

## Recent Books on Globalization

**Sarah Anderson and John Cavanagh. *Field Guide to the Global Economy.* (New York: The New Press, 2000).**

*Illustrated with charts, graphs, and political cartoons, Field Guide to the Global Economy makes the international economy comprehensible to everyone while revealing the harmful effects of corporate-driven globalization. Published in conjunction with the Institute for Policy Studies, a Washington, D.C.-based, independent center for research and education, Field Guide to the Global Economy describes how the global flow of goods, services, money, and people affects communities, workers, the poor, and the environment. The book also offers a worldwide survey of the efforts of shareholders, voters, consumers, students, workers, environmentalists, and artists, all of whom are responding to the negative impacts of globalization.*

**Stanley Aronowitz & Heather Gautney, eds. *Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century World Order.* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).**

*Implicating Empire is the first book to critically examine the various dimensions of globalization and resistance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and to integrate them into a wide-ranging analysis. Contributors to the volume consider the future of globalization in the wake of recent terrorist attacks as well as the degree to which globalization itself has now been implicated as a volatile and potentially destructive force. The contributors consider questions of resistance, theories of empire, the state, imperialism and the complications that have arisen in the politics and strategy of the burgeoning global resistance movement against supranational institutions such as the IMF, WTO, and the World Bank.*

**Walden Bello and Tom Engelhardt. *Dilemmas of Domination : The Unmaking of the American Empire [The American Empire Project].* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005).**

*A professor of sociology and public administration at the University of the Philippines, Bello offers a provocative analysis of why he--and much of the world--sees the U.S. empire beginning to weaken. Since he believes that U.S. supremacy is unlikely to falter anytime soon, Bello focuses on its underpinnings and perceptions of its legitimacy. After a brief examination of U.S. grand strategy over the last half century, Bello (*De-Globalization*) concentrates on the post-9/11 world, arguing that U.S. military credibility has been compromised by actions in Iraq. A related review of U.S.-centrist globalization follows, from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the present, with a sustained critique of the current U.S. administration's policies. Most instructive are Bello's clear and cogent case studies of Southern countries that are frequently dissatisfied with the U.S.'s role in the WTO, IMF and World Bank. He argues that because the U.S. government's actions in the international arena reflect, at their core, the needs of American capitalism, the U.S. fails to champion liberal democracy and thereby loses legitimacy in the eyes of the world. Most of what's here is not news, but it is a concise and thoughtful global South perspective on America's military, economic, and political realities.*

**Jagdish Bhagwati. *In Defense of Globalization.* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).**

*In this elegant book, one of the world's preeminent economists distills his thinking about globalization for the lay reader. Bhagwati, a former adviser to the U.N. on globalization, sets out to show that "this process has a human face, but we need to make that face more agreeable." Armed with a wit uncharacteristic of most writing on economics and drawing on references from history, philosophy and literature as well as some "state of the art econometric analysis," he sets out to prove that the antiglobalization movement has exaggerated claims that globalization has done little good for poor countries. For example, supported by statistics from the Asian Development Bank, he argues, astonishingly, that in China the "aggressively outward economic policies" that characterize globalization reduced poverty from 28% of the population in 1978 to 9% in 1998. Nevertheless, Bhagwati does not advocate total laissez-faire economics and recommends that continued globalization should be "managed," prescribing policies he believes will "reinforce and ensure" its benign effects, such as taxing skilled workers who leave poor countries for jobs abroad, using nongovernmental organizations as corporate watchdogs, slowing financial liberalization and loosening intellectual property safeguards. This book might be seen as a companion piece to 2002's bestselling *Globalization and Its Discontents* by Joseph Stiglitz, Bhagwati's colleague at Columbia University; it should reach as broad an audience, if not broader. Don't be deceived by its relative brevity: this is a substantial study that is as about as enjoyable—and reassuring—a work of economics as may be possible to write in this uncertain age.*

