

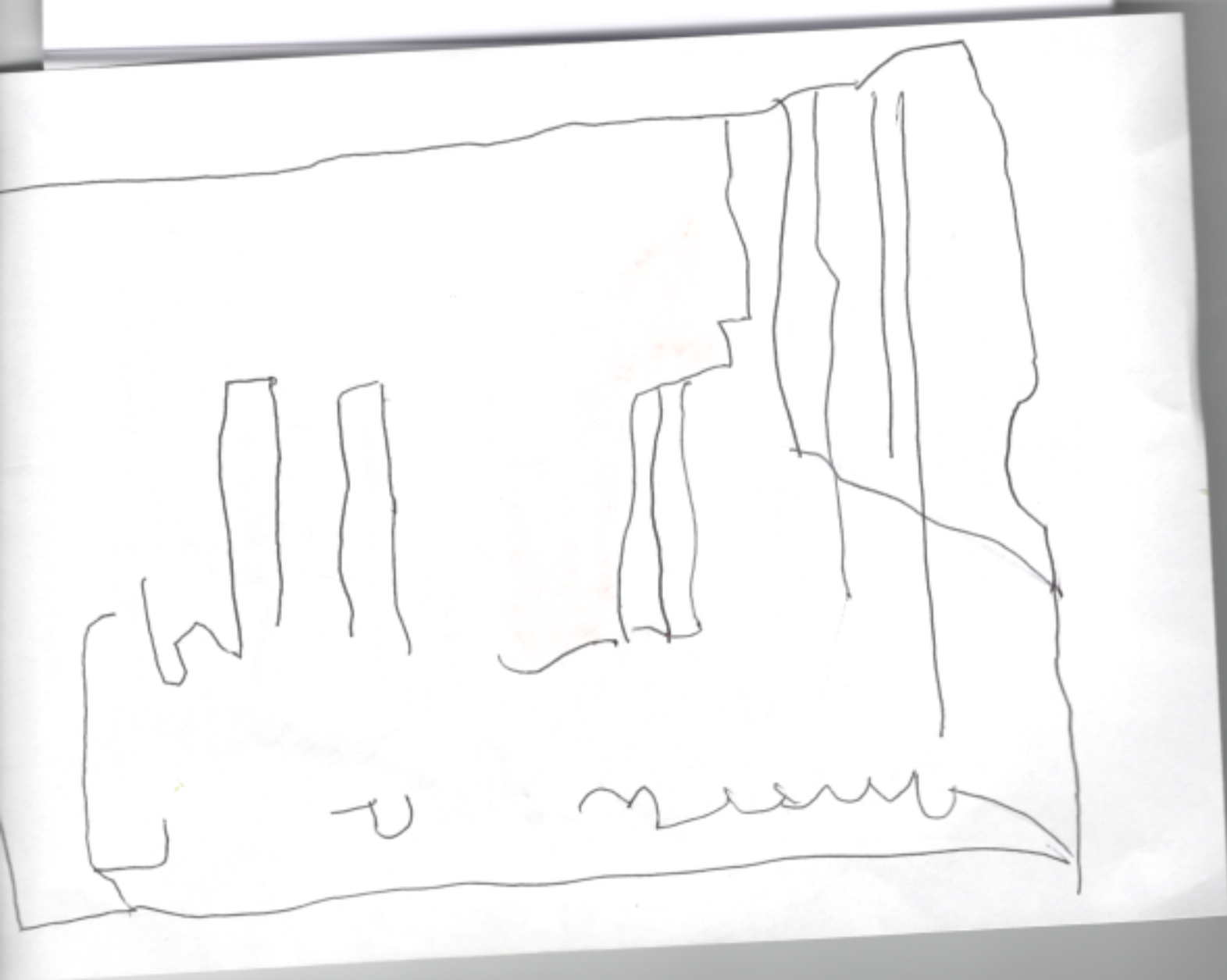
Chapter 7

Ideologies of globalization: market globalism, justice globalism, religious globalisms

Ideologies are powerful systems of widely shared ideas and patterned beliefs that are accepted as truth by significant groups in society. Serving as political mental maps, they offer people a more or less coherent picture of the world not only as it is, but also as it ought to be. In doing so, ideologies help organize the tremendous complexity of the human experiences into fairly simple claims that serve as guide and compass for social and political action.

These claims are employed to legitimize certain political interests and to defend or challenge dominant power structures. Seeking to imbue society with their preferred norms and values, the codifiers of ideologies—usually social elites—provide the public with a circumscribed agenda of things to discuss, claims to make, and questions to ask. These power elites speak to their audience in narratives that persuade, praise, condemn, distinguish 'truths' from 'falsehoods', and separate the 'good' from the 'bad'. Thus, ideology connects theory and practice by orienting and organizing human action in accordance with generalized claims and codes of conduct.

Like all social processes, globalization operates on an ideological dimension filled with a range of norms, claims, beliefs, and narratives about the phenomenon itself. Indeed, the heated public



debate over whether globalization represents a 'good' or a 'bad' thing occurs in the arena of ideology. But before we explore the ideological dimension of globalization in more detail, we should recall our important analytical distinction between *globalization* – a set of social processes of intensifying global interdependence – and *globalisms* – ideologies that endow the concept of globalization with particular values and meanings.

