawaii.org/PDF/riggs.html

[15] Thai Labour Campaign, Coordinator: Junya Yimprasert Sept 15 2003 email newsletter. WTO logo torched in Thai protest -Anchalee Kongrut - Bagnkok Post,

[16] Third World in the US – by Edward Herman is an economist, media analyst, and a regular columnist for Z magazine.
http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Third_World_US/ThirdWorld_US.html

[17] Society of the Spectacle. La Société du Spectacle was first published in 1967 by Editions, Buchet-Chastel (Paris); it was reprinted in 1971 by Champ Libre (Paris). The full text is available in English at http://www.nothingness.org/SI/debord/index.html It is customary to refer to paragraph numbers in citing this work.

[18]. H. Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

[19]. S.Clegg and D.Dunkerley, *Organization, Class and Control*. London: RKP, 1980.

[20]. Prominent post-modernist accounts of organization include S. R. Clegg, *Modern Organizations. Organization Studies in the Postmodern World*. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage, 1990; J. Hassard & M.Parker [Eds.], *Postmodernism and Organizations.* London: Sage, 1993; D.M.Boje & R.F.Dennehy, *Managing in the Postmodern World: America's Revolution Against Exploitation*. Dubuque, IA.:Kendall/Hunt, 1993; M. Boje, M. David, R.P. Gephart, and T.J. Thatchenkery, (Eds.). *Postmodern Management and Organization Theory*. Newbury Park: Sage, 1996.

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[27] Boje, David M., Robert P. Gephart, Jr., Tojo Joseph Thatchenkery (1996) Postmodern Management and Organization Theory. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

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