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UNITED STATES GLOBALISATION AS THE NEWEST EXPRESSION OF  
RACIAL SUBORDINATION: INTERNATIONAL AND INTRA-NATIONAL EVIDENCE

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INTRODUCTION

1. Discrimination, at least in the context of the United States, describes intentional acts by individual entities based on racial or other animus. As such, it is remedied merely through the correction of individual behaviour, by reparation to the individual harmed, or through the redistribution of resources. These remedies leave the larger structures that produce racial injustice intact. A discussion of racism that encompasses only discrimination, and excludes structural racism, is therefore inadequate to either fully describe or effectively address the race problems associated with globalisation.
2. The defenders of formal equality may insist on treating everyone equally “without making any distinctions” and fail to realise the fact that the constituency we intend to treat equally is profoundly unequal. Inequality takes many forms: the disadvantaged may be powerless, poor, disenfranchised and non-authoritative, and/or numerically inferior. The subordinated are underprivileged and unequal by virtue of the fact that they possess fewer resources or no resources for reasons that are outside their control such as historical deprivation. Hence, they are profoundly vulnerable to majority decisions. And if we treat the subordinated and the privileged equally, we will end up reproducing inequality.<sup>1</sup> In that process, we may also make the situation worse for those who already have it bad.
3. Confronting the interconnection of race<sup>2</sup> and class domestically and internationally requires an examination of racial subordination, marginalisation, and exclusion: the ideologies and systems-

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<sup>1</sup> See Neera Chandhoke, “The Illusions of Formal Equality,” in *The Hindu*, May 2, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> I will not commit time here to an analysis of racial construction internationally. The ‘colour line’ and the ‘class line’ are intertwined and operate discursively in socio-economic-political space. While the ‘colour line’ may be more prominent in the United States, the ‘class line’ may be indomitable in other parts of the world. Other societies such as India may have added complexities like the ‘caste line.’ However unscientific they may be, race, colour, and caste have been used to deprive many people of economic resources, political power and very human dignity. These harsh realities of the human society are still hanging heavy on our national and global affairs.

level devices that have entrenched the racialised concentration of poverty in certain spheres and accumulated privilege in other spheres.

4. Racial and economic subordination has arisen along with capitalism and liberal thought, although the manifestations of this dynamic have shifted and now become obscured. Frank Furedi posits that “[T]here has been a slow retreat from overtly white supremacist rationalisations of imperial and post-imperial forms of global domination on the part of Western élites, from the heyday of unabashed racist discourse in the late nineteenth century, through a period of silent race warfare in the mid-twentieth century, to the acceptance of formal global equality in the 1960s.”<sup>3</sup> A parallel opaqueness has attached to white supremacy in the United States.<sup>4</sup>
5. The latest expression of racial subordination both within nations and at the international level is the globalisation of the economy and culture. It is important to see ongoing globalisation as part of a historical process of socio-economic-political domination and abuse. The perpetuation of the hierarchies of race, ethnicity, class, and gender must be situated in that larger context. Problematising the danger of permanently re-inscribing a subordinated and life-threatening status for people of colour all over the globe becomes a very urgent project.
6. In the words of Cornel West:

In this age of globalisation, with its impressive scientific and technological innovations in information, communication, and applied biology, a focus on the lingering effects of racism seems outdated and antiquated...Yet race – in the coded language of welfare reform, immigration policy, criminal punishment, affirmative action, and suburban privatisation – remains a central signifier in the political debate.<sup>5</sup>

7. My critique in this paper is not of all conceivable forms of globalism, but rather of the purely capitalist style of globalisation currently being pushed by the United States. Some European governments, among others, differ with the United States about their preferred models of society and their outlook on globalisation. The “Progressive Governance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” meeting in Florence, Italy in November 1999 highlighted some of these differences. The European Union Commission president, Romano Prodi, argued that Europe needed to implement reforms, but also to defend “*its social model*” and the greater justice and equity of the European welfare state. British and American representatives adopted an optimistic view of globalisation, according to which the opportunities created by a global economy, if well managed, would benefit everyone and eventually reduce inequities. The French and Italian representatives were more wary of the possibilities that modern global capitalism could engender more inequality and widen the divides within and among nations. French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, stated: “*We have to accept a networked world, but not a world dominated by networks, because then it would be dominated by private interests.*”<sup>6</sup>
8. It is not my intention to universalise American race dynamics. What I posit here is that racial subordination continues to be a devastating social and economic reality in many parts of the

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Hence, it is premature to dismiss race, caste, sex, and other identifiers in assessing the circumstances of many oppressed communities around the world. Indeed, dismissing these differences is a core tenet of globalisation, with highly deleterious implications for subordinated groups.