Today, three types of globalism compete for adherents around the globe. *Market globalism* seeks to endow 'globalization' with free-market norms and neoliberal meanings. Contesting market globalism from the political Left, *justice globalism* constructs an alternative vision of globalization based on egalitarian ideals of global solidarity and distributive justice. From the political Right, various *religious globalisms* struggle against both market globalism and justice globalism as they seek to mobilize a religious community imagined in global terms in defence of religious values and beliefs that are thought to be under severe attack by the forces of secularism and consumerism.

In spite of their considerable differences, however, these three globalisms share nonetheless an important function: they articulate and translate the rising global imaginary – a background understanding of community and belonging increasingly tied to the global – into concrete political programs and agendas. Hence, it would be inaccurate to accuse the two ideological challengers of dominant market globalism of being 'anti-globalization'. Rather, their position could be described as 'alter-globalization' – subscribing to alternative visions of an integrated world that resist neoliberal projections of universal free-market principles.

To be sure, there are powerful voices of 'anti-globalization' – national-populists and economic protectionists such as Patrick Buchanan and many Tea Party adherents in the United States, Marine Le Pen in France, Nick Griffin in the UK, or Karl-Heinz Strache in Austria. Their respective programs look very similar

in their fierce opposition to globalizing dynamics that challenge national unity imagined in homogenous terms. Buchanan, for example, supports in his best-selling books and fiery political speeches 'economic nationalism' – the view that the economy should be designed in ways that serve narrow national interests. He frequently expresses the conviction that there exists at the core of contemporary American society an irrepressible conflict between the claims of American nationalism and the commands of the global economy. In Buchanan's opinion, most mainstream American politicians are beholden to transnational corporate interests that are undermining the sovereignty of the nation by supporting a global governance structure headed by the World Trade Organization (WTO) and other international institutions. He also accuses 'globalist advocates of multiculturalism' of opening the doors to millions of immigrants who are allegedly responsible for the economic and moral decline of the United States.

Five rhetorical manoeuvres performed by national-populists

1. The emotional construction of unbridgeable political differences dividing the population into the majority of 'good' ordinary people ('us') and a small but powerful and 'bad' elite ('them');
2. Frequent verbal attacks of the people's 'enemies' from a moralistic high-ground rather than a political level playing field;
3. The evocation of an extreme crisis brought on by the enemies of the people which requires an immediate and forceful response;
4. The imagination of the people as a homogenous national unit welded together by a common will and interests, an ancestral heartland, and shared cultural and religious traditions;
5. The rejection of globalization and multiculturalism as ominous dynamics threatening to destroy the national community.

Fearing the loss of national self-determination and the destruction of their national cultures, anti-globalization voices like Buchanan pledge to protect their nation from those 'foreign elements' they consider responsible for unleashing the forces of globalization. Clinging to the weakening national imaginary, national-populists regard autonomous nation-states as the only legitimate form of community. Hence, they can be viewed as 'reactionaries' in the sense of reacting against all three globalist ideologies without providing their national audiences with constructive articulations of the rising global imaginary.

Market globalism

Market globalism is without question the dominant ideology of our time. Since the 1990s, it has been codified and disseminated worldwide by global power elites that include corporate managers, executives of large transnational corporations, corporate lobbyists, influential journalists and public-relations specialists, intellectuals writing for a large public audience, celebrities and top entertainers, state bureaucrats, and politicians. (see Illustration 11).

Serving as the chief advocates of market globalism, these individuals saturate the public discourse with idealized images of a consumerist, free-market world. Selling their preferred version of a single global marketplace to the public, they portray globalization in a positive light as an indispensable tool for the realization of such a global order. Such favourable visions of globalization pervade public opinion and political choices in many parts of the world. Indeed, neoliberal decision-makers emerged as expert designers of an attractive ideological container for their market-friendly political agenda. Given that the exchange of commodities constitutes the core activity of all societies, the market-oriented discourse of globalization itself has turned into an extremely important commodity destined for public



11. Microsoft CEO, Bill Gates, one of the world's most powerful advocates of market globalism

consumption. *Business Week*, *The Economist*, *Forbes*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Financial Times* are among the most powerful of dozens of magazines, journals, newspapers, and electronic media published globally that feed their readers a steady diet of market-globalist claims.

Thus, market globalism has become what some social theorists call a 'strong discourse'—one that is notoriously difficult to resist and repel because it has on its side powerful social forces that have already pre-selected what counts as 'real' and, therefore, shape the world accordingly. The constant repetition and public recitation of market globalism's core claims and slogans have the capacity to produce what they name. As more neoliberal policies are enacted, the claims of market globalism become even more firmly planted in the public mind.

Analysing hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles—both online and offline—I have identified five major ideological claims that occur with great regularity in the utterances, speeches, and writings of influential market globalists.

The five claims of market globalism

1. Globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets
2. Globalization is inevitable and irreversible
3. Nobody is in charge of globalization
4. Globalization benefits everyone
5. Globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world

It is important to note that globalists themselves construct these ideological claims in order to sell their political and economic agenda. Perhaps no single market-globalist speech or piece of writing contains all of the five assertions discussed below, but all of them contain at least some of these claims.