**Roger Burbach. *Globalization and Postmodern Politics: From Zapatistas to High-Tech Robber Barons.* (London: Pluto Press, 2001).**

*In this provocative critique of globalization, Roger Burbach reveals how institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund and the transnational corporations are intent upon exercising a new hegemony over our lives while the role of the traditional nation state is transformed. At the center of this power shift is a group of high-tech robber barons who dominate the information age and exploit the technologies of globalization for their own narrow interests. Assessing the response to this concentration of power and wealth, Burbach explores the rise of new postmodern grassroots oppositional movements. Manifest in such diverse struggles as the uprising of the Zapatistas in Mexico and the battle of Seattle against the WTO, Burbach argues that this new postmodern politics is "decentered" and has little interest in the old ideologies that dominated much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He draws on contemporary historical experiences, such as the demise of socialist and proto-socialist experiments in Chile, Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba, while discussing the emergence of an array of movements comprised of the marginalized, the dispossessed and those who refuse to accept the rule of transnational elites.*

**Amy Chua. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability.* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004).**

*A professor at Yale Law School, Chua eloquently fuses expert analysis with personal recollections to assert that globalization has created a volatile concoction of free markets and democracy that has incited economic devastation, ethnic hatred and genocidal violence throughout the developing world. Chua illustrates the disastrous consequences arising when an accumulation of wealth by "market dominant minorities" combines with an increase of political power by a disenfranchised majority. Chua refutes the "powerful assumption that markets and democracy go hand in hand" by citing specific examples of the turbulent conditions within countries such as Indonesia, Russia, Sierra Leone, Bolivia and in the Middle East. In Indonesia,*

*Chua contends, market liberalization policies favoring wealthy Chinese elites instigated a vicious wave of anti-Chinese violence from the suppressed indigenous majority. Chua describes how "terrified Chinese shop owners huddled behind locked doors while screaming Muslim mobs smashed windows, looted shops and gang-raped over 150 women, almost all of them ethnic Chinese." Chua blames the West for promoting a version of capitalism and democracy that Westerners have never adopted themselves. Western capitalism wisely implemented redistributive mechanisms to offset potential ethnic hostilities, a practice that has not accompanied the political and economic transitions in the developing world. As a result, Chua explains, we will continue to witness violence and bloodshed within the developing nations struggling to adopt the free markets and democratic policies exported by the West.*

**Thomas L. Friedman. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree.* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000).**

*Friedman offers an engrossing look at the new international system that is transforming world affairs today. Globalization has replaced the Cold War system with the integration of capital, technology, and information across national borders—uniting Brazilian peasants, Indonesian entrepreneurs, Chinese villagers, and Silicon Valley technocrats in a single global village. You cannot understand the morning news, know where to invest your money, or think about the future unless you understand this new system, which is profoundly influencing virtually every country in the world today. Friedman tells you what this new electronic global economy is all about and what it will take to live within it. Friedman dramatizes the conflict of “the Lexus and the olive tree”—the tension between the globalization system and the ancient forces of culture, geography, tradition, and community. He also details the powerful backlash that globalization produces among those who feel brutalized by it, and he spells out what we all need to do to keep the Lexus and the olive tree in balance.*

**Timothy Gorringer. *Fair Shares: Ethics and the Global Economy.* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1999).**

*This ethical analysis of the forces at work in the world economy argues that the present global market encourages greed and arrogance, destroying communities and damaging the planet. The obsession with making money has obscured real values, creating a modern version of the Midas story. Justice in its broadest sense—fair shares for all—is eloquently held up as the prime virtue of human communities. Gorringer suggests practical ways of bringing about an ethical transformation to replace the spiraling profit-driven system with a steady-state economy that meets human needs and encompasses the well-being of other species and the environment.*