<sup>3</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503-1506, Summer 2000 (citing Frank Furedi, “The Silent War: Imperialism and the Changing Perception of Race” 236-38 (1998)).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., John Dovidio, “‘Aversive’ Racism and the Need for Affirmative Action,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* A60, July 25, 1997.

<sup>5</sup> See Cornel West, “Black Strivings in a Twilight Civilisation,” in Henry Louis Gates and Cornel West, eds., *The Future of the Race* 107-108 (1996).

<sup>6</sup> See Roger Cohen, “Clinton, a Renaissance Guy, Paints the Globe Bright,” *The New York Times*, November 22, 1999.

world, that it is an integral part of the ongoing globalisation scheme. Moreover, recognition of the impact on racial and ethnic minorities of this newest manifestation of capitalism and liberal ideology could initiate the creation of a space for policy reform and resistance.

## THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GLOBALISED RACIAL SUBORDINATION AND EXCLUSION

9. Globalisation, promoted by industrialised and predominantly Christian countries with bad track records of colonialism, slavery, racism and systematic elimination of indigenous populations, has intrinsic Western principles and values such as property, ownership, and intellectual property rights regimes.
10. A sanitised and sacrosanct history of globalisation is being written in the North connecting it to Enlightenment philosophy, the American revolution, the French revolution and now the “*remarkable progress [that] has been made in all major dimensions of human development since the late 1960s.*”<sup>7</sup> These glossy histories of globalisation conveniently hide the structural violence of “discoveries,” slavery, colonisation and systematic transfer of wealth from the coloured periphery to the white centre. These histories also overlook huge disparities that exist within and among countries, the bitter squabbles between the ‘developed’ countries and ‘developing’ countries over trade and financial issues, the developing countries’ erstwhile demand for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), and the developed countries’ disregard for socio-economic justice.

Similar to the way in which the racial organisation of American society predates and survives the receipt by American non-whites of legal status formally equal to that of whites, Northern hegemony originated in the colonial organisation of the international economy and survives and pre-dates the entry of Southern states into the international economy as formally equal to Northern states.<sup>8</sup>

11. Chantal Thomas has written:

If ‘laissez-faire’ policy accompanied and justified the harsher results of the earlier Industrial Age, it may well reemerge to accompany and justify those brought on by the rise of the Information Age. The policy implications of such latter-day laissez-fairism would be that government should not ‘intervene’ to prevent the casualties of globalisation, even if those casualties occur disproportionately within certain socio-economic groups, because such casualties are the result of an economic ‘evolution’ that is both natural and necessary. Classical and neo-classical proponents of the market tend to portray certain economic processes – industrialisation in the old days, globalisation in the new – as independent of government.<sup>9</sup>

12. As early as 1903, W.E.B. DuBois articulated the manner in which the West and North underdeveloped Africa in order to accumulate capital and power.<sup>10</sup> Little reform has occurred, as is seen in this diagnosis of the problem of globalisation in the recent call on the part of Africans for the International Tribunal on Africa:

[I]t is no longer the colonial occupiers who are in charge – but colonial domination is still ever present [in Africa]. It is now the ‘experts’ from the World Bank and the IMF who have taken charge of the economies of the African countries and who rule its states. In all the ministries of the African governments, one can find ‘experts’ who exercise genuine power. This is done in the name of ‘good

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<sup>7</sup> See Dennis A. Rondinelli and Jack N. Behrman, “The Promises and Pains of Globalisation,” in *Global Focus* December 1, 2000.

<sup>8</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Causes of Inequality in the International Economic Order: Critical Race Theory and Postcolonial Development” *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 9, 1, 3, Spring 1999.

<sup>9</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Globalisation and the Reproduction of Hierarchy,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1451, 1452, Summer 2000, (citing Herbert Hovenkamp, “Evolutionary Models in Jurisprudence,” *Texas Law Review* 64, 654 (1985)).

<sup>10</sup> See W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903.

governance' and, therefore, implicitly, in the name of the so-called inability of Black people to govern for themselves.