Like all ideologies, market globalism starts with the attempt to establish an authoritative definition of its core concepts. For neoliberals, such an account is anchored in the idea of the self-regulating market that serves as the framework for a future global order. As we noted in Chapter 3, neoliberals seek to cultivate in the public discourse the uncritical association of 'globalization' with what they assert to be the benefits of market liberalization. In particular, they present the liberalization and integration of global markets as 'natural' phenomena that further individual liberty and material progress in the world. Here are two examples of claim 1:

Globalization is about the triumph of markets over governments. Both proponents and opponents of Globalization agree that the driving force today is markets, which are subverting the role of government.

Business Week, 13 December 1999

One role [of government] is to get out of the way—to remove barriers to the free flow of goods, services, and capital.

Joan Spero, former US Under-Secretary of State in the Clinton administration

The problem with claim 1 is that its core message of liberalizing and integrating markets is only realizable through the *political* project of engineering free markets. Thus, market globalists must be prepared to utilize the *powers of government* to weaken and eliminate those social policies and institutions that curtail the market. Since only strong governments are up to this ambitious task of transforming existing social arrangements, the successful liberalization of markets depends upon *intervention* and *interference* by centralized state power. Such actions, however, stand in stark contrast to the neoliberal idealization of the limited role of government. Yet, globalists do expect governments to play an extremely active role in implementing their political agenda. The activist character of the earliest neoliberal administrations in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s attests to the importance of strong governmental action in engineering free markets.

Moreover, the claim that globalization is about the liberalization and global integration of markets solidifies as 'fact' what is actually a contingent political initiative. Market globalists have been successful because they have persuaded the public that their neoliberal account of globalization represents an objective, or at least a neutral, diagnosis of the very conditions it purports to analyse. To be sure, neoliberals may indeed be able to offer some 'empirical evidence' for the 'liberalization' of markets. But does the spread of market principles really happen because there exists a metaphysical connection between globalization and the expansion of markets? More likely, it occurs because globalists have the political and discursive power to shape the world largely according to their ideological formula:

LIBERALIZATION + INTEGRATION OF MARKETS - GLOBALIZATION.

Claim 2 establishes the historical inevitability and irreversibility of globalization understood as the liberalization and global integration of markets. Let us consider the following statements:

Today we must embrace the inexorable logic of globalization—that everything from the strength of our economy to the safety of our cities, to the health of our people, depends on events not only within our borders, but half a world away... Globalization is irreversible.

Bill Clinton, former US President

We need much more liberalization and deregulation of the Indian economy. No sensible Indian businessman disagrees with this... Globalization is inevitable. There is no better alternative.

Rahul Bajaj, Indian industrialist

The portrayal of globalization as some sort of natural force, like the weather or gravity, makes it easier for market globalists to convince people that they must adapt to the discipline of the market if they are to survive and prosper. Hence, the claim of inevitability depoliticizes the public discourse about globalization. Neoliberal policies are portrayed to be above politics; they simply carry out what is ordained by nature. This implies that, instead of acting according to a set of choices, people merely fulfil world-market laws that demand the elimination of government controls. As former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher used to say, 'There is no alternative'. If nothing can be done about the natural movement of economic and technological forces, then political groups ought to acquiesce and make the best of an unalterable situation. Resistance would be unnatural, irrational, and dangerous.

Market globalism's deterministic language offers yet another rhetorical advantage. If the natural laws of the market have indeed preordained a neoliberal course of history, then globalization does

not reflect the arbitrary agenda of a particular social class or group. In that case, market globalists merely carry out the unalterable imperatives of a transcendental force. People aren't in charge of globalization; markets and technology are. Here are two examples of claim 3:

And the most basic truth about globalization is this: No one is in charge... We all want to believe that someone is in charge and responsible. But the global marketplace today is an Electronic Herd of often anonymous stock, bond and currency traders and multinational investors, connected by screens and networks.

Thomas Friedman, *New York Times* correspondent and award-winning author

The great beauty of globalization is that no one is in control. The great beauty of globalization is that it is not controlled by any individual, any government, any institution.

Robert Hormats, former Vice Chairman of Goldman Sachs
International

But Mr Hormats is right only in a formal sense. While there is no conscious conspiracy orchestrated by a single, evil force, this does not mean that nobody is in charge of globalization. The liberalization and integration of global markets does not proceed outside the realm of human choice. As we will discuss in the final chapter, the market-globalist initiative to integrate and deregulate markets around the world both creates and sustains asymmetrical power relations. Despite the rise of China, the United States is still the strongest economic and military power in the world, and the largest transnational corporations (TNCs) are based in North America. This is not to say that the 'American Empire' rules supremely over these gigantic processes of globalization. But it *does* suggest that both the substance and the direction of globalization are to a significant degree shaped by American domestic and foreign policy.

Claim 4—globalization benefits everyone—lies at the very core of market globalism because it provides an affirmative answer to the crucial normative question of whether globalization should be considered a 'good' or a 'bad' thing. Market globalists frequently connect their arguments to the alleged benefits resulting from trade liberalization: rising global living standards, economic efficiency, individual freedom, and unprecedented technological progress. Let us consider the following two examples:

There can be little doubt that the extraordinary changes in global finance on balance have been beneficial in facilitating significant improvements in economic structures and living standards throughout the world....

