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Creating Nomads: The Importance of Education in Forming the Multitude

Cecil Steven Page

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CREATING NOMADS: THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN FORMING THE
MULTITUDE

by

C. STEVEN PAGE

(Under the Direction of William Reynolds)

ABSTRACT

Education in the United States continues to focus on creating students to become good local citizens and this needs to change due to the globalized world in which we live. Through a poststructuralist lens and utilizing the works of Micheal Hardt and Antonio Negri this work examines the major institutions that control our world. This work examines the relationship between trans-national corporations and non-governmental organizations and the need for greater transparency in contributions. I propose that one of the major forces in Empire is the World Bank due to the loans that are made and the repayment agreements that are imposed on developing countries. Through the use of standardized tests these this organization and others are able to influence the curriculum in developing countries just as the curriculum in the United States is controlled by standardized tests. Through concentrating on current events/issues and using Critical Pedagogy educators can assist students in becoming more aware of Empire and the possibility of forming the multitude. By using Critical Pedagogy we can hope to educate students to become nomads, as proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari, instead of educating them to be good local citizens.

INDEX WORDS: Education, Empire, Multitude, Critical Pedagogy, Current Issues

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MULTITUDE

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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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THE MULTITUDE

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DEDICATION

To my three girls: Paula, Abbi, and Emma

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

We are facing many problems in our world and in the world of education. The information and knowledge that is passed to our students is the same as was given fifty years ago. History is important and there is merit to teaching some basics but we need to educate students to become involved in the world in which they live. We are educating students to be good “local” citizens and this must change. In order to make changes in both areas we must first realize what type of world we are living in and, as hard as it may be, let go of past assumptions and move down a new path.

Over the past several decades our world has evolved into one where citizens are not controlled by nation-states. The borders of nation-states have begun to vanish and goods travel around the world with limited resistance. Two of the most influential groups that work to control our world today are international organizations and trans-national corporations. There are many organizations and treaties that unite countries around the world such as: World Trade Organization, World Bank, G8, North American Free Trade Agreement, European Union, etc... One thing that connects nation-states around the world is the free market and through competitiveness corporations are able to exploit the poor and middle class and control the actions of nation-states.

One of the most powerful international organizations is the World Bank. This organization loans money to countries under the guise of helping but in reality they are just helping capitalists rape the countries of their natural resources. If a country cannot repay their loans the World Bank directs the governments of these countries to cut social

services in order to make payments, which further exploits the poor and oppressed citizens. This organization also has an enormous amount of influence on the educational systems in countries, that receive loans based on surveys and research conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In reality the World Bank and the OECD spread capitalism and the free market on unsuspecting indigenous people.

We have entered an era where corporations are no longer regional or national rather they are trans-national. Corporations do not have to be concerned about borders when they conduct business. As long as they are willing to invest in so-called local economies they are given unbridled access to people and resources around the world. Once trans-national organizations are given access to a country they rape and pillage the environment and work to create citizens that are slaves to money. This is all made easier with the advances in the telecommunications industry. Fifty years ago most Americans did not have a phone in their home, and today we expect to be able to access the Internet and communicate with someone thousands of miles away instantly. The ability to communicate internationally is provided by corporations and is subject to being monitored with any incriminating information being handed over to secret police agencies in the name of security.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a major force in our globalized world. It is hard to estimate how many NGOs there are in the world because that number literally changes every day but it can be safe to assume their numbers are in the millions, we must also understand that while there are NGOs that promote globalization and expansion of capitalism there are also many who are anti-globalization. We cannot

simply label NGOs in general as being positive or negative because for every NGO that truly attempts to help people there are two that serves the interest of trans-national corporations and other international organizations. Since most NGOs' claim to be humanitarian many people do not question their actions. NGOs are financed by donations from trans-national corporations, private individuals, and grants from nation-states and this needs to be considered when attempting to analyze their effectiveness.

Security is something that we all want, from the time we are born; humans are always seeking security. Babies have blankets, toddlers have stuffed animals, adolescents have game boys, teenagers have cell phones, and adults have significant others. However, are we ever really secure? Or, a better question could be are we ever really in danger? We are convinced there is danger in the world and this danger comes from an unidentifiable enemy. No longer is the enemy a real person; it is now a concept. The current enemy is terrorism. Terrorism is a broad term that could be used to describe any number of acts and as we have found out recently people will relinquish rights in order to be told they are secure. However, trying to secure a nation against a concept such as terrorism is like trying to secure a child from the boogey man. We can only be told and reassured, definite proof can never be given.

When trying to understand the evils that are present in capitalism and the free market we should review those who have attempted to explain this in the past. Through the works of Karl Marx the world became aware of the evils of capitalism and a free market society. Marx spoke often about the need for the proletariat to obtain the power from the elite and through a revolution an equal and just society could be built. However, through a bastardization of these writings most people are wary of Marx. It can be

successfully argued that Marxism has never been given an adequate opportunity to develop. In the field of education there are theorists who identify themselves as neo-Marxist such as Michael Apple, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren. All of these gentlemen have been writing, researching, and promoting the ideas of Marx in education for decades. Due to the events that I outlined above many neo-Marxist are choosing to identify the problems of the world as being the result of the rise of neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

Many changes have transpired in our world in the last several decades and in this time we have experienced a change in how society and institutions are organized. It is through the work of Michel Foucault that we can understand the role of institutions in a disciplinary society. In disciplinary societies children are trained in schools to go into the military and then into the factories. Of course, with the move from industry that many countries are experiencing presently we have to ask what students are being trained for.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, in *Empire* and *Multitude*, use the ideas of Marx and Gilles Deleuze to develop a new theory about the world in which we live. The thesis of *Empire* is that nation-states do not act upon their own interests instead they act upon the interests of a new form of control, Empire. International Organizations such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization, and International Monetary Fund now have the power to decide the fate of people in countries around the world. Militaries are used for police action and they conduct “*just wars*” usually against concepts and ideologies. In *Multitude* Hardt and Negri show how Empire can be addressed and fought against.