**John Gray. *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism.* (New York: The New Press, 1998).**

*Hailed by Kirkus Reviews as both “a convincing analysis of an international economy” and “a powerful challenge to economic orthodoxy,” False Dawn proposes that the attempt to impose the Anglo-American—style free market on the world will create a disaster on the scale of Soviet communism. Gray believes that even America, the supposed flagship of the new civilization, is doomed to moral and social disintegration as it loses ground to cultures that have never forgotten that the market works best when it is embedded in society. Gray has decided that the conservative agenda is no longer viable. In his examination of the ripple-effects of the economic turmoil in Russia and Asia on our collective future, Gray provides one of the most passionate polemics against the utopia of the free market since Carlyle and Marx.*

**William Greider. *One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism.* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1997).**

*The world is in the midst of an industrial and economic revolution more far-reaching than the one that transformed Europe and North America in the 19th century. According to William Greider, this revolution is a juggernaut that neither multinational corporations nor governments can control. Greider looks at the impact of the global revolution in terms of human struggle. While huge amounts of wealth are being generated, there is a downside, too: social dislocation; economic uncertainty; and the oldest, rawest form of exploitation--that of the weak by the strong. Greider proposes a number of steps governments of the world can take to avert disaster: moderate the flow of goods by imposing tariffs to rectify trade deficits, change labor practices in developing countries, and allow labor to share in the ownership of capital.*

**Hans-Henrik Holm and Georg Sorensen, Eds. *Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War.* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).**

*A study on globalization that is challenging, timely, and unique. Challenging in that Holm and Sorensen provide rich theory regarding globalization and nationalism. Timely in that the various authors illustrate how these trends play out differently in distinct world regions in the 1990s. Unique in that the editors have done an excellent job of blending multiple, diverse voices into a single volume that reads seamlessly.*

**Noreena Hertz. *The Silent Takeover : Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy.* (New York: HarperBusiness, 2003).**

*In the new global economy, the rule of government has taken a backseat to the power of big business. Corporations control much of the way we live, from the quality of the food on our plates to the news we consume through the media. According to Hertz, NAFTA and the WTO allow a small group of unelected officials who answer to no one but big multinational corporations to make secret rulings that can override the laws of nations in the name of fair trade. Although it's depressing to read her account of the market rule we live under, she does offer hope. In a society of consumerism, individuals do have power when they vote with their pocketbooks. Protest is back, and the Internet has become a powerful medium for dissenting voices. Not only that, investigative journalism, boycotts, and sensitivity to their public image have suddenly made business leaders mindful of ethics.*

**The International Forum on Globalization. *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World is Possible.* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2002).**

*The International Forum on Globalization (IFG) is an alliance of leading activists, scholars, economists, researchers, and writers—representing 60 organizations in 25 countries—that was formed in 1994 to stimulate new thinking, joint activity, and public education in response to economic globalization. This consensus document has been a collaborative project of a drafting committee made up of twelve members of the IFG Board of Directors, along with seven other contributors.*

**Naomi Klein. *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate.* (New York: Picador Books, 2002).**

*The success of Klein's No Logo, a slashing account of how corporations actively go after "market share" and the global misery that can result, makes anticipation for her next project high. As Klein notes in her preface, this book is more a stopgap than a follow-up. Covering the period of late 1999 to 2002, the book collects Klein's in-the-trenches journalism about sweatshops, genetically modified foods, evolving police tactics for crowd control and more. The two title images recur throughout: the fences are real, steel cages keeping protesters from interfering with summits, but they are also metaphorical, such as the "fence" of poverty that prevents the poor from receiving adequate education or health care. Klein argues that globalization has only delivered its promised benefits to the world's wealthiest citizens and that its emphasis on privatization has eroded the availability of public services around the globe. Critics have suggested that the "anti-globalization" movement (a term loathed, Klein notes, by many people actually involved) lacks a cohesive structure, but Klein generally sees this decentralization as a strength, likening the small groups' "hub and spoke" organization to that of linked Web sites. While Klein offers snapshots of success stories involving Nike, Starbucks and other corporate monoliths, she wisely does not suggest any easy solutions to this complex mesh of problems. Despite post-September 11 talk to the contrary, these dispatches indicate that the movement is far from over.*

