

Fanny Price, the main character in Jane Austen's Mansfield Park, experiences many indignities while living on the estate of her rich relation Sir Thomas Bertram. Despite the petty humiliations heaped upon her by snotty relations who consider themselves her social betters, she is shielded almost entirely from knowledge of the far more brutal social relations that characterize the colonial plantation system. Without Sir Thomas Bertram's plantation in Antigua, of course, the family would be unable to support the opulent lifestyle of the English landed gentry. Thanks to critics like C.L.R. James and Edward Said, we are now aware of the constitutive role of the colonial periphery in maintaining life in the metropole during the zenith of European imperial power.<sup>1</sup> If the colonies provided much of the economic foundation that sustained life for the wealth classes depicted in Austen's novels, they also helped define European civilization itself by serving as an exotic and often phobic Other against which the imperial cultures could define themselves. Looking back on the parochial attitudes of Austen's characters, it seems difficult to believe that Europeans could sequester themselves so effectively from the imperial periphery that was bound to their world with ties of sugar, rum, gold, sweat, and blood.

And yet contemporary Americans appear to live under similar insular illusions.<sup>2</sup> For instance, on 11 September 2001, blowback from the U.S.'s economic and political policies around the world reached the so-called American homeland.<sup>3</sup> Although the suicide attacks on New York and Washington punctured the bubble of U.S. global supremacy, most Americans still have little understanding of what motivated the Al-Qaeda attackers and why people around the world feel animosity towards the U.S. President Bush and his neo-con policy-makers have skillfully manipulated this naivete,

telling U.S. citizens that they are under attack because other people are jealous of the many freedoms Americans enjoy. The Bush administration has used 9/11 to articulate a vigilante rhetoric that divides the world up into simplistic binary terms of good and evil, effectively making all attempts to explain and perhaps address the historical, material roots of anti-American animosity a form of treason.<sup>4</sup>

How is it possible for such illusions concerning U.S. beneficence to be maintained given the history of American involvement around the world over the last half century? The shock created by 9/11 derives in large measure from the fact that, despite frequent exertions of military power, the defining characteristic of U.S. imperialism is its informal nature. Unlike previous imperial powers such as Britain and France, that is, the United States has not relied predominantly on territorial conquest abroad. While the onset of U.S. imperium has often been dated from the Spanish-American war, the establishment of colonies in Puerto Rico and the Philippines and the annexation of Hawaii were in fact atypical of the economic, political, and ideological forms of domination that had already come to characterize U.S. power. Instead of developing an extensive colonial apparatus, the U.S. asserted its imperial sway from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century primarily through foreign direct investment and through the modern corporate form, making its power distinct from previous European forms of hegemony.<sup>5</sup> The genius of U.S. policy makers, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, has resided in their corresponding ability to represent America's informal empire in terms of a framework of universal rights. Thus, a pamphlet inserted in *Fortune* magazine at the dawn of American global hegemony in 1942 could proclaim, "a new American 'imperialism,' if it is to be called that, will – or rather can – be quite different from the British type...American imperialism does not

need extra-territoriality; it can get along better in Asia if the tuans and sahibs stay home.”<sup>6</sup>

U.S. hegemony following 1945 was expressed through what Peter Gowan calls a “protectorate system” in which the U.S. reconstructed the economic relations of the core capitalist nations and consolidated a hub-and-spokes network of links to the U.S. security apparatus.<sup>7</sup> This new brand of informal empire, characterized by the penetration of nation-state borders rather than their dissolution, made the model of inter-imperial rivalry envisaged by Lenin seem outmoded for the last half century, at least within the capitalist nations.<sup>8</sup> This was particularly true during the period after 1970, when U.S. neo-liberal ideology rapidly dismantled nation-state borders in the name of free-trade and “globalization.” Despite this increasing inter-penetration of capital and governance on a global scale, the informal character of U.S. imperial power and its reliance on other states, both core and peripheral, to maintain global order has ensured that culture has remained largely national during the last half-century.<sup>9</sup> This observation applies both to U.S. culture and to that of the nations who achieved their independence from European colonial domination under U.S. tutelage after 1945. If, as Edward Said argues in Culture and Imperialism, empire remained a marginally visible presence in most European fiction of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, U.S. global hegemony and the transnational economic, political, and ideological networks on which it relies have been virtually invisible in the realm of domestic cultural production.<sup>10</sup> Literature has thus helped reproduce the insularity that is the ironic corollary of informal U.S. imperialism.

The essential task for a literature intent on challenging contemporary U.S. hegemony is therefore to render visible the transnational networks of power that

characterize American imperialism today. This is a particularly difficult task for the novel, which, unlike more recent media such as the Internet, was one of the primary technologies of print capitalism through which national consciousness was initially consolidated.<sup>11</sup> While the novel clearly played a vital role in articulating anti-colonial nationalist consciousness, metropolitan novels which fail to provide cognitive maps for the transnational reach of U.S. imperial hegemony participate in an ideological veiling of contemporary power relations.<sup>12</sup> In addition, because the contemporary global justice movement (GJM) is characterized by fresh organizational forms that remain based in particular nations but also develop significant transnational linkages, contemporary anti-imperial literature must extend its imaginative orientation to a similar transnational horizon. This new literature would constitute a revival of sorts of what Richard Wright called “the novelists’ international,” one that originates in the new forms of transnational organization associated with the GJM rather than the nationally based, hierarchical, and centralized forms of the Second and Third International.<sup>13</sup> The greatest strength of the GJM is to have revived links between the dispossessed and marginalized of the global North and South. We need a radical popular culture that uses all genres, from the pamphlet to the blog to the novel, to articulate this new solidarity.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, we should expect such a literature to extend the concerns of recent postcolonial literature, which has tended to focus both on the many failures of anti-colonial nationalism and on the migration of people and culture across national boundaries.<sup>15</sup>

Although the outlines of such a literature are difficult to discern at this early stage, Robert Newman’s recent novel [The Fountain at the Center of the World](#) offers a prototype for what such an anti-imperialist literature for the age of globalization might

look like.<sup>16</sup> While other instances of contemporary anti-imperialist literature, including ones far more attentive to gender issues, might have been discussed, I focus here on Newman's work because of its particular attention to the links between branches of the global justice movement in the North and South. Using a Dickensian plot conceit of brothers separated at birth, Newman's epic novel traces the impact of what David Harvey calls "accumulation by dispossession," the privatization of the global commons that has been one of the primary facets of the neo-liberal reconstruction of empire over the last quarter century.<sup>17</sup> In Newman's work, forms of accumulation by dispossession such as water privatization are represented in all their dislocating power, etching their disruptive impact on the alloy of individual and collective experience in multiple, interwoven geographical sites around the globe. While underlining the transnational networked power that sustains imperial power today, Newman's novel also traces the emergence of an anti-capitalist "movement of movements" that links the dispossessed in the capitalist core and periphery. The Fountain at the Center of the World thus documents the emergence of new anti-systemic social movements that over the last decade have come to constitute an important internationalist counter-articulation to global imperial power.<sup>18</sup>