All of these ideas would be great if it was not for the number of political, economic, and educational theorists who do not agree with Hardt and Negri. One of the

most outspoken critics of their ideas in the field of education is Peter McLaren. While I love the work of Peter McLaren and there is no doubt he is one of the preeminent educational theorists of our time I have to disagree with him.

While Hardt and Negri do explain in detail the institutions that help create Empire they do not offer an analysis of the World Bank. It is through the World Bank that many of the other international organizations, trans-national corporations, and non-governmental organizations are able to extend their influence and control around the world. The World Bank provides the funds that many poor countries need in order to create infrastructure for future investments, which serves the interests of those attempting to spread capitalism. However, the repayment of these loans causes more hardships and suffering on the people of these poor countries.

Another topic that is obviously missing from *Empire* is the subject of formal education. Of course, more people in the world today have access to some form of education than ever before and it is becoming an industry in which corporations are making millions. Countries' educational systems are compared to one another and more students than ever are able to travel to foreign lands and study at universities around the world. This leads me to ask, what is the role of education in Empire? Since it is not addressed in the works of Hardt and Negri it is left open to debate. We can assume that education has to play some role in Empire because it was through the education of the people that our world developed into this new form of control. Are we, as educators, supposed to educate for the status quo or for revolution? Of course, as any classroom teacher will attest educating for revolution is a risky business if job security is desired.

Hardt and Negri propose the idea of the multitude in their sequel and once again the role of education is left out. They propose that in order for us to move past Empire then we have to bring the fullness of the multitude into being. How can we educate for the multitude? Are we suppressing the multitude through standardization and the corporatization of education? One of the driving forces behind the standardization of education is the corporate sector and it is through corporations that we receive tests, textbooks, lesson plans, and other instructional aides. However, there have been instances when the multitude has attempted to form and it is these formations we must cultivate.

When teaching students about the history of the United States I have often been asked if there is another form of government that is better than a democracy. This, of course, is a difficult question because it is a matter of opinion and also all governments are human-made and therefore not perfect. One thing I have thought extensively about is why must we assume that a democracy is the best form of government. Of course, being a teacher and also being paid by the state I am not advocating teaching children that a democracy is evil but teaching the short falls is certainly something that should be approached in the classroom. We must also take into account that our conservative counterparts will argue that our country was founded as a republic and it has morphed into a representative democracy and if we would go back to a republic then things would be better. Of course, my rebuttal to this would be that things would be better for the elite and power brokers but for the common person things would be worse. We have been conditioned to believe that a democracy brings about the most fair economic system

possible. But, it is through the free-market that corporations are able to exert their command and control over society.

Context of Study

When I started my first class in the Curriculum Studies Program at Georgia Southern University I can say that I was truly amazed. I thought I was going to learn how to design and evaluate curricula; I was definitely wrong. This program is the first place that I have found professors who would be considered more liberal than me and I believe this gave the opportunity to grow intellectually like never before. The works I was exposed to were some of the most eye-opening documents I have ever read.

As a teacher, the book that has had the most impact upon my views of education is Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. However, it bothers me that I did not read it until my fifth year in the classroom. I love the work of Freire and I feel that Cultural Pedagogy could be an answer to some of the problems in *Empire*. There were many other works that caused me to think. Yes, just think. Some of the readings I still do not fully understand and I think that was the point of being assigned them, to make us open up to new possibilities. When I read Peter McLaren and Henry Giroux for the first time I thought I was reading the works of raging lunatics. However, I soon found myself angry. Anger is not bad; it is needed now more than ever before.

I do not think our world is changing for the better. When I first *Empire* by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri a huge light bulb went off above my head because at that moment I felt as though, "I've got it!" I had found a work that described the world in which I saw, a world that was heading down the capitalistic path of death. I knew the

events in the world were bigger than the U.S. and bigger than President George W. Bush and *Empire* affirmed that for me.

There is no doubt that since George W. Bush took control of the presidency the role of the United States in the world has changed greatly. I believe this administration is practicing imperialism but I also believe that the consistent failures this administration has experienced is further proof that imperialism is dead and cannot be used in our world. I will examine this in greater detail when I examine current U.S. policies.

In the world in which we live disagreement and debate are not encouraged. We are lead to believe that if we disagree with the path of the nation-state then we are unpatriotic but in reality it has little to do with patriotism. Disagreement and debate have the ability to shake the market and if the market experiences drastic unplanned jolts then corporations and their shareholders are in danger of loosing profits. If there were a concentrated protest movement then those in power would take notice, as they did in Seattle in 1999.

Are we doomed? NO! There are answers to our problems and I believe they have been provided by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari and expounded upon by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. It can be argued that the ideas that are presented in *Empire* were actually first brought to fruition in Deleuze's "Postscript on Control Societies". It is with this essay that Deleuze was able to explain how our world has evolved from a disciplinarian society, which was analyzed and explained by Michel Foucault, to a "new" control society. Two of the interesting ideas that Deleuze presents in many of his writings are his explanation of the rhizome and the nomad. The rhizome is like a weed with many little roots spread out over an area. As anyone who is familiar with yard work

is aware it is hard to kill weeds but it is easy to kill a bush or a tree that has one main life root. In order for any movement to be successful we must take on the properties of the rhizome and span out in a vast area and become hard to kill. Deleuze's nomads must work outside of the system, just like nomads in the desert. True nomads only come in contact with the world in short exchanges but otherwise they are outside of the system. Since nomads are removed from the system of control they are able to create new paths. These two ideas influence Hardt and Negri in their sequel *Multitude*, which gives an answer to the problems proposed *Empire*. It is through the works of Hardt and Negri that we can begin to understand the world we live in and also try to overcome the power of the Empire.