Alan Greenspan, former Chairman of the US Federal Reserve Board

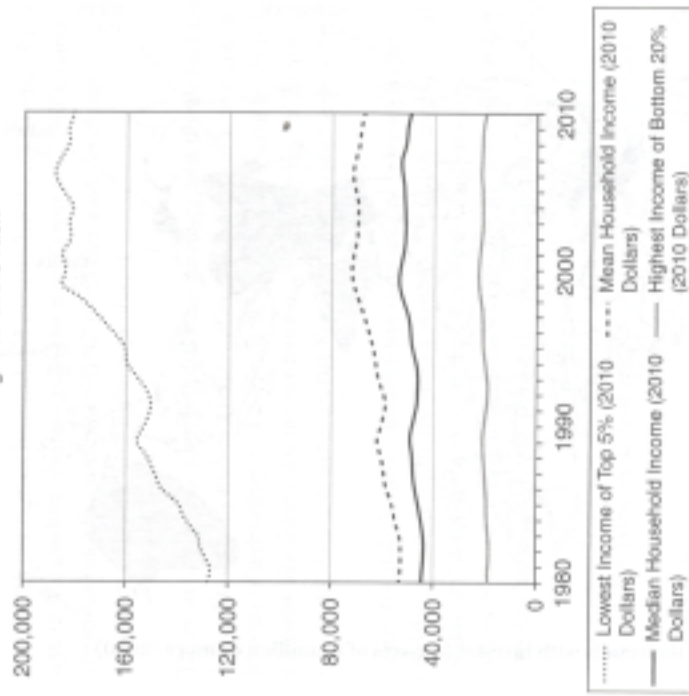
Globalization's effects have been overwhelmingly good. Spurred by unprecedented liberalization, world trade continues to expand faster than overall global economic output, inducing a wave of productivity and efficiency and creating millions of jobs.

Peter Sutherland, former Chairman of British Petroleum

Mr Sutherland does not seem to question the ideological assumptions behind his statement. Where are 'millions of jobs' created? Who has benefited from globalization? As we discussed in Chapter 3, when the market goes too far in dominating social and political outcomes, the opportunities and rewards of globalization are spread often unequally, concentrating power and wealth amongst a select group of people, regions, and corporations at the expense of the multitude.

China and India are often referred to as the great 'winners' of globalization. But their astonishing economic growth and the rise of per capita income comes disproportionately from the top 10 per cent of the population. Indeed, the incomes of the

The Divergence of the Rich



N. Income divergence in the USA, 1980–2010

Source: <www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/household/index.html>

bottom 50 per cent in India and China have actually stagnated or even declined during the 2000s. Empirical evidence suggests that income disparities within and between nations are widening at a quicker pace than ever before in recent history.

Data published in the 1999 and 2000 editions of the *UN Human Development Report* show that, before the onset of globalization in 1973, the income ratio between the richest and poorest countries was at about 44 to 1. Twenty-five years later it had climbed to 74 to

1. In spite of some progress in alleviating poverty worldwide, the bottom 25 per cent of humankind in 2012 lived on less than \$140 a year. Meanwhile, the assets of the world's top three billionaires are more than the combined GNP of all the least developed countries and their 600 million people.

There are numerous other indications confirming that the global hunt for profits actually makes it more difficult for poor people to enjoy the benefits of technology and scientific innovation. For example, there is widespread evidence for the existence of a widening 'digital divide' separating countries in the global North and South (see Figure O).

Claim 5—globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world—is rooted in the neoliberal assertion that free markets and democracy are synonymous terms. Persistently affirmed as 'common sense', the actual compatibility of these concepts often goes unchallenged in the public discourse. Here are two examples:

The level of economic development resulting from globalization is conducive to the creation of complex civil societies with a powerful middle class. It is this class and societal structure that facilitates democracy.

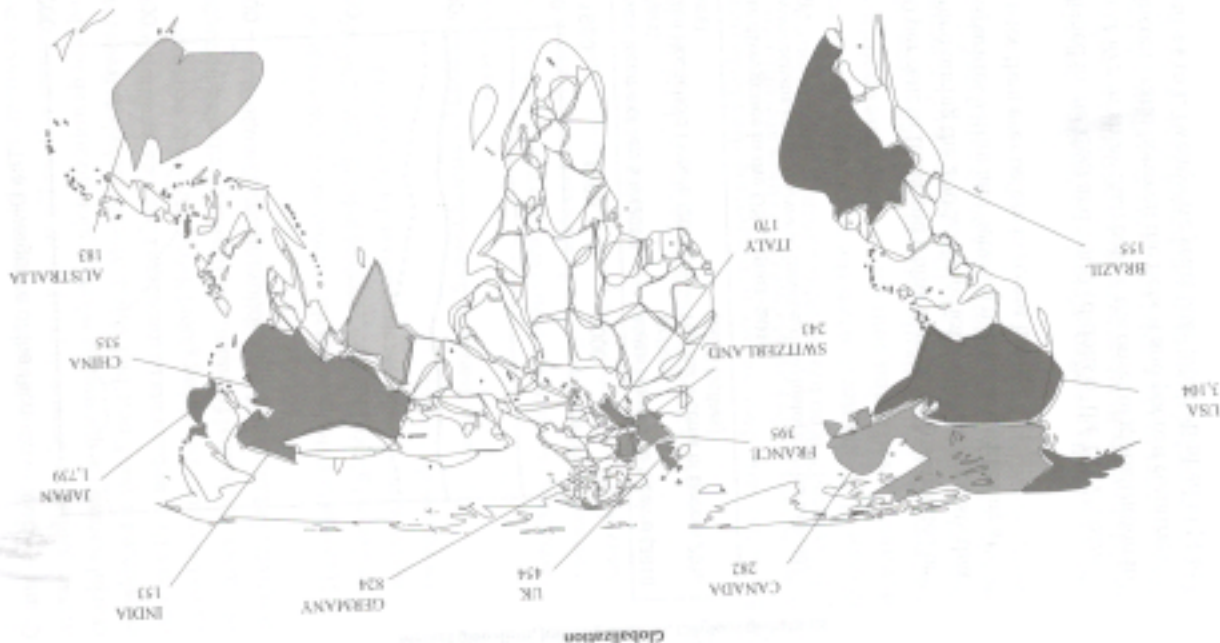
Francis Fukuyama, Stanford University

The Electronic Herd will intensify pressures for democratization generally, for three very critical reasons—flexibility, legitimacy, and sustainability.