**David C. Korten. *When Corporations Rule the World.* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2001).**

*Building on the electrifying, bestselling first edition of When Corporations Rule the World, this new edition expands and updates Korten's laser-like analysis of how global corporations dominate people and their governments, and the miserable conditions that result when the few rule the many. Korten then shows practical pathways to a realizable future of more just, prosperous, and sustainable societies. This book will agitate your mind, elevate your soul, and engage your civic spirit. —Ralph Nader*

**John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge. *A Future Perfect: The Challenge and Hidden Promise of Globalization.* (New York: Crown Business Books, 2000).**

*A Future Perfect is the first comprehensive examination of the most important revolution of our time--globalization--and how it will continue to change our lives. The authors, John Micklethwait and Adrian Wooldridge, correspondents for The Economist, won the Financial Times/Booz Allen Hamilton Global Business Book Award on Strategy and Leadership for their previous collaboration, The Witch Doctors. In A Future Perfect, Micklethwait and Wooldridge expand their field of vision in order to analyze, demystify, and expose the global forces reshaping our world, and they detail both the challenge and the hidden promise those forces hold for individuals, businesses, and governments. Do businesses benefit from going global? Are we creating winner-take-all societies? Will globalization seal the triumph of junk culture? What will happen to individual careers? Gathering evidence from the shantytowns of São Paulo to the boardroom of General Electric, from the troubled Russia-Estonia border to the booming San Fernando Valley sex industry, Micklethwait and Wooldridge mount a powerful, witty, levelheaded defense of globalization. Along the way, the authors introduce us to the cosmocrats--the members of the elite business, information, and diplomatic class who are creating the new world order. They also identify the three engines of globalization and describe how people are managing and governing in an increasingly global era. As they did in The Witch Doctors, the authors also brilliantly puncture myths and conventional wisdom, separating false hopes from emerging*

realities. *Incisive, expansive, and optimistic, A Future Perfect is an illuminating tour of the global economy and a fascinating assessment of its potential impact.*

**John Perkins. *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man.* (New York: Berrett-Koehler, 2004).**

*John Perkins started and stopped writing Confessions of an Economic Hit Man four times over 20 years. He says he was threatened and bribed in an effort to kill the project, but after 9/11 he finally decided to go through with this expose of his former professional life. Perkins, a former chief economist at Boston strategic-consulting firm Chas. T. Main, says he was an "economic hit man" for 10 years, helping U.S. intelligence agencies and multinationals cajole and blackmail foreign leaders into serving U.S. foreign policy and awarding lucrative contracts to American business. "Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars," Perkins writes. Confessions of an Economic Hit Man is an extraordinary and gripping tale of intrigue and dark machinations. Think John Le Carré, except it's a true story.*

*Perkins writes that his economic projections cooked the books Enron-style to convince foreign governments to accept billions of dollars of loans from the World Bank and other institutions to build dams, airports, electric grids, and other infrastructure he knew they couldn't afford. The loans were given on condition that construction and engineering contracts went to U.S. companies. Often, the money would simply be transferred from one bank account in Washington, D.C., to another one in New York or San Francisco. The deals were smoothed over with bribes for foreign officials, but it was the taxpayers in the foreign countries who had to pay back the loans. When their governments couldn't do so, as was often the case, the U.S. or its henchmen at the World Bank or International Monetary Fund would step in and essentially place the country in trusteeship, dictating everything from its spending budget to security agreements and even its United Nations votes. It was, Perkins writes, a clever way for the U.S. to expand its "empire" at the expense of Third World citizens. While at times he seems a little overly focused on conspiracies, perhaps that's not surprising considering the life he's led.*

**John Rapley. *Globalization and Inequality: Neoliberalism's Downward Spiral.* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).**