Personal Justification

I am alone, I know that I am not alone in regards to feeling alone but still I feel alone. I live in the "Bible Belt" and I am a liberal southern white heterosexual male veteran. Therefore, I am alone. There are Conservatives everywhere I look, when I go to vote in the Primaries I do not have to wait in line long, the Democrat line is usually empty. Democrats will not even run for local office where I live but yet I chose to move here. Maybe I am not alone, maybe I am in-between and on the border. I can go into the conservative world if I choose but still have my own thoughts and use the information I gained from my border crossing for future endeavors.

It was a weekday in the summer of 1989 and I was off work and hanging around the house, probably working on a car. I remember the phone ringing and when I answered it there was an Army Recruiter asking if I had thought about going into the military. I talked to him for a few minutes and he wanted to come out to my house

immediately (an hour away) and talk to me about what the Army had to offer. I was probably the easiest person to recruit because I had always wanted to go into the Army.

When I was a youngster my cousin and I would wear my uncle's maroon and black berets and jump out of trees imagining that we were landing in a rice patty where we would shoot "Charlie". We had no idea who "Charlie" was but we knew that my Uncle would yell out at night looking for him. My uncle never found Charlie again but I know that he haunted my uncle for the remainder of his life. At my uncle's funeral there was a flag draping his coffin but my cousin was not able to keep it because it was the one the funeral home used and we were told another one would be sent to her in the mail. For being drafted into the Army, attending Ranger School, Airborne School, and serving in Vietnam where he was awarded a Purple Heart, two Bronze Stars, 3 Army Accommodation Medals, and later in life was diagnosed with skin cancer and emphysema caused by Agent Orange my uncle was not even given a full military funeral because the units that conduct these are currently too busy. But he was buried with a maroon beret, I made sure of that.

I knew that I wanted to be a Military Police K-9 officer and the recruiter told me the way in which I could do this. I was ready to sign the papers that day but since I was only seventeen years old my parents' would have to sign for me. The recruiter came back to my home in the country and gave my parents' the same spill about all the benefits of going into the military especially the GI Bill. My parent's were very interested in this because they wanted me to go to college but I never wanted to see the inside of a classroom once I walked out of Burke County High School on May 30th, 1990.

My parents' were hesitant about signing but I knew this is what I wanted. I wanted to carry on the family tradition. In the movie *Forest Gump* Forest explains that Lieutenant Dan's ancestors had fought in every major war since the Revolutionary War well, I can relate to Lieutenant Dan in this respect. Every generation of my family has served in the military. During the Civil War I had six direct line relatives who fought (on the wrong side) and during World War II my grandfather watched his three younger brothers go off to war. Unlike Lieutenant Dan my relatives were all "grunts", the enlisted ranks is where we have always found a home. I wanted to continue the tradition and what I really wanted to do was wear a maroon beret.

After graduation from high school I had one month in which to get ready for Basic Training and it seemed as if it would not come quick enough. I do not remember everything from Basic Training but there are so many things that I do remember such as how to fire a weapon, hand to hand combat, slogans, chants, cadences, etc... It is quite scary how much I do remember since it has been sixteen years. As I reflect upon what I was taught and the way in which I was instructed there is no doubt that it was an indoctrination and one could go so far as to say that it was brainwashing. The Drill Sergeant would yell: "What makes the grass grow?" We would respond: "Blood!" The Drill would then ask: "Whose blood?" At which time we would sound off with "Commiss Blood". However, during my time in Basic Training the United States began a massive military buildup in the Persian Gulf and we had to change our final answer to: "Ragheads Blood!" We evidently were not worried about cultural sensitivity at that time.

I have to say that I enjoyed Basic Training because of the physical activity and the "games" we got to play. Being a southern male I was raised around guns and the military

gave me the opportunity to prove my ability to shoot a variety of weapons. But, as I reflect upon it, I have to wonder what it was all for. I know that the United States government did not really care if I was having fun, there were other trainees that were not having fun. It was all indoctrination, in order to get soldiers to perform in combat then they have to be indoctrinated and controlled. Every aspect of the day is controlled. There is no need for alarm clocks because you have someone to wake you up, no need to worry about food because you will be told when to eat, and of course no need to worry about how you feel because you are not allowed to feel.

Of course Basic Training does not last forever, and over the course of the next five and a half years of my life I did many things I am proud of and some things which I never talk about. I became a K-9 Military Policeman but it did not satisfy me because it did not put me in the Front, there was no Sadr City to patrol at that time. I had to get some medals, like the ones my uncle had.

During my last two years in the Army I was given the opportunity to serve in one of the most distinguished jobs in the military, which was to be an Instructor at the Army's Air Assault School at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky home of the 101st Airborne Division. I finally got to wear a maroon beret. The Air Assault School has been called the "toughest ten days in the Army", I do not know if this is an accurate description but it was demanding. I was able to ride and rappel out of helicopters as much as I wanted. Every Instructor at the School had a specialty and mine was Pathfinder Operations. This means that I taught soldiers how to go behind enemy lines undetected and set up helicopter and airborne landing sites and wait for the "cavalry" to show up. This assignment has haunted me a lot in the past four years since the 101st Airborne Division has been used

extensively in Afghanistan and Iraq. There is no doubt in my mind that some of those young soldiers I trained are now seasoned veterans using the same tactics I taught them in order to survive. I have to wonder if I trained them well enough.

I gave six years of my life to the Army. I have always felt that I did not regret going in and I do not regret getting out. I was able to do things and see places that I would not have the opportunity for if I did not join the Army. However, I now know that once you get the brainwashing out you have to deal with the actions the military had you perform. I am not an advocate for the military because I think they are being used to fight to make others rich and the soldiers are not aware of the real reasons they are being asked to place their life on the line. Also, I understand that while in the military you will be told to do things that you will have to deal with for the rest of your life. I was able to obtain some medals which are in a desk drawer under a pile of paper hid out of sight.