### Enclosing the Global Commons

Newman's novel takes its title from a small fountain in the town of Tonalacapan, located in Mexico's northeastern state, Tamaulipas, "the land of dead rivers." What justifies the notion that this fountain in a dusty provincial town in a far corner of Mexico could be at the center of the world? Tonalacapan's fountain may be a kind of seismograph, the novel's protagonist Chano Salgado speculates, "responding minutely to

everything that's going on everywhere on earth."<sup>19</sup> Since the fountain is fed by underground springs, its gradually diminishing spurts are an index of the region's declining water table. This parched condition is hardly a result of natural causes. Instead, the fountain is in such a sad state because the area's groundwater is being siphoned off by the U.S.-based Ethylclad corporation. Protests a year before the novel's action begins delayed construction of Ethylclad's "toxic-waste plant," but now a court has ruled that the people of Tamaulipas must pay compensation to the multinational for ten months of lost profit. In addition, the completed plant has begun pumping out 60,000 gallons of groundwater a day, intensifying the already advanced process of desertification in Tamaulipas. Tonalacapan's fountain thus lies at the center of the world in as much as its fate is an index of the increasing disenfranchisement of the world's poor as they are stripped of communal water rights.<sup>20</sup> The seemingly innocuous fountain in Newman's novel is thus a symbol for the remorseless encroachment of the forces of privatization on the global commons and the dispossession of those who depend on the precious resources contained in the commons.

The cutting edge of imperialism over the last two decades has been what Naomi Klein calls "the privatization of every aspect of life, and the transformation of every activity and value into a commodity."<sup>21</sup> From water rights to peasants' land to the seeds they plant in that land and even the genetic makeup of indigenous peoples, virtually all aspects of life have been subjected to commodification during the neo-liberal era. The neo-con conquest of Iraq has merely intensified this pillaging of the public realm, as Klein herself noted in a powerful article on the unleashing of radical free market ideology during U.S.-administered "reconstruction" efforts.<sup>22</sup> When activists such as Klein refer to

the “enclosure of the commons,” they signal through this implicit reference to the rise of agrarian capitalism in 18<sup>th</sup> century England that this process is not a new one.<sup>23</sup> Instead, the tide of privatization that has accelerated so dramatically during the neo-liberal era is in fact a structural aspect of capitalism. Conditions in the core capitalist countries have, however, led many analysts to overlook this fact. In his discussion of the new imperialism, David Harvey seeks to explain this blindness by differentiating between struggles over expanded reproduction and those over what he calls “accumulation by dispossession.”<sup>24</sup> The organs of the organized working class in core capitalist nations tended to emphasize struggles over expanded reproduction, fighting through labor unions and political parties during the last two centuries for suffrage, shorter working hours, and access to health care, unemployment insurance, education, and other “benefits” of advanced capitalism. As a result of this emphasis, the ongoing accumulation of capital through dispossession of commonly held assets such as land, water, and minerals tended to be ignored.<sup>25</sup> Had radicals in the industrialized world been more sensitive to the forms of dispossession unfolding in their nation’s colonial possessions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they might not have made such a dramatic conceptual and strategic error. Marx’s description of this process as “primitive accumulation,” developed from his analysis of the origins of agrarian capitalism in Britain, testifies to the Eurocentric character of much radical analysis. By suggesting that such acts took place in an isolated, long-distant temporal moment, Marx’s analysis failed to attend to the geographical expansion of this structural component of capitalist accumulation around the world.

This ignorance concerning accumulation through dispossession helps explain the blindness of most commentators to the character of anti-imperialist struggle over the last two decades. Indeed, the very term imperialism dropped out of both radical and mainstream vocabulary in the core capitalist nations during the 1980s and 1990s. This is due in large part to the fact that the 1970s saw the last great wave of decolonization of the post-war period. However, if overt occupation of foreign territory such as occurred during the age of European colonialism in the nineteenth century or even during the Vietnam war seemed by and large a thing of the past by 1980, accumulation by dispossession or informal imperialism actually accelerated during this period. The increasing bias of the media in core countries towards exclusive coverage of parochial metropolitan issues also helped obscure the nature of the crisis and reconstruction of the capitalist order in the periphery.<sup>26</sup> Taken together, this increasing metropolitan narcissism and the theoretical shortcomings of many radical analysts impeded systemic analysis of the changes that took place during these years and put a brake on efforts to forge unity around common experiences of dispossession in wealthy and poor countries.

The new enclosures in poor nations took place under the sign of debt. Faced with a critical deterioration in trade terms for commodities and inflated energy prices as a result of the OPEC oil embargo in the 1970s, many developing countries borrowed heavily from metropolitan banks, that at the time were awash with petrodollars deposited by the wealthy regimes of the Middle East.<sup>27</sup> While a few countries such as South Korea and Taiwan developed quickly during the late 1970s and early 1980s, most poor countries found themselves facing escalating balance-of-payments crises that left them mired ever more deeply in debt. In response to this situation, international lending organizations

such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) began to intervene by making further loans subject to stringent internal fiscal reform policies. These policies, promoted in the name of stabilization or “structural adjustment,” were widespread by the early 1980s. Their impact on poor countries was nothing short of devastating. Many of the central components of developmental states in both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> world – from price supports for commodity production to decent wages to health care and education - were eradicated in the name of structural adjustment. Although the changes that resulted from IMF-WB policies appeared to be purely economic, they were in fact also political and cultural since they involved a thorough reconfiguration of the relation between the state and civil society in poor countries.<sup>28</sup>

While channeling billions of dollars annually to banks in the core capitalist nations, structural adjustment dramatically deepened poverty in many nations in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> world during the 1980s and ‘90s.<sup>29</sup> As a rule, these austerity measures could only be effectively imposed by relatively authoritarian regimes. Thus, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by U.S.-dominated institutions like the IMF and WB succeeded both in worsening hunger and other forms of deprivation and in intensifying dictatorship in the majority of the countries where they were enforced. States that acquiesced to such policies were widely perceived to have broken the social contract they had established with their people. The predictable result of such perceptions was widespread discontent, which in many situations was translated into demonstrations that targeted both the international lending institutions that mandated SAPs as well as the local governments that implemented them. The insurrections that erupted in the majority of nations where SAPs were imposed were provoked, in other words, not simply by

poverty but also by moral outrage at the perceived betrayal of the social contract by developmental states.<sup>30</sup> Taken together, these uprisings constitute an international strike wave that has lasted for nearly two decades.<sup>31</sup> The core capitalist nations have remained largely ignorant of these insurrections, in general congratulating themselves for the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites and for democratization in Latin America and Asia without understanding the deeper economic and social forces at work behind these watershed events.