## GLOBALISATION AS A SUBORDINATING STRUCTURE

13. The most serious new economic expression of structural racism is globalisation. Globalisation undermines local communities and affects traditional ways of living and working. It skews income and wealth distribution, damages the environment, causes insecurity for workers, and entrenches the lopsided development that plagues the contemporary world. On the other side, it concentrates international financial power in a few hands in the North and it is manipulated in secrecy and self-interest with a fixation on monetary calculations rather than human considerations. In short, the trend of globalisation promises an exacerbation of the vulnerability and suffering of subordinated minorities, internationally and intra-nationally, while it privileges Northern whites.
14. The elimination of barriers to trade and capital and the rise of communications technology have created a global financial market place that is dominated by huge financial institutions “*with short investment horizons*”.<sup>11</sup> This “*naïve globalism*,” as Robert Kuttner calls it, includes a few basic precepts: that free competition is good nationally and even better globally; that liberal capitalism would be self-regulating with a few basic ground rules; that the true form of capitalism entails a minimal role for the state; and that markets should be transparent and porous, giving a free hand to investors.
15. Since the ideology of globalisation is that the ‘invisible hand’ of the market forces must be allowed to operate unimpeded, national policies are oriented towards privatisation and liberalisation. The argument is that the competitive private sector, having been freed from government taxes, intervention and regulations, will stimulate trade and attract foreign investment. Since government is to be completely out of the game, regulation and protection of national enterprises are disdained and discouraged. Challenges to slave labour, enforcement of civil rights, and environmental or labour protections are all perceived to be interfering with the flow of capital and goods. Thus deregulation of labour and scaling back of the governments’ propensity to regulate – i.e. interfere – at the behest of citizens are major impacts of globalisation on the democratic space. However, regulations that are perceived to protect the flow of capital and goods are supported.
16. The global structure is stratified into three strata: a global universalistic dominant stratum of industrial states and trans-national corporations (TNCs), a dependent stratum of small industries, small agricultural units and technocratic intellectuals linked to the former by unstable ties, and a third stratum of exploited and discriminated social sectors who are excluded from the benefits of the global economy. Most racial minorities, women, indigenous people, and other exploited classes in the informal sectors belong to the excluded stratum.<sup>12</sup>
17. The anti-regulation and deprioritised government assertions are an attack on the public space, where the marginalised are more dependent on the welfare state. In the United States, this takes the form of lack of support for public institutions such as schools, hospitals, transportation, and parks. In the South countries, however, it takes the form of structural adjustment programs, the economic policies to which countries must adhere in order to qualify for World Bank and International Monetary Fund loans. Structural adjustment programs generally stress privatisation, liberalisation and export-led growth. In both cases, these manifestations of globalisation are hostile to supporting institutions that are particularly important to people of

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<sup>11</sup> See Altman, 1988.

<sup>12</sup> See Kinhide Mushakoji, “Global Issues and Interparadigmatic Dialogue : Essays on Multipolar Politics,” 1988.

colour. For instance, when corporations are given tax breaks, the public funding available for schools and other state services shrinks. For instance, Minnesota lawmakers estimate that tax incentives diverted \$112 million from schools in 1996. The national total is unknown since there are no reporting requirements.

18. The implications of this for people of colour are particularly disturbing. Because subordinated groups tend to have less access to capital, and participate more in governmental programs such as welfare, they experience the side effects of globalisation most strongly. In the context of the United States, the trends of de-industrialisation of the cities and privatisation of previously government-managed programs translates into an aggravation of existing urban conditions, including increased unemployment or employment in low-paying jobs, the concentration of poverty, and the deterioration of the public schools system, among other effects.
19. In a democratic or people-based government, racial minorities may be able to gain some protection against these effects through the democratic process. However, globalisation asserts that it is not the role of government to regulate capital for the protection of its citizens. Large-scale trends of disinvestment and racial subordination as well as abusive anti-labour practices and gender bias are all seen as market functions that should not be regulated.
20. Michel Chossudovsky points out that globalisation restores colonial patterns and practices, bars national planning and meaningful democracy, undermines programs that benefit underprivileged sections of the society, and establishes a framework for a world of growing inequality by legitimising and normalising lopsided development.<sup>13</sup>
21. Francisco Sagasti sums up forcefully:

[W]e are witnessing the emergence of a fractured global order — an order that is global but not integrated; an order that pulls all of us in contact with each other but simultaneously maintain deep fissures between different groups of countries and people within countries; an order that segregates a large portion of the world's population and prevents it from sharing the benefits provided by scientific advances and technological progress.<sup>14</sup>

## INTERNATIONAL WHITE SUPREMACY: THE NORTH/SOUTH DIVIDE

22. Economic growth does not translate into equality of prosperity. The Indian economy, for one, grew faster after 1991 when economic reforms were launched. However, this acceleration in growth has not benefited the majority of Indians. According to one calculation, the incidence of poverty rose from thirty-five per cent in 1990-91 to thirty-seven percent in 1997. Another study has corroborated the claim that the more rapid growth of the 1990s did not result in a reduction of poverty.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, many Latin American nations such as Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and others have all grown faster in the last year. However, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America has found that fifteen per cent of the region's people live in extreme poverty and this figure has not budged in two decades. According to a study by the Inter-American Development Bank, one hundred and fifty million people in Latin America live on \$2 a day or less, and the gap between rich and poor widened in the 1990s.<sup>16</sup>
23. The policies of the enforcers of globalisation – the Bretton Woods institutions – limit civil rights as they demand privatisation and other structural adjustments. *“If the link between structural adjustment and the violation of civil and political rights is allegedly tenuous, the same cannot be said about its*