*Has the far-reaching experiment in creating a new world order along neoliberal lines succeeded? John Rapley answers with an emphatic no, contending that the rosy picture painted by neoliberal proponents of globalization was based on false assumptions. True, Rapley acknowledges, neoliberal reforms often did generate economic growth—but at a price. The resulting increase in inequality led to political instability and spawned tendencies ranging from right-wing populism to renewed ethnic and Islamic militancy. Rapley offers a range of cases to illustrate how neoliberal globalization has helped to destroy regimes in the developing world by profoundly altering patterns of income distribution and resource allocation. The political tensions unleashed by these regime crisis, he argues, are now being manifested around the globe, with the negative consequences still to be fully realized.*

**Mitchell A. Seligson & John T. Passe-Smith, Eds. *Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Global Inequality.* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).**

*Presenting both classic pieces and the most up-to-date arguments in the debates about issues of economic growth and inequality, Development and Underdevelopment is a guide to*

*understanding the causes and dynamics of the persistent income gap between rich and poor countries, as well as the rich and poor within the poor countries. The editors' short introductions to each reading, highlighting the significance of the selections, remain a key feature in this new edition.*

**Joseph E. Stiglitz. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).**

*An insider's account of global economic policy making by Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz, who spent seven years in Washington, serving as chairman of President Clinton's Council of Economic Advisors and as the chief economist for the World Bank. Particularly concerned with the plight of the developing nations, he became increasingly disillusioned as he saw the International Monetary Fund and other major institutions put the interests of Wall Street and the financial community ahead of poorer nations. Stiglitz had a ringside seat for most of the major economic events of the last decade, including the Asian economic crisis and the transition of the former Soviet economies, as well as the administration of development programs throughout the world. Repeatedly, he saw policy makers wedded to outdated economic models and using "Washington Consensus" doctrines based on them to design policies that had disastrously bad results. He also discovered within the major institutions of globalization a damaging desire for secrecy that exacerbates mistakes at the same time as it inhibits positive change. The book is designed to provoke a healthy debate and shows in poignant terms why developing nations feel the economic deck is stacked against them.*

**William K. Tabb. *Unequal Partners: A Primer on Globalization*. (New York: The New Press, 2002).**

*We know that globalization has sent labor from industrialized countries to the Third World, where workers are paid far less. But do we know the effect of the global market on education, the spread of AIDS, and the costs of basic medicines? In clear detail, Unequal Partners shows how the merger of corporate and governmental interests has sacrificed public health and the environment for profits. The book also provides a blueprint for resistance by describing "globalization from below": the coalition of movements that has been increasingly effective in influencing corporate and governmental behavior worldwide. Unequal Partners is for anyone who wants to understand how to keep the escalating forces of globalization in check.*

**Ellen Meiksins Wood. *Empire of Capital*. (New York: Verso Books, 2005).**

*Readers who make it past the musty jargon of academic Marxism that announces itself in the introduction will proceed to a thought-provoking genealogy of empires throughout history. Wood, a professor at York University in Toronto and an orthodox economic determinist, argues that the source of an empire's wealth drives its military, administrative and ideological practices. She distinguishes between the Roman "empire of property," a land-based system that stimulated unending territorial conquest; the Arab, Venetian and Dutch "empires of commerce," dedicated to the protection of trade routes and market dominance; and the British "empire of capital," marked by the imposition of market imperatives on conquered territories. The book culminates with a study of what Wood describes as the "new imperialism we call globalization." Challenging those critics of globalization who emphasize the role of corporations and international institutions like the World Bank, Wood says that the capitalist system is more than ever reliant on nation-states to maintain order, with the United States acting as the great imperial enforcer. Wood believes that the inevitable end of a system of universal capitalism is a system of universal war, which is how she sees the new doctrine put forth by the Bush administration in the name of fighting terrorism. Wood's dense analysis would have benefited from more historical evidence and engagement with alternative theories. The connections she draws between*

*economic and imperial systems are intriguing but incomplete explanations of geopolitical dynamics. A worthwhile study for leftist academics, Wood's book is not written to appeal to a broader audience.*