Ironically, steps towards democratization in both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> world nations subjected to SAPs have been accompanied by intensification rather than by alleviation of indebtedness and austerity. This has led many in these countries to question the character of democratization. For, while it is true that liberal parliamentary democracy has swept the globe over the last decade, it is a form of rule that has proven itself incapable of restoring the social contract between state and people that led to anti-austerity protests in the first place. Nowhere is this failure more glaringly apparent than in the arrogant and largely unregulated conduct of multinational corporations in poor countries. Moving in droves to nations where wages are low and environmental legislation scarce since the 1970s, multinational corporations have benefited from the sanctity of private property within liberal democratic capitalism to evade popular pressures for regulation. Indeed, according to constitutional law in the U.S., which has tended to set the ground rules for relations between state, business, and civil society around the world since the collapse of communism in 1990, corporations enjoy the legal status of persons. Governments are, as a result, obligated to grant corporations all of the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of profits enjoyed by private individuals, essentially gutting democratic governance.<sup>32</sup> This

legal situation, along with the threat to pull up stakes and move to less politically obstructionist pastures, has given corporations unparalleled power. While transnational corporations have been able to employ human rights law to free themselves of unwanted government regulation, individuals have been impeded from challenging corporate conduct since human rights law is seen to regulate the behavior of states rather than individuals, even if these individuals happen to be corporations. The upshot has been that resistance to corporate power has increasingly been manifest not through government regulation but through forms of dissent within civil society, from the establishment of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to forms of civil disobedience such as non-violent direct action (NVDA).

Faced with the privatization of water rights and with the failure of mass demonstrations to provoke government regulation of Ethylclad's plant, Chano Salgado and his comrades in The Fountain at the Center of the World turn to the extra-legal means of collective bargaining by sabotage. But not before Newman's novel has staged tactical debates between Chano and his friends about the political impact of the destruction of corporate property. With an implicit nod to Edward Abbey's classic novel Monkey Wrench Gang, Chano's friend Ayo argues that it is the despoiling corporations who are the terrorists and that sabotage of corporate property would merely be an act of self-defense (14). Chano resists this line, saying that violence loses the sympathy of the people. His hope that "speaking truth to power" will make a difference gradually evaporates, however, as Ayo reminds him of the many people whose livelihoods are being destroyed by Ethylclad's polluting practices.

Woven through Chano's fragmented thoughts as he tries to decide whether to help Ayo prepare a bomb to blow up the Ethylclad plant's pipes are memories of his life with his lover Marisa and their son Daniel. Marisa, we learn as the novel progresses, has been assassinated for her organizing activities in the factories – or *maquilladoras* - along the border between the U.S. and Mexico. Following her death, Chano is picked up by the military and “disappeared,” to live for two years in a distant prison and, consequently, to lose all trace of his son Daniel. These events help to explain his refusal to engage in political activities for ten years after he is released from jail. They explain the emotional desolation that prevents him from believing in the power of the people to challenge Ethylclad's polluting practices. And they explain his decision to blow up the pipes that feed the region's groundwater into the Ethylclad plant.

Punctuating the narrative of Chano's sabotage of the Ethylclad plant and subsequent life underground, the story of Daniel's journey in search of his father offers a fragile counterpoint of hope to what might otherwise be a very pessimistic tale. Daniel is one of the many people who have been uprooted by the disrupting power of the global financial system and rerouted across multiple borders. The paradox of a borderless economy that operates through increasingly barricaded borders figures repeatedly in Newman's novel, which is filled with border crossings.<sup>33</sup> Of course, the borders that impede the movement of human beings from state to state also make them “illegal,” subjecting them to intensified exploitation and hence functioning as an integral part of the global economy despite their apparently paradoxical character.

Seldom do metropolitan critics of immigration consider the role played by countries like the U.S. in disrupting economies in the 3<sup>rd</sup> world, thereby creating strong

push factors that contribute to migration. Most immigrants are, after all, simply refugees from the undeclared civil wars unleashed by neo-liberalism around the globe. While SAPs have been a major force over the last two decades in undermining the livelihood of poor people around the world, they have not been the only factor. Another important source of migration, both internal and international, has been the Green Revolution. By introducing pesticides, fertilizers, intensive single-crop cultivation, and automated farming techniques, the Green Revolution increased productivity in many 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries but at the same time pushed poor farmers who could not afford to buy the new fossil fuel-based agricultural inputs out of business and off their land.<sup>34</sup> Beto, Daniel's adoptive father in Costa Rica, is experiencing precisely this fate since the exorbitant costs of pesticides, fertilizers, and gasoline are proving too high for a small landowning peasant like him. With no future to hold him in Costa Rica, Daniel joins the crew of a fishing boat named the *Jennifer Lopez* that is setting sail for Mexico. He is intent on finding his father.

When he arrives in Tonalacapan, Daniel encounters two groups of people, whom Newman uses to cast in high relief opposing values of human solidarity and exploitation. On one hand, Daniel meets Chano's friends Oscar and Yolanda, who make a kind of surrogate son out of him. Their own son lived an agonizing life, having been born with fluid filling his skull as a result of Yolanda's work with toxic chemicals in the *maquilladoras*. Now, they struggle to protect Daniel without giving him information about his father that might endanger his life following the sabotage of the Ethylclad plant. Oscar and Yolanda embody the kind of generosity of spirit and political solidarity that Chano has lost sight of, and they do much to teach Daniel about these values. In

particular, they include him in their efforts to organize their fellow workers and to bring about social change through political activism. When the army sends troops to arrest Daniel during a *manifestacion* against neo-liberalism that Yolanda and Oscar have invited him to attend, Oscar saves Daniel by warning him of the danger over his truck's loudspeaker (135). This heroic act costs Oscar his life: the soldiers shoot him down in cold blood.

With this scene, Newman's novel lays bare the nexus of corporate and state power. The attack on Ethylclad's property has set off an escalating confrontation between the people and their government, which is acting to protect corporate property rather than the environment upon which the people depend. Oscar's murder signals that the stakes of opposing this nexus of power are high indeed and suggests that Chano's solitary act of sabotage has reverberations that go far beyond his own exile. More specifically, the killing of Oscar demonstrates that Chano's turn towards sabotage was a strategic error: it elided many other tactics that could have placed pressure on Ethylclad, it left no room for negotiation with the corporation, it had minimal impact, and, most of all, it helped legitimate state violence.<sup>35</sup> Ultimately, it is a peaceful demonstrator like Oscar who is made to pay for Chano's isolated act.