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<sup>13</sup> See Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalisation of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms*, 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Francisco Sagasti (quoted in Felix Moses Edoho, *Globalisation and the New World Order: Promises, Problems, and Prospects for Africa in the Twenty-First Century*, 1999), 1997.

<sup>15</sup> C. Rammanohar Reddy, “The 1990s: A Lost Decade,” *The Hindu*, January 8, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> See Joseph Kahn, “Treasury Secretary Wants New Stress on Latin Poverty,” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2000.

*connection to the progressive deterioration in the prospects for African countries to realise the economic and social rights that the [World] Bank is so certain it promotes.”<sup>17</sup>*

24. In a striking parallel to the way white supremacists offer behavioural explanations for the poverty of African Americans in the United States, white supremacists offer ‘cultural’ explanations for the poverty of developing nations:

[T]he international economic order perpetuates Northern hegemony not only by virtue of its liberal rules and ideology, but also by virtue of a submerged illegal ideology that rationalises the contradictions between the implied outcomes of a liberalised international economy and the economic realities facing developing countries. This ‘colonial’ ideology consists of a set of attitudes towards the South that ties race and geography to cultural, political and economic traits deemed inferior to those of the North. In this way, the liberal postcolonial international economic order and the unequal relations it creates are affirmed and perpetuated by a colonialist ideology that views the North as rightly and naturally dominant over the South.<sup>18</sup>

25. There is a negative impact on culture; ethnic minority culture “survives” globalisation only through its commodification. As Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva point out, local cultures are deemed to have ‘value’ only when they are fragmented and these fragments transformed into saleable goods as ‘ethnic’ food, ‘ethnic’ music, and ‘ethnic’ objects for the world market. This commodification is crucial in organising and managing minority racial and ethnic groups within individual states. When these minorities try to exert control over their cultural resources, they are delegitimized by the invocation of ‘wider’ national or universal interests.

26. As Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva argue:

In the dominant discourse the ‘global’ is the political space in which the dominant local seeks global control. But, contrary to what it suggests, the global does not represent universal human interest but a particular local and parochial interest which has been globalised through its reach and control... In this decision-making, the communities who pay the real price... have no control. This simultaneous erasure and reification of racial and ethnic difference is a key component in the discourse of globalisation.<sup>19</sup>

## **INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES OF GLOBALISATION’S IMPACT ON MINORITIES**

27. The economic prosperity rhetorically associated with globalisation has not reached and is less likely to reach racial and ethnic minorities world-wide. Consider the situation of the Dalits (oppressed) in India, the largest minority group in the world. Within the country’s oppressive caste system, the Dalits are often forced to do tasks and occupations that are considered by other caste groups to be ritually polluting. They are exploited in the agricultural sector, where they are paid a few kilograms of rice or Rs.15 to Rs.35 (US\$0.38 to \$0.88) a day. Most of the forty million people in India who work as ‘bonded labourers’ are Dalits. Millions of Dalits still work as manual scavengers cleaning public latrines and disposing of dead animals.<sup>20</sup>
28. The debts borne by nations beholden to Northern, Western nations under the globalised financial system require the allocation of funds to repayment rather than essential social services. For example, as Archbishop Medardo Mazombwe describes the debt in Zambia, “*every man, woman and child [in Zambia] owes \$750*” which is a crushing burden that has led to a lack of

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<sup>17</sup> See Joe Oloka-Onyango, “Beyond the Rhetoric: Reinvigorating the Struggle for Economic and Social Rights in Africa,” *California Western International Law Journal* 25-28, Fall 1995.

<sup>18</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Causes of Inequality in the International Economic Order: Critical Race Theory and Postcolonial Development,” *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 9, 1, 5-6, Spring 1999.

<sup>19</sup> See Nihal Perera, *Society and Space*, 1998.

<sup>20</sup> See Human Rights Watch, *Broken People: Caste Violence Against India’s ‘Untouchables’* 139, 1999.

spending on education, health care, housing and other necessities.<sup>21</sup> The per capita GNP in Zambia is \$320.