I have an incredible opportunity because I teach in the same high school in which I attended. I see the young men in my room and I know the options they have living in the poverty-ridden rural area of Georgia that we do. However, when I was in high school there were no wars that were currently being waged. I did not see death tolls on the evening news and I did not see a president stand in front of cameras and try to explain through mumbled words that we are fighting for a just cause. I have many students who are planning on enlisting in the military and I want so badly to beg them not to take this path. However, when they look around their community and there are no jobs and there is no money for them to go to college they feel as though they have no options. We are sending young men and women to war and no one can actually give a clear, concise answer as to what they are to put their lives on the line for. There were no

Weapons of Mass Destruction and the democracy and freedom that has been bestowed upon Afghanistan and Iraq is laced with sectarian violence and civil war. Trans-national corporations have become rich off the blood of soldiers.

I see the perpetual state of war and I become emotional, some may say angry. We need to be angry; soldiers and civilians are dying every day while trans-national corporations are becoming richer. Things have to change because we live in a world that will throw billions of dollars at nation building but will let children starve and watch, as the elderly cannot pay for their prescriptions. Our world has to change and we need a citizenry that will start to care about their society and their children's future. I truly believe that we must begin to act now and I think more educators need to become angry. I think we have too many in administrative positions that are happy with the current trends and I think we have too many educators who do not want to voice their opinions.

The standardization and corporatization of education around the world is creating future citizens that will not question authority and they will not seek better conditions. Students are trained to take multiple choice tests and they are taught through direct instructional practices. Training students how to take multiple choice tests begins in the first grade when children are taught how to "bubble in" the correct answer. Education in America is determined that our students learn that A IS B. It is important to note that students around the world are being taught using this same philosophy.

Through the dominance of the World Bank and the OECD governments in many countries have their educational systems evaluated according to a Western standard. When these educational systems are deemed not effective the governments are then shown various programs that are offered by trans-national corporations and non-

governmental organizations that will help make their educational systems like those in the West, particularly the U.S. These nation-states do not receive help, instead they receive is exploitation of their land and people by capitalists. We have to begin to teach the students to not use the verb to be and instead use the AND. If we can teach them to use AND then we can help them find those borders in which to operate and seek change. Through AND we can hope to create rhizomes and nomads for the future.

It is through the constant surveillance and control that the multitude is kept from becoming. In order for the multitude to form there has to be a resistance that can be seen and heard. Through the suppression of speech by governments around the world individuals are not able to share their ideas in public because they will be jailed. It will be even harder for the multitude to form given these current conditions. Also, the corporate-controlled media does not inform the citizens of the world about movements that seek change. The mainstream media is interested in creating fear that causes a dependence upon the capitalist system.

Curriculum Studies

The political, social, and economic structures of a community, nation-state, and/or global system are the driving forces behind education. It is through examining all aspects of society that we can begin to understand education better. Curriculum studies, as an academic field, is as broad as the concept of education. Within curriculum studies one could study a diverse range of topics, from psychoanalysis to curriculum evaluation. Through the many diverse fields that compose curriculum studies one can understand that education is affected by everything and education affects every part of society. I am part

of the field of curriculum studies that investigate the political influences in our world on the field of education.

If we believe that the role of education is to instill in our students the desire to want more knowledge and the desire to make our world better then we must look not only in schools but also outside of schools. “The *educational (sic)* point of the public school curriculum is *understanding, (sic)* understanding the relations among academic knowledge, the state of society, the processes of self-formation, and the character of the historical moment in which we live, others have lived, and in which our descendents will someday live” (Pinar, 2004, p. 186). As Pinar points out “understanding” is what we must begin to concentrate on. We must attempt to understand all the driving forces behind our society. We must educate for the future not for the tests.

We must understand that our world has changed greatly and continues to do so at an enormous pace. Due to the amount of change that is occurring we need to accept the fact that what worked (or may not have) in the past cannot be applied to our world today. My investigation seeks to bring about a clearer understanding of the social, economic, and political forces in our globalized world and develop a space in which education can thrive.

There are many theorists in the field of education that address political and socio-economic issues that affect our world. One of the earliest American theorists to address society and education was John Dewey. The work of Dewey has been examined and referenced numerous times and his work continues to influence education today. Many of these educational theorists that examine the influence of politics today write in the Marxist tradition and have so been labeled neo-Marxist.

Peter McLaren is one of the most prolific writers in the field of education today. McLaren addresses the influence of politics on education. Much of his latest writings focus on George W. Bush and his administration. McLaren's writings can be seen as inflammatory, however, in his work you can feel the passion that he has for the field of education. Some of his most recent works are *Rage + Hope* (2006), *Capitalists and Conquerors* (2005), *Teaching Against Global Capitalism and the New Imperialism* (with Ramin Farahmandpur, 2005), and *Red Seminars: Radical excursions into educational theory, cultural politics, and pedagogy* (2005).

However, it is my belief that McLaren focuses too much on the Conservative Right, neoliberalism, and the administration of George W. Bush. In most of his writings lately he has spent a considerable amount of space attacking the Bush Administration and its decisions. While I agree there are many things to attack and comment on there is more to the current situation in our world than this Administration.

Henry Giroux is another educational theorist who writes in the Marxist tradition. He worked with Paulo Freire and his work displays his interest in Critical Pedagogy. Some of his most recent works are *Stormy Weather: Katrina and the politics of disposability* (2006), *America on the Edge: Henry Giroux on politics, education, and culture* (2006), *Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism: Global uncertainty and the challenge of new media* (2006), and *Against the New Authoritarianism* (2005).