On the opposite pole from Yolanda and Oscar is Blas Mastrangelo, a canny but unscrupulous *coyote* or smuggler of human cargo across the Rio Grande. Blas takes advantage of his fellow countrymen who, desperate to make it to the U.S., are willing to pay cash up front for safe passage. Once the *mojados* or wetbacks wade into the river, Blas releases the slipknot he's tied on their line and drowns them all (59). If Yolanda and Oscar offer living testimony to values of human solidarity, Blas symbolizes the greed and

domination that increasingly define life in a world founded on neo-liberalism.<sup>36</sup> When he meets Daniel, Blas quickly figures out who his father is and smells a way to gain leverage with the local police by turning him in. Throughout this section of the novel, Blas tries to outfox the new head of police, Ilan Cardenas, who embodies the new order ushered in by NAFTA. Immune to the corruption that once conferred immunity on *coyotes* such as Blas, Ilan believes strongly in free trade agreements such as NAFTA. In the new economic order envisioned by Ilan, the police play a key political role: securing the stability necessary to attract foreign investment. Of course, keeping the peace ultimately involves calling in the army, who murder Oscar. Prior to this denouement, however, Blas and Ilan, driven by their own selfish ambitions, each try to manipulate one another, using Daniel as a pawn in their power games. As a result of these egotistical machinations, both Daniel and Chano slip through Ilan's hands. Ilan responds by sending Blas to a prison where a death sentence at the hands of fellow prisoners awaits him.

Through the juxtaposition of Blas and Ilan with Oscar and Yolanda, Newman demonstrates that neo-liberalism is not simply a set of economic policies but also a culture that emphasizes personal gain and hierarchical domination to the exclusion of broader values of social solidarity and mutuality. While Newman's contrast of these different groups of characters lends his novel the character of a strong morality play, the values embodied by such characters have a political valence that extends beyond the individual. For it is precisely the qualities of equality and solidarity that the austerity measures mandated by international lending institutions such as the IMF and WB were perceived as violating by citizens in poor countries around the world over the last two decades. It was the abrogation of these social values that helped spark the uprisings

against neo-liberalism of the last two decades. And it is these same values of solidarity that are not simply animating the global justice movement today but also providing it with its unique organizational forms and political tactics.

### Greenwashing and Popular Power

If neo-liberalism is not a set of economic policies alone but also a hegemonic ideology, then we should expect that one of its core modes of maintaining power would be the manufacture of consent. The Fountain at the Center of the World explores the role of such manipulation through the character of Evan Hatch, Chano's twin brother. Adopted by a middle class British couple when the twins were four years old, Evan has grown up to be cynic about progressive social change and a master massager of public opinion.<sup>37</sup> The theme of brothers separated at birth that provides the narrative scaffolding for Newman's novel offers an inherent challenge to the contemporary reemergence of biological essentialism. As Newman himself notes, "the ancient trope of the prince and the pauper has as its moral that there is nothing intrinsic about the fortune the prince or pauper enjoys."<sup>38</sup> The dramatically different fortunes enjoyed by Chano and Evan are a product of chance and circumstance rather than of some inherent, genetic superiority of the latter, European-bred brother.<sup>39</sup> Newman's novel is thus predicated on an egalitarian structuring plot device, one that systematically unravels Evan's arrogant "master of the universe" attitude. Admittedly, Fountain is certainly less radical in formal terms than other works associated with the Global Justice Movement, including the anonymously authored, anti-copyright novels of the Luther Blissett collective or the recent collaboration of the Zapatistas' Subcomandante Marcos and Mexican novelist Paco

Ignacio Taibo II. Nevertheless, despite its relatively traditional realist format, Newman's work affirms and embodies the egalitarianism that lies at the heart of the Global Justice Movement.<sup>40</sup>

At the novel's outset, Evan is working for a public relations firm whose mission statement asserts that it's easier to change the way people think than to change reality (4). In the society of the spectacle, that is, media-generated public impressions often matter far more than on-the-ground reality, particularly when it comes to events taking place in the distant countries where transnational companies tend to set up shop.<sup>41</sup> While this has been true throughout the era of U.S. global hegemony, the trend towards media concentration has intensified radically over the last decade, making the kind of manipulation engaged in by Evan particularly damaging to progressive causes. As critics such as Robert McChesney have documented, the 1990s were a watershed era in which the corporate media moved from a nation-state platform to establish a global media system dominated by a handful of octopus-like mega-conglomerates such as Time Warner, Disney, and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.<sup>42</sup> The convergence of telecommunications and computing with news media, in tandem with structural adjustment policies that pried open the domestic markets of poor nations, has helped create a new form of electronic imperialism of unprecedented power, undermining the public information function of the media around the world and disseminating neo-liberal ideology into every crevice of the global economy.<sup>43</sup> Despite the utopian ballyhoo surrounding the Internet, opponents of corporate media in both the global North and South face tremendous odds, as this new mode of communication is bent to

overwhelmingly commercial ends in a manner that parallels the commodification of previous media such as radio and television.<sup>44</sup>

In the face of the overwhelming hegemony of the corporate media, members of the global justice movement have extended the tradition of strategic media-oriented activism that stretches back to avant-garde movements such as the Situationist International, whose radical culture jamming helped spark the uprisings of May 1968 in Paris.<sup>45</sup> Picking up on the Situationists' critique of media spectacle, contemporary media activists intervene both by deconstructing the central symbols of dominant discourse and by establishing alternative media and discourses. Inspired by anarchist traditions of autonomous, anti-hierarchical activism, members of the GJM in Robert Newman's home country of Britain created a vibrant counter-culture of squatting, anti-road protests, raves, and alternative, do-it-yourself electronic media such as guerrilla radio and Squall magazine during the 1990s.<sup>46</sup> Although he strenuously eschews the mantle of leader, Newman has been an important protagonist in Britain's DIY movement through his immensely popular work as a political comedian, his writing for magazines such as Squall, his activism on behalf of groups like People's Global Action and the Dissent Network against the G8, and, now, his Fountain at the Center of the World.<sup>47</sup> A product and document of the media activism that characterizes DIY culture, Newman's novel identifies the means through which the corporate media manufactures consent in order to "dispute what is given to us as 'reality'" and thereby challenge the neo-liberal mantra: "there is no alternative."<sup>48</sup>

In a powerful demonstration of the manipulation of public opinion, Evan Hatch and his PR flack colleagues feed stories to the media that help legitimate government

support for right wing regimes, cover up the environmentally destructive impact of corporate practices around the world, and generally foster the impression that there is no alternative to privatization. A good example of these strategies is his clever use of greenwashing. Working for the Competitive Enterprise Institute in New York, Evan sets up front groups such as “the Clean Air Working Group (coal companies against the U.S. Clean Air Act), the Coalition for Sensible Regulation (developers), and the Sea Lion Defense Fund, a trawler consortium fighting limits on factory fishing” (31). When he’s in top form, Evan’s work does not so much repudiate the arguments of anti-corporate activists as sow doubt about the issues under debate to create apathy and passivity among the public.<sup>49</sup>

Evan prides himself on being a hard-nosed realist, someone who, like Blas and Ilan, knows the score and won’t let anyone make a sucker out of him. His capacity to manipulate public opinion gives him a feeling of personal mastery that contrasts strongly with the self-doubt and vacillation that plagues his brother Chano in Mexico. Yet, despite his arrogance, Evan’s body harbors a fatal virus that shatters his feelings of invulnerability. Shortly after attending a meeting of the “social management working group,” whose brief is to defuse opposition to water privatization, Evan is overcome by a paroxysm brought on by his illness (73). He abandons his BMW to stagger through flooded fields until he finds a place to vomit violently. When he returns, he finds that the flooding has submerged his sports car. This scene cleverly evokes the unstoppable power of the natural forces that Evan and the companies wish to commodify. In addition, Evan’s fit, we learn later, is the result of Chagas disease, a tropical illness for which there is no remedy; since Chagas exclusively affects peasants in poor countries, drug

companies have done no research to find a cure (317). Both elements of this scene – the flooding and Evan’s disease - evoke a return of the natural and historical forces that neo-liberal capitalism has repressed. Like the rioting provoked by neo-liberal austerity regimes, they suggest that unrestrained capitalism generates powerful contradictions and counter-forces. Moreover, the images of a virus and a flood attacking the capitalist body also presage the uprising that takes place during the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999.