29. Government subsidisation of corporations operates similarly. As noted above, corporate tax breaks reduce the public funding available for schools and other state services. In India, most of the Dalits, Muslims and other minorities, who are already poor and unskilled, are facing more stringent economic 'reforms' that can bring about higher food prices, illiteracy, deteriorating living conditions, and unemployment.
30. Globalisation perpetuates the inequities of colonialism while wearing the mask of race neutrality. Even where whites are a minority in post-colonial societies, they have retained control over much of the national resources. For instance, in Zimbabwe, a predominantly black country, some 4,500 white farmers control the most arable land.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in South Africa, Afrikaners, who are barely seven per cent of the national population, dominate the economy.<sup>23</sup>
31. Though the nation is purportedly losing significance with the rise of globalism, nationalism is gaining strength, and has as its victims racial minorities. Liz Fekete identifies two types of extreme-right white racism in Europe: one that seeks to exploit the insecurities of globalisation's white losers, and another that espouses the greed and selfishness of its white winners. The typical examples for the respective positions are the Front National (FN) in France and the Northern League in Italy. The former harks back to ancient national glory and cultural superiority, and demands the pre-eminence of the individual nation state from the allegedly upcoming global state. And the latter embraces neo-liberalism, sees in the global market a chance to escape the tax tyrannies of the nation-state, and strives to liberate wealth and entrepreneurship from immigrants and the poor.<sup>24</sup>

#### **FURTHER EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL WHITE SUPREMACY: THE CASE OF PHARMACEUTICALS AND PUBLIC HEALTH**

32. As Jeffrey Sachs<sup>25</sup> points out, rich-country medical research is concentrated on rich-country ailments such as cardiovascular diseases and cancer and not on the poor countries' problems like malaria, tuberculosis, and AIDS. The level of acceptance of global responsibility for containing AIDS epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa is telling. About ninety-five per cent of world-wide HIV cases are in the developing world and two-thirds of the world's thirty-three million individuals with HIV infection are sub-Saharan Africans. The total sum needed annually for AIDS prevention in Africa is approximately \$2.3 billion, but the continent currently receives only \$165 million a year from the world community.<sup>26</sup>
33. My contention is not that distribution of medical and other scientific resources is intentionally racially discriminatory. Rather, the lack of attention to poor countries' ailments is a natural outgrowth of a completely market-driven system. AIDS pharmaceuticals present an important issue that betrays the profiteering nature of the global market. Sub-Saharan African countries are interested in the production and distribution of generic AIDS drugs for obvious reasons. An American AIDS patient could spend \$12,000 a year or more on drug therapy and this kind of

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<sup>21</sup> See *The New York Times*, April 25, 1999.

<sup>22</sup> See Jane Perlez, "Zimbabwe Opposition Leader Warns Against Confrontation," *The New York Times*, April 19, 2000.

<sup>23</sup> See Rachel Swarns, "For South African Whites, Money Has No Colour," *The New York Times*, April 20, 2000. There are, of course, a few isolated smaller white communities steeped in poverty and destitution. See Riccardo Orizio, *Lost White Tribes: Journeys among the Forgotten*, 1999.

<sup>24</sup> See Liz Fekete, *Europe: The Wages of Racism*, 1997.

<sup>25</sup> See Jeffrey Sachs, "Helping the World's Poorest," *The Economist*, August 14, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> See Nadine Gordimer, "Africa's Plague, and Everyone's," *The New York Times*, April 11, 2000.

price tag is beyond reach for most patients in poor African countries. Yet instead of pressuring the American drug companies to reduce their prices or to support countries that are producing generic drugs more cheaply, the United States has come up with an ingenious plan. The United States Export-Import Bank, an independent government agency financed by the United States' Congress, has offered \$1 billion in annual loans to twenty-four sub-Saharan countries at commercial interest rates of about seven per cent to finance the purchase of anti-AIDS drugs. South Africa and Namibia, countries in which twenty per cent of the adult population is infected with HIV, summarily rejected the loan offer. The Southern African Development Community officials pointed out: "Making drugs affordable is the solution rather than offering loans that have interest."<sup>27</sup>

34. The imbalance of global scientific resources (that are directed by rich countries for rich-country markets); the disparity in technological capacity; global production of knowledge in crucial areas such as life sciences or energy; and the climatic damages the rich countries impose on the poor are some of the major issues that mark the rich-poor divide. In defining biotechnology research agenda, for example, cosmetic drugs and slow- ripening tomatoes are given precedence over a vaccine against malaria or drought-resistant crops for marginal land.