Through the work of Stanley Aronowitz we are able to understand how social and economic issues affect the field of education. Aronowitz did not take the usual path of becoming an educational theorist. It is evident that his early work with labor unions influences his views on the role of education in the U.S. Education needs people like

Aronowitz because they come to education with a different view than those who have spent most of their adult lives in education. Aronowitz continues to be involved in various movements and therefore could be considered an activist. Aronowitz's recent works include *The Knowledge Factory: Dismantling the corporate university and creating true higher learning* (2001), *The Last Good Job in America* (2001), and *Post-Work: The wages of cybernation* (edited with Jonathan Cutler, 1997).

In *Implicating Empire* (2003), edited with Heather Gourtney, Aronowitz includes an essay by Hardt and Negri where he provides an analysis of their work in another essay. This work is one of the most diplomatic pieces about the theories that are proposed by Hardt and Negri. While Aronowitz may not agree with Hardt and Negri and their theory of Empire he does make sure they are given an opportunity to present their work.

The impact of Paulo Freire will be felt for generations to come. It is through his work that we are able to understand two vastly different instructional approaches. Critical Pedagogy enables us to understand the need for those being educated to have the greatest voice in what is being taught. His most widely known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, should be required reading for everyone in education. Freire's influence can be found in the work of McLaren, Giroux, Joan Wink, and countless others.

Michel Apple, professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, has been writing about educational theory for over thirty years. He also writes in the same tradition as Giroux and McLaren, which could be labeled as critical pedagogy or critical theory. His recent works include *Education and Power* (1995), *Official Knowledge* (2000), and *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, standards, God, and inequality* (2001).

In *Educating the Right Way* Apple list four groups, neoliberals, neoconservatives, authoritarian populists, and new middle class, as having the most influence on the policies of the U.S. and education in general.

I include David Orr in this discussion of educational theorists because of his work on the current state of the environment and the impact of globalization on our world. Orr is an academic who works in the field of environmental science and because of the teaching that he does he appears to be aware of the importance of education in bringing about change. His works *Earth In Mind* (1994) and *The Last Refuge* (2004), explain the impact of corporations on the environment and how the lack of governmental controls impact our environment. It is through his work that we can begin to understand that governments do not serve the interests of the people and future generations.

How This Study Is Original

The theorists listed above, along with many others, take a stance that many consider radical because they speak out against the policies of U.S. and they expose the ways education is affected by larger institutions. It is from these critical theorists that we are shown how education is failing our students in a globalized world. These theorists heavily influence my views on education. I believe we need to look at the problems that we encounter in education in a much broader sense. Many of the theorists in education rely on blaming the current U.S. administration and its' policies for problems in education which, in my opinion, is viewing the problem with too narrow of a lens.

In order to view the bigger picture of our globalized world we need to understand how our society has changed from one based on discipline to a control society. My work will embrace the theories and ideas of Deleuze, Guttari, Hardt, and Negri and investigate

how education can be used to form nomads, rhizomes, and the multitude. McLaren, Giroux, Apple, and others are convinced the U.S. is continuing its' imperialist tradition and this is the driving force behind the policies of many international organizations. It is my belief these theorists give the U.S. too much credit and we need to look at the role of corporations, NGOs, and the World Bank if we are to truly begin a conversation on how to improve education in the future.

While there have been many anti-globalization activists who have embraced the ideas of Hardt and Negri, there is a very limited number of educational theorists who accept their ideas and views. It is my intention to develop a conversation that will help others begin to theorize how to educate for the multitude and hopefully begin to convince those in administrative positions that we cannot continue to educate students to become good local citizens, since we live in a globalized world.

I believe that my study will aid those in the field of Curriculum Studies by beginning a conversation about the effects of Empire on education. I believe that we should focus on global issues and shift the focus from President Bush and his Administration to the control and power that Empire exerts. With my focus on nurturing students to become nomads it is my hope that future scholars and philosophers will continue in this tradition. If we focus on creating nomads we can prepare our students to become part of the multitude when it evolves.

Organization

In the second chapter I will examine the philosophical basis of the concept of Empire, as presented by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. In order to do this I will examine Marxism and its influence on capitalism and international movements. After

examining Marxism I present how our world has evolved from a disciplinary society into one that is based on control. In order to explain this change I will present the philosophies of Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze. Foucault wrote extensively about society and the importance of the school, military, factories, and prisons in maintaining the current order. Using the ideas of Deleuze, along with Felix Guattari, I will examine the evolution of society into one in which control is at the center. In order for the analysis that I am attempting in my dissertation to be understood it is imperative that I clearly explain the way in which our society has transformed.

After establishing the philosophical basis of poststructuralism I will then conduct an intensive analysis of *Empire* and *Multitude* by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. For the reader to understand our world it is imperative that I present a sound foundation of the theories presented by Hardt and Negri. The ideas presented by Hardt and Negri cover political theory, economics, and social issues. They present a “new” way of looking at the world and they expose the power of corporations and international organizations in controlling society. In addition to conducting an analysis of these two works I will also address the criticisms that have been levied against them in the fields of political theory, economics, and education. In addressing these criticisms it is my hope to explain why those who do not agree with Hardt and Negri do not see the big picture. It is my intention to prove that these critics continue to give too much credit to the power and influence of certain leaders of nation-states. I am not implying that the works of Hardt and Negri have been universally dismissed. Many anti-globalization activists and some theorists seeking a new explanation have embraced their works.

The third chapter will begin with an exploration of the current foreign policies of the United States. In the past six years the U.S. has invaded two countries and is conducting a global war on terrorism. It is easy to understand why a majority of the world's population believes the U.S. is an imperialist nation. This belief is understandable because when comparing what is occurring presently to history then imperialism is the likely explanation. However, we cannot compare it to the past. I am not advocating that we do not need to study history however when studying history we need to look at every aspect of a particular period. If this is done then it has to be understood that world events during Imperialism are not comparable to today. In this chapter I will present the ideas of many academics and writers who believe we are experiencing a new imperialism. I will also explain why I believe it is through the idea of Empire that this new imperialism has failed.