Thomas Friedman, *New York Times* correspondent and bestselling author

These arguments hinge on a conception of democracy that emphasizes formal procedures such as voting at the expense of the direct participation of broad majorities in political and economic decision-making. This 'thin' definition of democracy reflects an elitist and regimented model of 'low-intensity' or 'formal' market democracy. In practice, the crafting of a few democratic elements

Map 5. Geography of the rich: number of people in thousands with investable assets of \$1 million or more (2010)
 Source: <http://www.in.org> (data from the 2011 World Wealth Report)



onto a basically authoritarian structure ensures that those elected remain insulated from popular pressures and thus can govern 'effectively'. Hence, the assertion that globalization furthers the spread of democracy in the world is largely based on a superficial definition of democracy.

Our examination of the five central claims of market globalism suggests that the neoliberal language about globalization is ideological in the sense that it is politically motivated and contributes toward the construction of particular meanings of globalization that preserve and stabilize existing power relations. But the ideological reach of market globalism goes far beyond the task of providing the public with a narrow explanation of the meaning of globalization. Market globalism consists of powerful narratives that sell an overarching neoliberal worldview, thereby creating collective meanings and shaping people's identities. Yet, as both massive justice-globalist protests and jihadist-globalist acts of terrorism have shown, the expansion of market globalism has encountered considerable resistance from both the political Left and Right.

Justice globalism

As the 20th century was drawing to a close, criticisms of market globalism began to receive more attention in the public discourse on globalization, a development aided by a heightened awareness of how extreme corporate profit strategies were leading to widening global disparities in wealth and well-being. Starting in the late 1990s and continuing throughout much of the 2000s, the contest between market globalism and its ideological challenger on the political Left erupted in street confrontations in many cities around the world. Who are these justice-globalist forces and what is their ideological vision?

Justice globalism refers to the political ideas and values associated with the social alliances and political actors increasingly known

Q. Global Internet users as a percentage of the regional population
 Source: [www.comscore.com/pressroom/pressreleases/quarterlyinternetusage.aspx](http://www.comscore.com/pressroom/pressreleases/quarterlyinternetusage/quarterlyinternetusage.aspx)

World Regions	Population (2011 est.)	Population % of World	Internet Users, Latest Data 2012	% Population (Penetration)	% Usage Growth 2000-2011
Africa	1,037,524,058	15.0	139,875,242	13.5	2,988.4
Asia	3,876,740,877	56.0	1,016,799,076	26.2	789.6
Europe	816,426,346	11.8	500,723,686	61.3	376.4
Middle East	216,258,843	3.1	77,020,995	35.6	2,224.8
North America	347,394,870	5.0	273,067,546	78.6	152.6
Latin America/Caribbean	597,283,165	8.6	235,819,740	39.5	1,205.1
Oceania/Australia	35,426,995	0.5	23,927,457	67.5	241.0
World Total	6,930,055,154	100	2,267,233,742	32.7	528.1

as the 'social justice movement'. It emerged in the 1990s as a progressive network of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that see themselves as a 'global civil society' dedicated to the establishment of a more equitable relationship between the global North and South, the protection of the global environment, fair trade and international labour issues, human rights, and women's issues.

Challenging the central claims of market globalism discussed in the previous chapter, justice globalists believe that 'another world is possible', as one of their central slogans suggests. Envisioning the construction of a new world order based on a global redistribution of wealth and power, justice globalists emphasize the crucial connection between globalization and local well-being. They accuse market-globalist elites of pushing neoliberal policies that are leading to greater global inequality, high levels of unemployment, environmental degradation, and the demise of social welfare. Calling for a 'Global New Deal' favouring the marginalized and poor, justice globalists seek to protect ordinary people all over the world from a neoliberal 'globalization from above'.

In the United States, the consumer advocate, Ralph Nader, and the human rights proponent, Noam Chomsky, are leading representatives of justice globalism. In Europe, the spokespersons for established Green parties have long suggested that unfettered neoliberal globalization has resulted in a serious degradation of the global environment. Neo-anarchist groups in Europe and the United States such as the 'Black Bloc' concur with this perspective, and some of these groups are willing to make selective use of violent means in order to achieve their objectives. In the global South, justice globalism is often represented by democratic-popular movements of resistance against neoliberal policies. Most of these groups have forged close links to other justice-globalist international non-governmental organizations (INGOs).