#### INTRA-NATIONAL WHITE SUPREMACY: THE CASE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

35. The insensitivity of rich countries to the needs and problems of poor, non-white countries should not be surprising, given the status of racial and ethnic minorities within the rich countries. African Americans in the United States, for example, have been largely shut out of the country's unprecedented prosperity in the 1990s.
36. While African Americans constitute about thirteen percent of the U.S. population, they earn only about five per cent of the nation's income, and hold only three percent of the nation's wealth. Blacks who hold white-collar jobs average \$0 net financial assets where as their white counterparts who on average hold \$11,952 in net financial assets. Even those blacks who earn as much as \$50,000 per year have on average net financial assets of only \$290 compared to \$6,988 for whites.<sup>28</sup> Middle-class blacks earn seventy cents for every dollar earned by middle-class whites but they possess only fifteen cents for every dollar of wealth held by middle-class whites. Out of America's ninety million full-time, full-year workers, only 3.2 million (3.5 per cent) earn more than \$100,000 per year. Of these 3.2 million workers, 79.3 per cent are white male and 11.9 per cent are white female. The figures for African Americans (2.2 per cent for males and 0.9 per cent for females) and Hispanics (2.1 percent for males and 0.5 percent for females) evince glaring disparities.<sup>29</sup>
37. The negative impact of globalisation on racial minorities in the United States is tied in part to its deleterious effects on labour and wealth distribution: "*Globalisation accentuates pre-existing structural inequalities in the United States, which disparately affect minorities, low-skilled workers, and those trapped in the inner cities in a cycle of unemployment, inadequate housing, substandard education, and welfare.*"<sup>30</sup>
38. The first strike by globalisation and against African Americans has been in terms of employment, specifically the loss of manufacturing jobs in the central cities and the contemporaneous rise in

<sup>27</sup> See Rachel L. Swarns, "Loans to Buy AIDS Drugs Are Rejected by Africans," *The New York Times*, August 22, 2000.

<sup>28</sup> See Robert Westley (quoted in Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* 228 (2000)).

<sup>29</sup> See Julianne Malveaux, "Wall Street, Main Street and the Side Street: A Mad Economist Takes a Stroll." 157 (1999).

<sup>30</sup> See Sylvia Lasos Vargas, "Introduction to Globalisation or Global Subordination?: How Lat Crit Links the Local to the Global and the Global to the Local," *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1429, 1429-30 Summer 2000.

high skill jobs in metropolitan regions.<sup>31</sup> Clarence Lusane, in “Persisting Disparities: Globalisation and the Economic Status of African Americans” focuses on the adverse effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on African Americans’ already tenuous position in the U.S. labour market. He concludes:

[With globalisation], labour’s ability to bargain in its own interests, i.e., increased wages, better benefits, greater safety guidelines, stronger pension and retirement plans, and job protection, is severely undermined. For African American workers, the impact of this transformation is compounded by racially-discriminatory labour markets, lack of access to skills training, and the disappearance of low-skill, mid-to-high wage jobs, political marginalisation in public policy, and an ideological backlash that seeks to reverse the gains made by African Americans in the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.

39. The changes to the employment structure in the United States following the passage of NAFTA have included job destruction, competition fostering, wage depression, and slashing of benefits. Examining the relationship between transnational economic activity and manufacturing employment in Chicago and Illinois during the 1980s, David Ranney and William Cecil conclude that the city of Chicago lost 79,744 manufacturing jobs due to plant closings and major layoffs by TNCs. This led to additional job loss in Cook County (which includes Chicago) and totally some 106,200 jobs were lost. Furthermore, the state of Illinois lost 67,088 jobs to firms with operations in Mexico’s maquiladora industries. These job losses are particularly great for women, African-Americans, and Latinos (thirty-four, twenty-seven, and twenty-three per cent respectively). Ranney and Cecil compiled these numbers not for the purpose of setting up a rivalry between workers in the United States and Mexico, but to support the proposition that “*economic restructuring in the context of global capital mobility imposes serious costs on a segment of the population which requires specific government remedies.*”<sup>32</sup>
40. The concentration of high skill jobs and majority white workers into global cities has been tied to the isolation of neighbourhoods of African Americans and other racial minorities from new opportunity, and even to the displacement of racial minorities from those cities. This displacement occurs when housing becomes too expensive. “*With respect to housing, the integration of cities into global networks has helped to revitalise cities, but in a way that shuts out poorer urban communities.*”<sup>33</sup> Chantal Thomas relates that “*the rebirth of the city as a global command centre operated by highly-skilled service providers may have further penalised those subsisting at the bottom of a hierarchy defined by race, economic status and geography.*”<sup>34</sup> This displacement of racial minorities was greatly facilitated, it has been argued, by deregulatory governmental policies, which will likely become only more pervasive as globalisation trends continue.<sup>35</sup>
41. The Black Radical Congress is concerned with the results for racial minorities of the privatisation associated with globalisation: “*The motive behind the rhetoric of ‘small government’ – code words for*

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<sup>31</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Globalisation and the Reproduction of Hierarchy,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1451, 1493, Summer 2000.