For one to understand the world in which we live we need to evaluate the current globalization movement around the world. In this chapter I also will examine the role of international organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD. In order to understand the devastating impact the World Bank has on citizens around the world I will begin by examining the structure of the Bank and also review the charter, which establishes the legitimacy of the organization. The World Bank, in conjunction with the OECD, has an enormous amount of control over education and the role of governments in providing education to their citizens.

In this section I will also analyze the role of trans-national corporations and their insistence on spreading capitalism. It is a fact that a majority of the largest corporations in the world began in the U.S. but it is also true that when it comes to international issues

and the free market trans-national corporations do not have loyalty to any one country. In order to understand our world an examination of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will also be needed. The NGOs that I will examine are ones that claim to expand education around the world.

It is in chapter four that I will examine the possibility of the multitude in Empire. In order to gain a better understanding of the multitude I will provide evidence of the possibilities the multitude in the past ten years. It is possible that in the protests like those in Seattle in 1999 we can actually see the multitude forming. I will examine current movements, protests, the Internet, and develop an understanding about how they are a part of the multitude.

In closing I will examine possible avenues that theorists and educators may pursue in order to help educate for the multitude. Also I hope to offer a new solution and direction for education not only in the U.S., but also around the world. It is my intention to begin a conversation that can be built upon by others.

CHAPTER 2

PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF EMPIRE

Marxism

The ideas that were presented by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 19th Century are ones that changed the political and economic landscapes of our world for decades to come. There are many ideas that were presented in *The Communist Manifesto* that can still be seen around the world today. Marx and Engels devoted a large amount of time dismantling the bourgeoisie and calling upon the proletariat to revolutionize the world. Marx and Engels viewed the industrialization of Europe as one way in which the proletarians lost their individuality. “He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him” (Marx and Engels, 2002, p. 8). The work that was required in factories did not require high levels of intelligence. The machine could not think, it only carried out an action and the workers were expected to do the same. It is also interesting that Marx and Engels considers the factory workers to be gathered at their work stations like soldiers and therefore become the army of factories. Foucault would later examine in detail the idea of a person as an appendage of a machine and also the continual cycle of moving from schools to the army to the factories.

Capitalism was spreading across Europe during the age of industrialization and this caused many to question the validity of the concept. The role of the state in addressing capitalism was discussed by Marx and Engels in several of their works. According to Hardt and Negri (2000):

Marx and Engels characterize the state as the executive board that manages the interests of capitalists; by this they mean that although the action of the state will at times contradict the immediate interests of individual capitalists, it will always be in the long-term interests of the collective capitalists, that is, the collective subject of social capital as a whole. (p. 304)

The state, from this position, will do what is best for the overall good of capitalism and capitalists in general. However, there will be times when individual capitalists will not agree with the decisions of the state. Continuing with this reasoning capitalists are determined to become more powerful than the state since the state tries to control their actions.

When reviewing the ideas that Marx and Engels proposed, we see how communism can be aligned with the idea of Empire. Marx and Engels outlined ten measures for the proletariat to take when they were able to gain control of the government, four of these measures can be found in the theory of Empire. These measures are: heavy taxes, confiscation of the property of emigrants and rebels, combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, and a combination of education with industrial production (Marx and Engels, 2002). Nation-states around the world have to impose heavy taxes on the citizenry in order to operate and many times these taxes are imposed as a direct order of the World Bank and IMF. If anyone tries to protest a government their property can be confiscated, this has been seen repeatedly by those under investigation because of the *Patriot Act*. Agriculture and manufacturing are more in line today that ever before, this can be seen from genetically altering plants and

animals to large-scale chicken and cow farms that now engulf once pastoral landscapes. Finally, most students around the world are sent to school to become good citizens and obedient workers. They are being trained for a job and not educated and given true knowledge.

One of the most profound aspects of Marxism was that it is an international movement. Once the ideas of Marx and Engels began to spread elements of it could be found on most of continents around the world. Marxism was able to inspire the communists to become an international movement. This globalized movement was the first of its kind because although the ideas of democracy and republicanism spread in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they only became commonplace in a handful of countries.

However, it must be remembered that no country has been or is currently truly democratic. “This democracy is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich” (Lenin, 1987, p. 336). There can be no doubt that those with the most power in the democratic countries around the world are those with the most money. Lenin provided many detailed analyses of Marx and communism and in his writings we can begin to understand that through a shift to communism freedom be found. “Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists have been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes, only then does the state cease to exist, and it becomes possible to speak of freedom” (Lenin, 1987, p. 338). Lenin goes on to explain that only after these conditions have been met will true democracy be able to be brought to fruition. This is in

direct opposition to what most Americans have been taught. Most people believe that communism was the direct opposite of democracy but in reality this is not the case, in reality communism is the opposite of capitalism and exploitation.

One of the elements of Marxism that makes it an international movement is the proletariat. “The proletariat, for the Marxist, is an international class, and class-loyalty, for the workers at least, will automatically cross national frontiers and eventually destroy them. Revolution in one country will, the Marxists believed, lead to revolution in all, and national borders will disappear, having lost their function” (Scruton, 2005, p. 30). The theory that a communist revolution would begin in one country and then spread to another was acknowledged by the U.S. in its foreign policy of containment and the Domino Theory. This theory is what caused the U.S. to become involved in the Vietnam War and with the American defeat in this war communism did spread to neighboring Cambodia.

One of the problems with discussing Marxism in the U.S. is that Americans have been taught that communism and Marxism are evil and a threat to our democratic way of life. While the Cold War was in progress communists were questioned, jailed, and blacklisted in the U.S. Now that the Cold War has ended many in America feel as though the U.S. won and this proves that communism and Marxism were failures. The idea that these were failures is not only found in the American public but also in academia.