Name of Organization	Location	Area of Concern/Focus
Association pour une nouvelle économie mondiale (Association pour le Développement de l'Asie) (ANEM)	Paris, France plus multiple regional offices	Radical of global financial institutions and infrastructure
Articulation Feminista Mesoamericana (Southern Common Market) Africa Trade Network	Montevideo, Uruguay East Legon, Accra, Ghana	Rights of women, indigenous people, and the marginalized Trade and investment issues in Africa; reform of global financial system
Coopwatch	San Francisco, California, USA	Human, environmental, and worker rights at the local, national, and global levels; transparency and accountability issue global finance and trade
Food First International Action Network	Hendelburg, Germany	Promote the right to food, food sovereignty, and food security around the world
Focus on the Global South	Manila, Philippines; Bangkok, Thailand; Delhi, India	Policy research, advocacy, activism, and grassroots capacity building; critique of corporate-led globalization, neo-liberalism, and privatization
International Forum on Globalization	San Francisco, USA	Think tank, providing critique of neoliberal globalization; emphasis on developing alternate global trade and commerce that promote interests of people and environment
Instituto Paulo Freire	Sao Paulo, Brazil	Right to education globally
Jubilee South	Manila, Philippines	Debt cancellation, reform of global financial rules and institutions, redistribution of wealth and resources
OneWorld Foundation	London, UK	Organization, facilitate networks amongst organizations committed to justice, equality, democracy, action on climate change, poverty, development, and energy distribution
Terre des Hommes	Brussels, Belgium and Geneva, Switzerland	Focus on the rights of children globally
Transnational Institute	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Network of activist-scholars promoting democracy, equality, and environmental sustainability on a global scale

P. Examples of justice-globalist organizations

Source: Author

Today, there exist thousands of these organizations in all parts of the world. Some consist only of a handful of activists, while others attract a much larger membership (see Figure P).

In the early 21st century, the forces of justice globalism have gathered political strength. This is evidenced by the emergence of the World Social Forum (WSF) and various 'Occupy' movements around the world. In the US, Occupy Wall Street burst onto the political scene in 2011 as part of a global Occupy movement that drew activists in the world's major cities within months. Inspired by the popular protests of the 'Arab Spring' and *Los Indignados* ('the indignants') encampments in Spain, Occupy demonstrators expressed outrage at the inequalities of global capitalism and the irresponsible practices of many financial institutions, all of which had been on stark display during the Global Financial Crisis. Brandishing their slogan 'We are the 99 per cent', Occupy protesters across the world occupied spaces of symbolic importance—such as New York City's Zuccotti Park near Wall Street—and sought to create—in miniature—the kind of egalitarian society they wanted to live in. Rejecting conventional organizational leadership formations, Occupy formed General Assemblies and working groups that reached decisions through a consensus-based process.

In spite of the mass appeal of the Occupy movement, however, the WSF still serves as the key ideological site of justice globalism. It draws to its annual meetings in Brazil or India tens of thousands of delegates from around the world. The proponents of justice globalism deliberately set up the WSF as a 'shadow organization' to the market-globalist World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland. Just like market globalists who treat the WEF as a platform to project their ideas and values to a global audience, justice globalists utilize the WSF as the main production site of their ideological and policy alternatives.

From the WSF Charter of Principles

1. The World Social Forum is an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences, and interlinking for effective action by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neoliberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism and are committed to building a planetary society directed toward fruitful relationships among humankind and between it and the Earth....
8. The World Social Forum is a plural, diversified, confessional, nongovernmental, and non-party context that, in a decentralized fashion, interrelates organizations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to build another world....
13. As a context for interrelations, the World Social Forum seeks to strengthen and create new national and international links among organizations and movement of society that—in both public and private life—will increase the capacity for non-violent social resistance to the process of dehumanization the world is undergoing....

Most of the justice-globalist groups affiliated with the WSF started out as small, seemingly insignificant groups of like-minded people in South America and Europe. Many of them learned important theoretical and practical lessons from justice-globalist struggles in developing countries, particularly from Mexico's Zapatista rebellion.

On 1 January 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect, a small band of indigenous rebels calling themselves the *Zapatista Army of National Liberation* captured four cities in the Chiapas region of southeast Mexico. Engaging in a number of skirmishes with the

Five principal claims of justice globalism

1. Neoliberalism produces global crises.
2. Market-driven globalization has increased worldwide disparities in wealth and wellbeing.
3. Democratic participation is essential in solving global problems.
4. Another world is possible and urgently needed.
5. People power, not corporate power!

Mexican army and police over the next few years, the Zapatistas continued to protest the implementation of NAFTA and what their leader, Subcomandante Marcos, called the 'global economic process to eliminate that multitude of people who are not useful to the powerful'. In addition, the Zapatistas put forward a comprehensive programme that pledged to reverse the destructive consequences of neoliberal free-market policies. Although the Zapatistas insisted that a major part of their struggle related to the restoration of the political and economic rights of indigenous peoples and the poor in Mexico, they also emphasized that the fight against neoliberalism had to be waged globally.

The legendary 'Battle of Seattle' in late 1999 was the first in a decade-long series of large-scale confrontations between the forces of market globalism and justice globalism. 40,000 to 50,000 people took part in this massive anti-WTO protest in Seattle, Washington. In spite of the predominance of North American participants, there was also a significant international presence. Activists like José Bové, a French sheep farmer who became an international celebrity for trashing a McDonald's outlet, marched shoulder to shoulder with Indian farmers and leaders of the Philippines' peasant movement. Articulating some

of the five principal justice-globalist claims featured above, this eclectic alliance included consumer activists, labour activists (including students demonstrating against sweatshops), environmentalists, animal rights activists, advocates of Third World debt relief, feminists, and human rights proponents. Criticizing the WTO's neoliberal position on agriculture, multilateral investments, and intellectual property rights, this impressive crowd represented more than 700 organizations and groups.