Much of the second half of Newman’s novel documents the Battle of Seattle. Evan, Chano, and Daniel all converge on Seattle before the WTO meeting in a series of encounters through which Newman explores the events that took place in the streets and hotel suites during this watershed moment. The collapse of the WTO negotiations in Seattle represented one of the most significant defeats for U.S. trade policy since the establishment of the nation’s global hegemony after 1945. Equally importantly, the demonstrations that disrupted the WTO brought the global justice movement to the attention of the public in the Northern hemisphere for the first time, in the process sealing long-developing bonds between social movements from the South and the North.<sup>50</sup> Evan Hatch ironically first evokes the GJM’s transnational solidarity as a way of manipulating the CEOs he advises using fear. When he arrives in Seattle, however, he finds that events are taking place that exceed his most inflated predictions. Evan, Chano, and Daniel find themselves in the midst of an uprising against neo-liberalism that unites the disenfranchised and dispossessed of every continent into a movement of movements.

Representing the Fourth World War

While austerity was imposed on poor countries during the 1980s and 1990s, similar forces were rolling back the social and economic entitlements won by social movements in the rich countries over the last two centuries.<sup>51</sup> The creation of a global assembly line during this period led to massive deindustrialization, structural unemployment, and the rise of the poorly paying service economy in the North. At the same time, new technology was replacing workers and allowing the integration of financial transactions and communications on an unprecedented global scale. The common wealth, from physical assets such as clean air and pure water to public institutions like schools and parks, to intangible assets like civil rights and liberties, came under assault by quickly accumulating corporate power. While governance was hollowed out on a local and national scale, insular, undemocratic institutions such as the World Trade Organization took over the role of regulating capital accumulation on a world scale.

Although this new post-Fordist regime led to unprecedented levels of accumulation for many large corporations and wealthy stockholders, it also deepened the contradictions of capitalism. Once unleashed, the forces of neo-liberal globalization triggered a seemingly inexorable race towards the bottom that gutted democracy, spread poverty, degraded the environment, and fomented political instability around the planet. If the social movements that had opposed unfettered capitalism, including trade unions and social democratic governments, were completely outflanked by the forces of globalization, these same forces began to create common interests among those suffering from globalization. The intensifying inequality generated by capitalism in rut around the world over the last two decades therefore ironically helped social movements overcome

national and interest-group boundaries. Thus, it was the very power accumulated by corporate globalization during the last twenty years that set the stage for the appearance of the first genuinely global resistance to neo-liberal capitalism.

One of the most important moments for this converging movement of movements was the “International *Encuentro* Against Neo-liberalism and For Humanity,” sponsored by the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN) in 1996. The Zapatistas emerged from the remote jungle of Chiapas in southwest Mexico on 1 January 1994 to protest the North American Free Trade Agreement’s elimination of Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, a reform fought for during the revolution that created a nation-wide system of collectively owned and cultivated land.<sup>52</sup> Using new technology such as the Internet that is central to corporate globalization, the Zapatistas spread their message of resistance to neo-liberalism around the world and called on global civil society to support their uprising. In response, Zapatista solidarity groups sprang up around the world. The *Encuentro* of 1996 brought these and many other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) from around the world to the Lacandón rainforest to discuss strategies for working towards alternative, just forms of globalization. The following year, another meeting organized by the Zapatistas gave birth to People’s Global Action, a network of grassroots social movements dedicated to resisting neo-liberal globalization using direct action that helped to plan the demonstrations in Seattle.<sup>53</sup> At the same time, protests against the summit meetings through which the financial architecture of corporate globalization was being constructed became more frequent, beginning with demonstrations at the APEC summit in Manila in 1996. In addition, in core nations such as the U.S., protest groups like ACT UP and Earth First! pioneered radical new strategies

of dissent, putting their bodies on the line in spectacular image events that disrupted corporate business as usual. By 1999, the Zapatista slogan “Ya Basta!” (Enough!) had become a rallying cry that was picked up and amplified by these and other disenfranchised groups around the world.

The Zapatistas and the many other movements that developed alongside them or in their wake were organized along lines that represented a direct challenge not simply to the organs of corporate globalization but also to previous anti-capitalist social movements. For in their struggle for social justice, the latter had unwittingly replicated some of the most pernicious structures of the former, including top-down, vanguardist leadership styles that are inherently anti-democratic. Instead of seeking to create a disciplined cadre bent on taking state power as had the guerrilla bands and radical movements of previous decades, the organizations of illegal immigrants, radical environmentalists, dispossessed peasants and others who form the Global Justice Movement embrace organizational forms that strive to embody egalitarianism and direct democracy.<sup>54</sup> The loosely organized affinity groups, clusters, and spokescouncils that characterize the GJM offer a stark contrast to the elitism of organizations such as the WTO.<sup>55</sup> Out of these new organization forms come radically new tactics that initially left the forces of law and order, whose counter-insurgency techniques were based on tracking down movement leaders, in a quandry.<sup>56</sup> Media representations of the GJM during the Battle of Seattle also hearkened back to the social movements of the 1960s, underscoring the mainstream media’s ignorance of the transnational links that characterize today’s movement of movements.<sup>57</sup> For the novel organization structures and tactics deployed on the streets of Seattle and elsewhere are grounded in new forms of anti-capitalist political

subjectivity that the GJM is generating in its struggle against neo-liberal forces around the planet.

This radical new consciousness is exemplified in Newman's novel in the transformation that Chano and his son undergo while in Seattle. Chano arrives in the city masquerading as his brother in order to escape Mexico. When confronted with the massing affinity groups of the GJM, Chano secretly hopes that the demonstration will fail, thereby confirming his sense of hopelessness (244). In fact, as protesters lock down the streets around the Seattle Convention Center in order to prevent WTO delegates from attending their meetings, there are many moments when the movement seems on the verge of defeat. The leader of the AFL-CIO sells out the protesters who are attempting to shut down the WTO when presented with a paltry seat at the negotiating table (265). As a result, union marshals keep rank-and-file union members away from the area where protesters affiliated with the Direct Action Network (DAN) are occupying the streets in the face of police violence.<sup>58</sup> Chano is also infuriated by the naivete of demonstrators from the U.S. and other affluent countries, who seem completely nonplussed when their creative expressions of non-violent civil disobedience provoke the Seattle police department and the National Guard to acts of escalating, indiscriminate violence (285). Witnessing the incredible bravery and resilience of the DAN protesters in the face of police brutality, however, Chano recovers the optimism he felt when he first met his wife Marisa. After a hurricane hit Tamaulipas, Chano had joined other members of the community in self-organized, autonomous groups that began to reconstruct the community from the ground up.<sup>59</sup> This grassroots activism offered an example of lived solidarity that Chano's experiences in Seattle help reactivate. The novel concludes with

Chano remembering his wife Marisa's gentle reminder of the power of community solidarity (339).