While unfashionable in the Western academy, especially since the break-up of the Soviet system, Marxism provides ways for critically understanding the world of transnational global capitalism in its current

phase, together with its effects on the organization, utilization, distribution and status of knowledge and education. (Peters, 2003, p. 115)

Marxism did not fail, the influence of capitalism and corporations created an anti-Marxist desire. Marxism as a theory must continue to be used in order to understand the effects of the free market and capitalism and also it needs to be built upon.

There are many elements that Marx explained in *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that are not present in society today. The idea of trade unions formed in retaliation to the rule of the bourgeois is one that has seen a steady decline in the past several decades. Trade unions in the U.S. have found that it is harder to obtain members due to the amount of jobs that are being sent to foreign countries. They have also had a severe decline in effectiveness since the Reagan Administration and also there are states that do not allow unions to be formed. One trans-national corporation, Wal-Mart, will close a store instead of letting its employees unionize. Of course, when a company decides to relocate to a foreign country they do not have to worry about trade unions because the governments assure the company that no such organizations will form. Also, since most of these companies go to locations in which there is extreme poverty the workers are appreciative of any wage they can obtain no matter what the conditions or hours they have to work.

Another idea of Marx and Engels that I do not believe is accurate in our world today is: "... the proletariat alone is a genuinely revolutionary class." (Marx and Engels, 2002, p. 11). Due to the amount of injustice that is found in our world today and also taking into account the theory of Empire we must not look at the working class as the

only ones capable of changing the current conditions. As has been seen at protests around the world, diverse groups have come together to demand change.

It is important to understand that I am not advocating that we abandon Marx and his ideas. As Derrida states: “There will be no future without this. Not without Marx, no future without Marx, without the memory and the inheritance of Marx, in any case of a certain Marx, of his genius of at least one of his spirits” (Derrida, 1994, p. 14). Derrida, in *Specters of Marx*, explains that as Marx spoke of there being a specter occurring in Europe in the nineteenth century and these ghosts of Marx and his ideology can be seen today. Derrida explains that one thing that made communism unique is the fact that it was an international movement and this was the first of its kind, which is an idea that is still needed today because of our globalized world.

Derrida addresses the GATT and foreign debt and reminds us that the tradition of Marx is of the utmost importance in understanding and evaluating these issues. Derrida goes further to address the ten plagues of the “new world order”: unemployment, exclusion of the homeless, ruthless economic war, unable to control the free market, foreign debt, arms industry and trade, spread of nuclear weapons, inter-ethnic wars, trans-national drug cartels, and international law and institutions (Derrida, 1994). As Derrida explains all of these conditions can be found in our world today and it appears as though nothing can stop them from increasing and controlling our world.

Derrida explains there is a new International that is at work in our world and through this new International some of the ideas of Marx are still relevant.

The name of the new International is given here to what calls to the friendship of an alliance without institution among those who, even if they

no longer believe or never believed in the socialist-Marxist International, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the messiano-eschatological role of the universal union of the proletarians of all lands, continue to be inspired by at least one of the spirits of Marx or of Marxism and in order to ally themselves, in a new, concrete form of a party or of a workers' international, but rather of a kind of counter-conjuration, in the critique of the state of international law, the concepts of State and nation, and so forth: in order to renew this critique, and especially to radicalize it.

(Derrida, 1994, p. 107)

We must continue in the tradition of the Marx and use the new International if we want to address the problems in our world today. Marx provided the basis of an international movement and this gives us a space in which to work and a space in which to challenge. We must never lose this space; we must expand it.

There is no doubt that a new movement is occurring around the world and many would describe it as a deconstruction of the concepts and ideologies that work to control our world. However this deconstruction, if it is that, is completed in Marxist tradition.

Even though they do not signify the withering away of the State, in the Marxist or Gramscian sense, one cannot analyze their historical singularity outside of the Marxist inheritance – where inheritance is more than ever a critical and transformative filter, that is, where it is out of the question to be for or against the State in general, its life or its death in general.

(Derrida, 1994, p. 128)

If we are to address the issue of Empire and how the nation-state does not have the power that it once did then we must do so remembering Marx. As Derrida explains throughout his work, the ghosts of Marx must be dealt with and carried forth in any attempt to change our world.

Poststructuralism

My wife and I bought a 3-acre tract of land, which had a large area that was cleared for a home site. In the middle of the clearing there was a beautiful mature dogwood tree. After talking and thinking about how beautiful this tree would be in the spring my wife and I were decided that our new home would be centered in relation to this tree. Several times during the construction of the home when there was large machinery operating around the site I would visit and make sure that everyone stayed clear of this tree because of how natural and beautiful it was. Through all of the construction I was able to “save” the tree and once the house was built our thoughts of how the dogwood would look came true.

We had been in our home for three months and I had to cut the tree down. The beautiful dogwood tree died just after its white flowers' burst showing that summer was almost upon us. When I began to excavate the enormous root of this tree I found out what had killed it; water. Water, everything's life-source. Of course it was too much water because our walkway and house was holding the water and it caused the tree to basically drown. While the tree was drowning and slowly dying there were new weeds breaking ground around the tree. Weeds are interesting because there is not a reasonable way in which to predict where they will grow or how many will grow in a lawn. The only way to prevent weeds in any lawn is to provide constant twenty-four hour surveillance on

the lawn and be prepared to strike with force as soon as one begins to appear. “Embryos, trees, develop according to their genetic preformation or their structural reorganizations. But the weed overflows by virtue of being restrained. It grows between. It is the path itself” (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987, pg. 30).

Seeing this helped me to understand the idea of rhizomatic thinking. The dogwood tree is the nation-state. When viewing the tree as the nation-state we can look at the water as capitalism and the perpetual state of war that our world is engulfed by. Trans-national corporations spread their capitalist agenda and also make money off of wars and also the people need to feel security during times of war and they surround themselves with goods. Water is something that all living things need and the goods that are provided by the corporations are all things we need. There are even multi-million dollar corporations that sell water at \$2.00 per bottle. Security is also needed and when we get too much security in the form of wire taps, surveillance, and incarceration without rights then the State begins to die. When corporations control us and governments use too much security we begin to die. As the leaves died on the tree the people’s way of life dies and eventually the nation-state dies.