Eventually, large groups of demonstrators interrupted traffic in the city centre and managed to block off the main entrances to the convention centre by forming human chains. As hundreds of delegates were scrambling to make their way to the conference centre, Seattle police employed tear gas, batons, rubber bullets, and pepper spray stingers against the demonstrators (see Illustration 12). Altogether, the police arrested over 600 persons.



12. Police use tear gas to push back WTO protesters in downtown Seattle, 30 November 1999

Ironically, the Battle of Seattle proved that many of the new technologies hailed by market globalists as the true hallmark of globalization could also be employed in the service of justice-globalist forces and their political agenda. Text-messaging on mobile devices enabled the organizers of events like the one in Seattle to arrange for new forms of protest such as a series of demonstrations held simultaneously in various cities around the globe. As we have seen in the 2011 revolutions in the Middle East and the Occupy protests around the world, individuals and groups all over the world can utilize applications like Twitter and Facebook to readily and rapidly recruit new members, establish dates, share experiences, arrange logistics, identify and publicize targets—activities that only two decades ago would have demanded much more time and money. Digital technologies also allow demonstrators not only to maintain close contact throughout the event, but also to react quickly and effectively to shifting police tactics. This enhanced ability to arrange and coordinate protests without the need for a central command, a clearly defined leadership, a large bureaucracy, and significant financial resources has added an entirely new dimension to the nature of political demonstrations.

Globalization

To summarize, then, justice globalism translates the global imaginary into a concrete political program reflected in the following nine policy demands:

1. A global 'Marshall Plan' that includes a blanket forgiveness of all Third World Debt;
2. Levying of the so-called 'Tobin Tax': a tax on international financial transactions that would benefit the global South;
3. Abolition of offshore financial centres that offer tax havens for wealthy individuals and corporations;
4. Implementation of stringent global environmental agreements;
5. Implementation of a more equitable global development agenda;

6. Establishment of a new world development institution financed largely by the global North through a Tobin Tax and administered largely by the global South;
7. Establishment of international labour protection standards, perhaps as clauses of a profoundly reformed WTO;
8. Greater transparency and accountability provided to citizens by national governments and international institutions;
9. Making all governance of globalization explicitly gender sensitive.

Religious globalisms

Justice globalists were preparing for a new wave of demonstrations against the IMF and World Bank, when, on 11 September 2001, three hijacked commercial airliners hit, in short succession, the World Trade Center in New York and the Department of Defense's Pentagon Building in Washington, DC. A fourth plane crashed in Pennsylvania before the hijackers were able to reach their intended target, most likely the White House. Nearly 3,000 innocent people perished in less than two hours, including hundreds of heroic New York police and firefighters trapped in the collapsing towers of the World Trade Center (see Illustration 13). In the weeks following the attacks, it became clear that the operation had been planned and executed years in advance by the Al Qaeda terrorist network.

Al Qaeda is but one extreme example of organizations that subscribe to various forms of religious globalism. Other religiously inspired visions of global political community include some fundamentalist Christian groups such as the Army of God and Christian Identity, the Falun Gong sect in China, and the Aum Shinrikyo cult in Japan. Despite their deep conservatism, religious globalisms also promote an alternative global vision. This is not to suggest that *all* religiously inspired visions of global community are conservative and reactionary. Indeed, most religions incorporate a sense of a global community united along religious lines, although in general this

Indeed, 'jihadist Islamism'—represented by such groups as Al Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiya, Hamas, and Hezbollah—is today's most spectacular manifestation of religious globalism. It feeds on a common perception in the Muslim world that Western modes of modernization have not only failed to put an end to widespread poverty in the region, but that they have also enhanced political instability and strengthened secular tendencies. Thus, jihadist Islamism is a response to what is often experienced as a materialistic assault by the liberal or secular world.

Drawing on revivalist themes popularized in the 18th century by theologian Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, jihadist Islamists seek to globalize a 'pure' and 'authentic' form of Islam—by any means necessary. Their enemies are not merely the American-led forces of market globalism, but also those domestic groups who have accepted these alien influences and imposed them on Muslim peoples. Jihadists like Osama bin Laden left no doubt that the men linked to his organization committed the atrocities of 9/11 in response to the perceived 'Americanization' of the world: the expansion of the American military around the globe, especially the presence of US military bases in Saudi Arabia; the internationalization of the 1991 Gulf War; the escalation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; the 'paganism', 'secularism', and 'materialism' of American-led market globalism; and the eighty-year history of 'humiliation and disgrace' perpetrated against the global *umma* (Islamic community of believers) by a sinister global 'Judeo-Crusader alliance'.