<sup>32</sup> See David C. Ranney and William Cecil, *Transnational Investment and Job Loss in Chicago: Impacts on Women, African-Americans and Latinos*, 1993.

<sup>33</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Globalisation and the Reproduction of Hierarchy,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1451, 1496, Summer 2000.

<sup>34</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Globalisation and the Reproduction of Hierarchy,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1451, 1497, Summer 2000.

<sup>35</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Globalisation and the Reproduction of Hierarchy,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1451, 1496, Summer 2000 (citing Keith Aoki, “Race, Space, and Place: The Relation Between Architectural Modernism, Post-modernism, Urban Planning, and Gentrification,” *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 20, 699, 796-97, 1993.

*privatisation – is in reality the need to redirect tax dollars from social services to corporate bail outs for international markets devastated by capitalist greed.”*<sup>36</sup>

42. One site that the Black Radical Congress has identified as particularly harmed by privatisation is health care: “*The selling of health care to the insurance industry (health maintenance organisations) guarantees that millions more will be added to the numbers who have no health insurance and no access to health care. The closing or privatisation of public hospitals places the poor, especially children, at perilous risk.*”<sup>37</sup>

## STRATEGIES FOR THE FUTURE

43. There are a number of institutions dedicated to protecting capital world-wide, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). However, there is no analogous set of organisations with comparable power and breadth to protect the interest of citizens, minorities or the environment.
44. In “Racial Justice in the Age of the Global Economy: Community Empowerment and Global Strategy,” Anthony Taibi posits that

The most important effect of globalisation may be that it greatly strengthens the bargaining power of transnational corporations in their negotiations with workers and governments and local businesses. In addition, global investors and business élites have no interest other than economic in the places where there capital is invested, and therefore, they acknowledge no responsibility for communities, neighbourhoods, equity or social and public investment.

45. Faced with the expanding power of TNCs, it is crucial for other transnational entities to take on the job of protecting the populations that are made vulnerable by that power. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities under the United Nations Commission on Human Rights passed the resolution 1999/30 (Trade Liberalisation and its Impact on Human Rights) on August 26, 1999. Among other things, this resolution asks the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights “*to intensify efforts at dialogue with the World Trade Organisation and its member states on the human rights dimensions of trade and investment liberalisation, and to take steps to ensure that human rights principles and obligations are fully integrated in future negotiations in the World Trade Organisation.*”
46. We already have citizens’ initiatives such as *Alternatives for the Americas: Building a Peoples’ Hemispheric Agreement* (produced by the Peoples’ Summit of the Americas held in Santiago, Chile on April 15-18, 1998) and the *Conference of Citizens* (also held in Santiago, Chile) that urge world governments, among other things, to repeal laws that exclude non-citizens from access to public services, to establish standardised reporting and data collection to track and publicise discriminatory crimes, and to create clear laws to deal with discriminatory issues.
47. There is a legacy of the United States civil rights community members aligning with subordinated racial minorities in other nations, and of the reverse, and this should be renewed. When activist and scholar W.E.B. DuBois stated that “*the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line*” he was referring to the international sphere, “*in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.*”<sup>38</sup> However, the civil rights community in the United States has largely focused on domestic issues in the past few decades.

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<sup>36</sup> See Black Radical Congress, “Capitalism’s Globalised World and Black America,” June 1998, available at <http://www.cofc.org.htm/brc.htm>.

<sup>37</sup> See Black Radical Congress, “Capitalism’s Globalised World and Black America,” June 1998, available at <http://www.cofc.org.htm/brc.htm>.

<sup>38</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503, 1503, Summer 2000 (quoting W.E.B. DuBois, “The Souls of Black Folk” 9, 1965 (1903)).