Daniel undergoes a similar transformation in Seattle. Despite incessantly searching the tear gas-filled streets for his father, he never has more than a fleeting encounter with Chano. Notwithstanding this failure to find the man who he hopes will provide him with a sense of roots, Daniel comes to understand the shape of his life by connecting it to the broader struggles against neo-liberalism that are taking place in the streets of Seattle and around the world. At the close of the second day of demonstrations, during which National Guard soldiers fire rubber bullets and toxic CN gas at peaceful protesters, Daniel attends a meeting of a Latino group named Voces de la Frontera. Here, a speaker's words suddenly clarify the meaning of Daniel's life to him:

If the Cold War was the Third World War, she was saying, then this is the Fourth. And it's a war being fought between private power and civil society, between corporations and people.

The more that everything else was changing, the less uprooted Daniel felt [...] And only a new reality – call it the Fourth World War – could, he felt, make sense of his own radically changing experience. It was the golden thread through the maze, the global maze he'd entered on first seeing Beto in a field no longer his own (293).

The golden thread that Daniel picks up at this meeting and during the rest of the Battle of Seattle is the grassroots struggle of the GJM for another world, a struggle that challenges the “there is no alternative” rhetoric of corporate globalization's advocates. Of course, by providing Daniel with this golden thread, the speaker at Voces de la Frontera also

offers the novel's readers a cognitive map that clarifies the otherwise apparently random movements of the characters across national borders. By articulating the stakes that are at play in the Battle of Seattle in the simple terms of private power versus civil society, the speaker offers a powerful slogan for the GJM that is precisely the sort of clear explanation necessary for the movement to reach a broader audience.<sup>60</sup> With this newfound understanding of the meaning of his experience in hand, Daniel embraces his father's struggle for a fuller sense of human possibility than that offered by neo-liberalism. The last time we hear of Daniel, he has traveled to the town of Cochabamba in Bolivia to protest against the Bechtel Corporation's notorious privatization of water supplies.<sup>61</sup> By following Daniel and his father as they cross many national borders, Newman's The Fountain at the Center of the World links together the many diverse instances of commodification of the global commons. The novel thereby provides readers with a clear sense of the realities behind corporate globalization and of the alternative vision offered by the movement for global justice.

### Conclusion

Although The Fountain at the Center of the World concludes on this optimistic note, the novel also devotes a great deal of attention to the repression experienced by GJM protesters in Seattle. By cataloguing in detail the various forms of gas, pepper spray, and beating to which members of DAN were subjected, Newman's novel offers a counter-narrative to that offered by the corporate media. Both during the Battle of Seattle and at subsequent GJM protests, the mainstream media tends to focus obsessively on the few instances of violence by demonstrators and to ignore the systematic forms of

brutality deployed by the police and National Guard.<sup>62</sup> The media's focus on the spectacle of demonstrators battling or being beaten up by police in the streets may have made for sensation viewing, but it completely silenced the reasons for the demonstrations, suggesting that the events in Seattle simply had to do with hooliganism versus law and order. The upshot of such media representation was to legitimate a popular authoritarian mentality in a significant segment of the U.S. public that supports draconian infractions of constitutional rights to free speech and public dissent.<sup>63</sup>

The alarming character of this popular authoritarianism is perhaps most apparent in relation to pepper spray, to which many characters in Newman's novel are subjected. In 1997, a group of environmental protesters who had locked themselves together in the office of a California Congressman were subjected to torture by the local sheriff's department. The policemen deliberately held the protesters' eyelids open and repeatedly applied the excruciatingly painful pepper spray onto their open tear ducts, despite the protesters' screams of agony. Notwithstanding their cries of pain, the protesters – all of whom were female - had no physical signs of abuse that might have offered “objective” evidence of police abuse. Pepper spray thus seems to be the ideal postmodern police device since it effectively ruptures the link between signifier (pepper spray) and signified (pain).<sup>64</sup> In fact, the screams of the protesters in reaction to the spray's application were characterized in the press as the overwrought reactions of “hysterical” women. Unlike the public reaction to Rodney King's beating earlier in the decade, the public and members of the jury who deadlocked on the case brought by the protesters against the police condoned police brutality because of the character of the torture inflicted. A U.S. District Court judge subsequently ruled that the police had “acted reasonably,” a ruling

that still stands, legitimating the now ubiquitous application of pepper spray against demonstrators engaging in non-violent civil disobedience in the U.S.

The incidents of police violence assiduously recorded by Newman's novel suggest that neo-liberalism, the cutting edge of U.S. imperial culture over the last two decades, always contained within it the seeds of the neo-con authoritarianism that the Bush administration has adopted both at home and around the world. As Antonio Gramsci stressed, consent and coercion are the two linchpins through which hegemony is maintained. However, the last two decades have demonstrated a consistent erosion of the mechanisms through which the state maintains consent in both the core capitalist countries and in poor nations. As a result, there has been an unrelenting shift towards forms of authoritarianism and repression in order to implement the neo-liberal program of stripping the commons around the world. People in poor countries and in communities of color in wealthy nations such as the U.S. and U.K. have recognized and sought to challenge this shift towards coercion for several decades. Since the Battle of Seattle, however, the rise of popular authoritarianism has begun to affect not simply marginalized communities but the basic constitutional order of the U.S. and universal civil liberties it purportedly upholds. Measures such as the USA PATRIOT Act and the now widespread practice of caging demonstrators in barbed wire "free speech zones" many blocks away from the events they are protesting are in direct violation of the Bill of Rights.<sup>65</sup>