Clearly, it would be a mistake to equate jihadist Islamism of the Al Qaeda variety with the religion of Islam or even more peaceful strands of 'political Islam' or 'Islamist fundamentalism'. Rather, the term 'jihadist Islamism' is meant to apply to those extremely violent strains of Islam-influenced ideologies that articulate the global imaginary into concrete political agendas and terrorist strategies to be applied worldwide. Even after the killing of Osama bin Laden by US Navy SEALs in Pakistan on 2 May 2011, jihadist Islamism Al Qaeda-style is the most influential and successful attempt yet to

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18. The burning twin towers of the World Trade Center moments before their collapse on 11 September 2001

is largely informal. A key point about the religious globalist visions, however, is that these groups desire for their version of a global religious community to be all-encompassing, to be given primacy and superiority over state-based and secular political structures. In some cases, they are prepared to use violent means to achieve this end goal.

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Osama bin Laden on *jihad* and America

And the West's notion that Islam is a religion of *jihad* and enmity toward the religions of the infidels and the infidels themselves is an accurate and true depiction For it is, in fact, part of our religion to impose our particular beliefs on others Their [moderate Muslims] reluctance in acknowledging that offensive *jihad* is one of the exclusive traits of our religion demonstrates nothing but defeat. (2003)

For example, Al Qaeda spent \$500,000 on the September 11 attacks, while America lost more than \$500 billion, at the lowest estimate, in the event and its aftermath. That makes a million American dollars for every Al Qaeda dollar, by the grace of God Almighty. This is in addition to the fact that it lost an enormous number of jobs—and for the federal deficit, it made record losses, estimated at over a trillion dollars. Still more serious for America was the fact that the mujahideen forced Bush to resort to an emergency budget in order to continue fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq. This shows the success of our plan to bleed America to the point of bankruptcy, with God's will. (2004)

I tell you [Americans] that the war [on terror] will be either ours or yours. If it is the former, it will mean your loss and your shame forever—and the winds are blowing in this direction, by Allah's grace. But if it is the latter, then read history, for we are a people who do not stand for injustice, and we strive for vengeance all days of our lives. And the days and nights will not pass until we avenge ourselves as we did on September 11. (2006)

articulate the rising global imaginary into a religious globalism anchored in the core concepts of *umma* and *jihad* (armed or unarmed struggle against unbelief purely for the sake of God and his *umma*).

Indeed, jihadist Islamists understand the '*umma*' as a single community of believers united in their belief in the one and only God. Expressing a populist yearning for strong leaders who set things right by fighting alien invaders and corrupt Islamic elites, they claim to return power back to the 'Muslim masses' and restore the *umma* to its earlier glory. In their view, the process of regeneration must start with a small but dedicated vanguard willing to sacrifice their lives as martyrs to the holy cause of awakening people to their religious duties—not just in traditionally Islamic countries, but wherever members of the *umma* yearn for the establishment of God's rule on earth. With a third of the world's Muslims living today as minorities in non-Islamic countries, jihadist Islamists regard the restoration as no longer a local, national, or even regional event. Rather, it requires a concerted *global* effort spearheaded by jihadists operating in various localities around the world.

Thus, Al Qaeda's desired Islamization of modernity takes place in a global space emancipated from the confining territoriality of 'Egypt,' or the 'Middle East' that used to constitute the political framework of religious nationalists fighting modern secular regimes in the twentieth century. Although Al Qaeda embraces the Manichean dualism of a 'clash of civilizations' between its imagined *umma* and 'global unbelief,' its globalist ideology clearly transcends clear-cut civilizational fault lines. Its desire for the restoration of a transnational *umma* attests to the globalization of the Muslim world just as much as it reflects the Islamization of the West. Constructed in the ideational transition from the national to the global imaginary, jihadist Islamism still retains potent metaphors that resonate with people's national or even tribal solidarities. And yet, its focus is firmly on the global as jihadist Islamists have successfully redirected militant Islamism's struggle from the traditional 'Near Enemy' (secular-nationalist Middle Eastern regimes) to the 'Far Enemy' (the globalizing West).

Al Qaeda's core ideological claim—to rebuild a unified global *umma* through global *jihad* against global unbelief—resonates well with the

dynamics of a globalizing world. It holds special appeal for Muslim youths between the ages of fifteen and thirty who have lived for sustained periods of time in the individualized and deculturated environments of Westernized Islam. This 'second wave' of jihadist recruits, responsible for the most spectacular terrorist operations like the 9/11 attacks or the London bombings of 7/7 (2005), were products of a Westernized Islam. Most of them resided in Europe or North Africa and had few or no links to traditional Middle East political parties. Their enthusiasm for the establishment of a transnational *ummah* by means of *jihad* made them prime candidates for recruitment. These young men followed in the footsteps of Al Qaeda's 'first-wavers' in Afghanistan in the 1980s who developed their ideological outlook among a multinational band of idealistic *mujahideen* bent on bringing down the 'godless' Soviet empire.

Their extremist rhetoric notwithstanding, jihadist Islamists like bin Laden's successor Ayman al-Zawahiri never lose sight of the fact that jihadist globalists are fighting a steep uphill battle against the forces of market globalism. They emphasize the ability of American media imperialism to seduce the Muslim world with its consumerist message. They also make frequent references to a continuing and biased campaign waged against the Muslim world by the corporate media—especially 'Hollywood'—for the purpose of misrepresenting Islam and hiding the alleged failures of the Western democratic system.

And yet, even against seemingly overwhelming military odds that translated into a significant weakening of the Al Qaeda network over the last decade, jihadist leaders express their confidence in the ultimate triumph of their vision over 'American Empire'. Despite its chilling and violent content, this vision contains an ideological alternative to market globalism and justice globalism that nonetheless imagines community in unambiguously global terms.