48. The call has been sounded for a renewal of an international race critique of economic policy, and for the formation of a race-based social movement to counter the effects of globalisation. This position has been notably absent from recent demonstrations of opposition to international development and economic policy: “The recent protests at the WTO conference in Seattle, led by traditional, mostly white, contingents from the organised labour, environmental, and human and animal rights movements, only serve to confirm that a specifically race-based perspective is missing from the critique of global capitalism.”<sup>39</sup>

49. The Black Radical Congress in the United States has targeted globalisation as an issue deserving address, identifying its implications for African Americans but also seeking to build coalitions internationally. In a recent manifesto, they provide a critique of global economic policy:

The globalisation that Karl Marx wrote about one hundred and fifty years ago is now the order of the day as we move toward the end of the twentieth century. We face massive layoffs, high unemployment, privatisation of public education and health care, expansion of slavefare (workfare), the ascendancy of the prison industrial complex[.]<sup>40</sup>

50. Gil Gott advocates critical race globalism, a theoretical and activist approach to globalisation based on “*a synthesis of critical race and international justice perspectives*.”<sup>41</sup> The convergence of the discourses are described by Chantal Thomas:

This commonality can be attributed to the concern in each field with the substantive inequality of particular constituent groups within the given legal regime who were historically positioned as formally subordinate but have more recently been granted formal equality – that is, the discrepancy between form and substance in liberal regimes.<sup>42</sup>

51. Gott agrees that there are strong commonalities between critical race theorists and certain critics of globalisation, but that past dissonance must be recalled and attended to:

To be sure, the internationalisation of a race-based critical paradigm presented analytical difficulties, just as it does today. For example, the particular mechanisms of race-based oppression within western nation-states, such as the United States, were distinct in many ways from those at work in the African colonial system, which involved domination by the colonising state of geographically distant territories. In particular, colonial techniques had to allow for the suppression of a majority population by a minority colonialist group, usually entailing the creation of a *comprador*, or middle-man economic bureaucratic class. In the United States, struggling against racial oppression meant taking on the majority whose interests thoroughly structured the state itself.<sup>43</sup>

52. Certainly, globalisation creates new tensions between domestic and international race theory and praxis, which similarly must be recognised and addressed. That tensions will arise should not foreclose the establishment of a critique of global economic policy, however. Gott hypothesises the positive results of such a critique:

For example, instead of the human rights and, increasingly, foreign policy establishments setting the terms of engagement with global labour exploitation and predictable lapses into a neo-imperialist

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<sup>39</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503, 1512, Summer 2000, (citing Elizabeth Martinez, “The WTO: Where Was the Colour in Seattle?” *Colorlines* 3, 11, 2000.

<sup>40</sup> See Black Radical Congress, “Capitalism’s Globalised World and Black America,” June 1998, available at <http://www.cofc.org.htm/brc.htm>.

<sup>41</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503, 1503, Summer 2000.

<sup>42</sup> See Chantal Thomas, “Causes of Inequality in the International Economic Order: Critical Race Theory and Postcolonial Development” *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* 9, 1, 5 (Spring 1999).

<sup>43</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503, 1512-13, Summer 2000.

discourse of Western civilisational moral superiority, progressive race critic[s] would take the lead in addressing the current conjuncture of mutually determined, globalised race and class oppressions. Or, instead of mainstream environmentalists being at the forefront of efforts to advocate sustainable forms of development and combat the many gradual ethnocides of indigenous peoples that globalisation entails, race critic[s] would provide environmental justice-oriented leadership for those initiatives, militating against the impositions of either eco-imperialism or green protectionism. And rather than mainstream nongovernmental organisations creating a clientelist culture for the pursuit of development and human rights, particularly in Africa, race critic[s] could provide a more grass-roots oriented, context-sensitive approach and, thus, foster a culture of equal partnership with African peoples.<sup>44</sup>

53. Similarly, Ediberto Roman suggests adopting what he terms a “*race approach to international law*” which would place at the centre the “*issues that race, culture, ethnicity, religion, gender, and native people bring to the study of international law.*”<sup>45</sup> More specifically, Roman articulates that such an approach would involve “*uncovering the relations between nation states, the developed world and the developing countries, and how the relations are linked to*” colonial and other subordinating systems.

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<sup>44</sup> See Gil Gott, “Critical Race Globalism?: Global Political Economy, and the Intersections of Race, Nation, and Class,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1503, 1515-16, Summer 2000, (citing Fantu Cheru, “The Silent Revolution and the Weapons of the Weak: Transformation and Innovation from Below,” *Innovation and Transformation in International Studies* 153, 167 (Stephen Gill & James H. Mittelman eds., 1997) (for an analysis of clientelist attitudes perceived by Africans).

<sup>45</sup> See See Sylvia Lasos Vargas, “Introduction to Globalisation or Global Subordination?: How Lat Crit Links the Local to the Global and the Global to the Local,” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1429, 1429-30, Summer 2000, (citing Ediberto Roman, “A Race Approach to International Law (RAIL): Is There a Need for Yet Another Critique of International Law?” *University of California Davis Law Review* 33, 1519 (Summer 2000)).