In her discussion of the origins of European fascism, Hannah Arendt stresses that the central doctrines and strategies of Nazism – including genocide - germinated in the colonies.<sup>66</sup> A very similar process is unfolding in the U.S. today. Just as neo-liberal doctrines of "structural adjustment" led to uprisings, government repression and

resistance in many poor countries around the world over the last two decades, so the increasingly extreme implementation of free market fundamentalist in the U.S. since the Battle of Seattle has led to increasing resistance and authoritarianism. Particularly after 9/11, the GJM, which developed an unparalleled understanding of the workings of corporate globalization, has been faced with new challenge of theorizing and implementing strategies to counter-act a climate of intensifying state repression.<sup>67</sup> The challenges are immense. Almost all forms of dissent other than letter writing have now been criminalized in the U.S.<sup>68</sup> The long-established tactic of non-violent direct action, whose roots go back all the way to Thoreau and which has been the basis of vital movements for civil rights and peace in the U.S., now provokes thinly veiled forms of torture by state authorities. As the media becomes ever more dominated by right wing monopolies, it became increasingly difficult to articulate the grievances and goals of the GJM to a broader public. Notwithstanding these challenges, the GJM continues to develop radical alternative means of disseminating its message, from the development of the Internet-based Indymedia independent news service to the World Social Forums at which people from around the world have met to draft a platform for an alternative to the neo-liberal order.<sup>69</sup> Robert Newman's [The Fountain at the Center of the World](#) is an important part of this project to imagine a better world.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Knopf, 1993.), 96; C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution (New York: Knopf, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> For analysis of the domestic impact of previous U.S. imperial policies, see Amy Kaplan, Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers Johnson, Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire (New York: Holt, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> The campaign by groups such as the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (associated with Vice President Cheney's wife Lynn) against academics who seek to place 9/11 in historical perspective offers abundant evidence of this 'you're either with us or against us' mentality.

<sup>5</sup> Leo Panitch and Sam Gindin, "Global Capitalism and American Empire," in Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, eds., The New Imperial Challenge: Socialist Register 2004 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2003), 10.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Panitch, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Gowan, The Global Gamble: Washington's Faustian Bid for World Dominance (New York: Verso, 1999),

<sup>8</sup> Events since 9/11 have underlined the importance of an analysis of U.S. state power and its problematic relation with other states, making the post-structuralist discussion in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's Empire (New York: Harvard University Press, 2000) seem particularly wrong-headed.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Denning argues that emphasis on a Gramscian national-popular also helped obscure transnational connections during what he calls the age of three worlds. See Michael Denning, Culture in the Age of Three Worlds (New York: Verso, 2004), 8.

<sup>10</sup> Countries on the receiving end of U.S. power have been all too aware of the penetration of American culture. For a classic reading of this cultural imperialism, see Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic (New York: International General, 1975).

<sup>11</sup> Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (New York: New Left Books, 1991).

<sup>12</sup> "Cognitive mapping" is discussed by Fredric Jameson in his chapter in Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and Edward Said, Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Denning, 51.

<sup>14</sup> Newman explicitly states that his novel is in conversation with other genres such as the pamphlet, the leaflet, and the political tract. The common thread that unites these genres is, according to Newman, that they "insist that truth is not what it is taken to be and that you will have to go off the beaten track to find it." Robert Newman, personal communication (1 July 2005).

<sup>15</sup> For criticism of the iconoclastic literature of nationalist disillusionment, see Tim Brennan, Salman Rushdie and The Third World: Myths of the Nation (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) and Neil Lazarus, Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the

Postcolonial World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Such perspectives have been relatively marginal, however, with far more attention focusing on alternatives to national identity through critical concepts such as “diaspora.”

<sup>16</sup> The work of the Bolognese writers’ collective that initially worked under the pseudonym Luther Blissett and currently operates as the Wu Ming Foundation offers another prototype of such fiction explicitly affiliated to the GJM. For examples, see Luther Blissett, Q (New York: Harcourt, 2004) and Wu Ming Foundation, 54 (New York: Heinemann, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> David Harvey, The New Imperialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 158.

<sup>18</sup> For an illuminating discussion of the important distinctions between today’s global justice movement and previous anti-systemic movements, see Immanuel Wallerstein, “New Revolts Against the System,” in Tom Mertes, ed., A Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible? (New York: Verso, 2004), 262-274.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Newman, The Fountain at the Center of the World (New York: Soft Skull, 2004), 12. Further references to the novel will be included in the text in parenthesis.

<sup>20</sup> Privatization of water resources is likely to be a source of intensifying inequality and conflict in the future. For recent discussions of this issue, see Marq de Villiers, Water: The Fate of Our Most Precious Resource (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), Vandana Shiva, Water Wars (Boston, MA: South End Press, 2001), and Diana Raines Ward, Water Wars: Drought, Flood, Folly and the Politics of Thirst (New York: Riverhead, 2002).

<sup>21</sup> Naomi Klein, “Reclaiming the Commons,” in Mertes, 220.

<sup>22</sup> Naomi Klein, “Baghdad Year Zero: Pillaging Iraq in Pursuit of a Neocon Utopia,” Harper’s (Sept 2004): 43-53.

<sup>23</sup> For a detailed discussion of agrarian capitalism in England, see Ellen Meiksins Wood, The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View (New York: Verso, 2002).

<sup>24</sup> Harvey, 171.

<sup>25</sup> Harvey, 171.

<sup>26</sup> Emma Miller, “Representing the South,” in Andy Oppel and Donnalyn Pompper, eds., Representing Resistance: Media, Civil Disobedience, and the Global Justice Movement (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that poor countries only turned to borrowing because of the refusal of the wealthy nations to back progressive trade agreements such as those UNCTAD sought to implement. See Walden Bello, “UNCTAD: Time to Lead, Time to Challenge the WTO,” in Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, eds. Globalize This! The Battle Against the WTO and Corporate Rule (Monroe, ME: Common Courage, 2000), 163-170.

<sup>28</sup> John Walton and David Seddon, Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 21.

<sup>29</sup> Walton and Seddon stress that UN organizations were circulating studies showing the tendency for poverty to increase in nations subjected to SAPs from 1983 onwards. This did not, however, lead to a dismantling of austerity programs. See Walton and Seddon, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Drawing on E. P. Thompson's reading of pre-modern food riots, Walton and Seddon emphasize the "moral economy" of modern anti-austerity protests. See Walton and Seddon, 31.

<sup>31</sup> Walton and Seddon, 23.

<sup>32</sup> In a ruling in the 1886 case of *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that 14<sup>th</sup> amendment rights originally intended to protect emancipated slaves applied equally to corporations. Ten years later the court rescinded those rights for black people but left them intact for corporations in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. For discussion of the resulting corporate takeover of the ability to govern, see Georges Monbiot, "Corporations Behave As If They Are More Human Than We Are," Guardian 5 Oct. 2000 and William Greider, Who Will Tell The People: The Betrayal of American Democracy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993). Newman refers to this decision in Fountain, 151.

<sup>33</sup> Commentators such as Arjun Appadurai have noted the multiple flows of capital, commodities, and information that are associated with globalization in Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1996). Ironically, barriers to the movement of (poor) people have in most cases been strengthened despite the increasing freedom of movement in other sectors.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of the impact of the Green Revolution, see Vandana Shiva, The Violence of the Green Revolution: Third World Agriculture, Ecology, and Politics (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed, 1991) and Fred Magdoff, John Bellamy Foster, and Frederick H. Buttel, eds., Hungry for Profit: The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food, and the Environment (New York: Monthly Review, 2000).

<sup>35</sup> As Eddie Yuen puts it in a discussion of the Black Bloc's window smashing during the Battle of Seattle, "clandestine activity invariably brings about a climate of spectatorship, repression, and paranoia that is anathema to movement building – and much more manageable by the state." See Eddie Yuen, "Introduction," in Eddie Yuen, Daniel Burton Rose, and George Katsiaficas, eds., The Battle of Seattle: the New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization (New York: Soft Skull, 2001), 12.

<sup>36</sup> For a scathing discussion of the cultural shift from castigation to celebration of materialism and greed, see Neal Wood, Tyranny in America: Capitalism and National Decay (New York: Verso, 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Transnational adoption has received significant attention not simply as a way of imagining globalization, but as a problematic practice related to uneven development. See, for example, Toby Alice Volkman, "Embodying Chinese Culture: Transnational Adoption in North America," Social Text 21.1 (Spring 2003).

<sup>38</sup> Robert Newman, personal communication (1 July 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Newman explained to me that he read Biology as Ideology, which contains a powerful critique of neo-Darwinian justifications for social inequality, while composing his novel. See Richard Lewontin, Biology as Ideology (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992).

<sup>40</sup> As the Ecologist put it, Newman's work is "the first novel to explore the human story behind the placard waving and polemics of globalization."

<sup>41</sup> The classic work on this topic is, of course, Guy Debord's Society of the Spectacle, transl. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Boston, MA: Zone Books 1995).

<sup>42</sup> Robert McChesney and John Nichols, Our Media, Not Theirs: The Democratic Struggle Against Corporate Media (New York: Seven Stories, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Daya Kishan Thussu, "Infotainment International: A View from the South," in Daya Kishan Thussu, ed., Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance (New York: Arnold, 1998): 63-77.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Golding, "Worldwide Wedge: Division and Contradiction in the Global Information Infrastructure," in Daya Kishan Thussu, ed., Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance (New York: Arnold, 1998): 135-149.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of links between the GJM and the Situationist International, see Asa Wettergren, "Like Moths to a Flame- Culture Jamming and the Global Spectacle," in Andy Oppel and Donnaly Pompper, Eds., Representing Resistance: Media, Civil Disobedience, and the Global Justice Movement (Westport, CT: Praegar, 2003): 27-43.

<sup>46</sup> Britain's DIY culture is described in George McKay, DIY Culture: Party and Protest in 1990s Britain (New York: Verso, 1998) and Senseless Acts of Beauty: Cultures of Resistance Since the Sixties (New York: Verso, 1996).

<sup>47</sup> Many of these activities are documented on Newman's website at <http://www.robertnewmancorp.fsnet.co.uk>. Note that Newman's novel was published in Britain by Verso, the imprint that has published the lion's share of Global Justice Movement documents in English.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Newman, personal communication (1 July 2005).

<sup>49</sup> Greenwashing has become a standard weapon in the corporate arsenal. See Eveline Lubbers, Battling Big Business: Countering Greenwashing, Front Groups, and Other Forms of Corporate Deception (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2002) and Brian Tokar, Earth for Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwashing (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1997).

<sup>50</sup> There are now many books documenting the Battle of Seattle. In addition to Yuen, Burton Rose, and Katsiaficas's excellent book, readers should consult Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, 5 Days that Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond (New York: Verso, 2000) and Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, eds., Globalize This! The Battle Against the WTO and Corporate Rule (Monroe, ME: Common Courage, 2000).

<sup>51</sup> For a concise description of the most significant aspects of "globalization," see Jeremy Brecher, Tim Costello, and Brendan Smith, Globalization from Below: The Power of Solidarity (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000).

<sup>52</sup> Notes from Nowhere, eds., We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism (New York: Verso, 2003), 22.

<sup>53</sup> Notes from Nowhere, 24.

<sup>54</sup> Yuen makes the important point that the GJM is a critique of both corporate globalization and of the New Left. See Yuen, 8.

<sup>55</sup> For a discussion of the organization structures during the Battle of Seattle, see Starhawk, 'How We Really Shut Down the WTO,' in Danaher and Burbach, 37.

<sup>56</sup> The Rand Corporation prepared a report for government counter-insurgency agencies that described the GJM as a *swarm*. See Notes from Nowhere, 66.

<sup>57</sup> This ignorance also conveniently obscured the truly anti-systemic character of the protests in Seattle. See George Katsiaficas, "Seattle Was Not the Beginning," in Yuen, 32.

<sup>58</sup> Newman's book thus offers a challenge to the much-ballihooded notion of a coalition between unions and environmentalists. For a discussion of this aspect of the Battle of Seattle, see John C. Berg, ed., Teamsters and Turtles: US Progressive Political Movements in the 21 st Century (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

<sup>59</sup> The GJM has strong roots in the historical anarchist movement and in more recent outgrowths such as Italian *autonomia*. See David Graeber, "The New Anarchists," New Left Review 13 (Jan/Feb 2002): 61-73.

<sup>60</sup> Brecher, Costello, and Smith are particularly clear on the diverse strategies that the GJM needs to pursue in order to communicate its message to a broader audience. See their Globalization from Below, 91-106.

<sup>61</sup> Bechtel's conduct in Cochabamba has become notorious among GJM activists. The company raised water rates as much as 200% after gaining the franchise to run the city's water system and forced barrio-dwellers to pay for permits to gather rainfall off their own tin roofs. See Pratap Chatterjee, "The Earth Wrecker," San Francisco Bay Guardian, 31 May 2000, <<http://www.sfbg.com>> and Kayla M. Starr, "The Blue Gold Rush," Sentient Times, Dec 2002/Jan 2003, <<http://www.sentienttimes.com>>

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of how media representation effectively constituted the GJM as a subaltern public sphere, see Anne Marie Todd, "Whose Public Sphere? The Party and the Protests of America 2000" in Oppel and Pompper, 99-108.

<sup>63</sup> Stuart Hall and his colleagues at the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies developed the concept of popular authoritarianism in the context of British race riots during the 1970s. Their analysis unfortunately applies all too well to the contemporary U.S. See Stuart Hall et. al., Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order (London: Macmillan, 1978).

<sup>64</sup> Andy Oppel, "Punishment Before Prosecution: Pepper Spray as Postmodern Repression" in Oppel and Pompper, 55.

<sup>65</sup> For discussion of the USA PATRIOT Act's infringement on civil liberties, consult Brown, Cynthia, ed., Lost Liberties: Ashcroft and the Assault on Personal Freedom (New York: New Press, 2003).

<sup>66</sup> Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Meridian, 1951), 206.

<sup>67</sup> Walden Bello stresses that the GJM has tended to delink the economic logic of corporate globalization from the military-industrial complex. See "The Global South" in Mertes, 57.

<sup>68</sup> For a particularly passionate indictment of today's "jackboot state," see Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, 100-112.

<sup>69</sup> On Indymedia, see Dorothy Kidd, "Become the Media: The Global IMC Network," in Oppel and Pompper, 224-240.