While digging to uncover the large taproot of the dogwood tree I uncovered a huge mound of fire ants and they were busy in their daily tasks of looking for food, building, and of course biting. Ants, could these be my Deleuzian nomads? Ants move together in their colonies and they form homes and await the birth of new ants but they move again when they are threatened or when the food/water supply disappears. As Claire Parnet states: “Nomads have no history, they only have geography” (Deleuze &

Parnet, 1982, pg. 31). This large colony of nomads had found a nice home on the edge of the nation-state and they thrived on the same conditions that killed it.

The rhizome (weeds) and the nomads (ants) are able to prosper in the same conditions that ended the life of the nation-state (tree). Should we be ants or weeds? One thing is evident we definitely do not need to be the Dogwood tree.

The methodology that I have chosen to use in this investigation of education in Empire is poststructuralism. Poststructuralism cannot be defined easily since one of tenets of this philosophy is there should be no grand narratives used to explain and define anything. Poststructuralism is not a school, but each practitioner will necessarily share a group of approaches motivated by some common understandings.. Post-structuralism is not a theory but a set of theoretical positions, which have at their core a self-reflexive discourse which is aware of the tentativeness, the slipperiness, the ambiguity, and the complex interrelations of texts and meanings (Lye, 1996, p. 1).

A major difference between structuralism and poststructuralism is the way in which reality is perceived. Poststructuralism looks at reality as being culture-specific and fragmented while structuralism does not. Also: “While structuralism has sought to identify ‘the system’ that creates meaning, poststructuralism has sought to repudiate, dismantle, and reveal the variance and contingency of ‘the system’” (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1985, p. 453). In order to fully understand the meaning that was created by the system we have to fully understand the system, which means we may have to look deep into the darkest areas of the system. Poststructuralism rejects totalizing, essentialist, and foundational concepts and places more emphasis on the body (the subject) and “specific histories,” thus presenting multiple and fleeting versions of truth

(Lye, 1996). It is through the bodies that biopower can be formed and this must be understood if we are to fully investigate our global world.

In order to understand the way in which our world is examined by poststructuralists we must go back to the work of Michel Foucault. It is through the work of Michel Foucault that we can begin to understand the role of institutions in a disciplinary society. In disciplinary societies children are trained in schools to go into the military and then into the factories (Deleuze, 1990). In this type of system people never cease going from one enclosed space to another while observing the rules and laws of each space. Peters' describes this transition as: "...first, the family, then the school (you are no longer in the your family); then the barracks (you are no longer in school); then the factory; from time to time the hospital; possibly the prison, the preeminent instance of the enclosed environment" (1996, p. 104-105). Each of the spaces can be defined due to the laws and rules of each space and through this disciplinary societies could be distinguished from others in history.

There is historical evidence of this type of movement in the United States. Many young men went from schools to military service during the two world wars and when they returned they went into the factories. As was noted by Peters some did move from the factory and into the prison system, currently the United States incarcerates more people than any other country. Most of the current prison systems are only in place to punish and not rehabilitate therefor many that go to prison once subsequently go repeatedly.

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari worked together to produce several influential works. One such work is *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. As Peters (2003) states Deleuze and Guattari, in this work, give three features of capitalism:

First, it defines society not by its contradictions but through its lines of flight. Secondly, it operates to define capitalism not through the analysis of class but through its minorities. Thirdly, it characterizes war machines in a way that has nothing to do with war but rather to do with a particular way of occupying, taking up, space-time, or inventing new space-times.

(p. 124)

With the concept of lines of flight, Deleuze and Guattari suggest this is the possibility of new and different ways of addressing issues and moving along paths that may not have been taken before. Class has been used to segregate and discriminate in capitalist societies and Deleuze and Guattari advocate that capitalism should not be viewed on the basis of class but rather on the basis of minorities. It is important to note that minorities are not a class according to Deleuze and Guattari.

The term “war machines” brings about images of militaries engaging in the act of war, however, this is not the image that Deleuze and Guattari introduce us to. The concept of “war machines” is something that Americans should be introduced to because of the ability of the Bush administration to make war. Deleuze and Guattari advocate that the war machine is not a part of the State, rather it is in opposition to the State. “One of the fundamental problems of the State is to appropriate this war machine that is foreign to it and make it a piece in its apparatus...” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 230). When the State is able to obtain the war machine and make it a part of the State the war machine

then becomes an organized military and it therefore has only one action left and that is to make war. When war is made it actually shows the failure of the war machine to have its on line of flight, it simply follows the path set forth by the State.

We can also take the concept of war machines to view the current War on Terrorism. This is a war based on concepts, which I will discuss later in this chapter, however it is an act of a war machine. In explaining the ways in which the State and war machines are different Deleuze and Guttari use the analogy of the games of Chess and Go. They suggest that Chess is a game of war but it is an organized war with units that have certain capabilities, battle lines, and procedures that must be followed. By contrast:

In Go, it is a question of arraying oneself in an open space, of holding space, of maintaining the possibility of springing up at any point: the movement is not from one point to another, but becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival. (Deleuze and Guttari, 1987, p. 353)

We have heard numerous times the President and generals try to explain to the citizens of the U.S. why the insurgents are hard to fight and stop. It is easy to understand using this analogy from Deleuze and Guttari because the insurgents are not playing by preset rules. It is ironic that the Patriots were successful in the American Revolution because many units did not make war the way in which the British thought it should be made and the Patriots found the ambush to be very effective. Now, we are fighting an enemy that does not play by our rules.

The current wars that are being waged in Afghanistan and Iraq are not wars waged against the enemy or the insurgents rather it is being waged against everything in

those countries. “Total war is not only a war of annihilation but arises when annihilation takes as its center not only the enemy army, or the enemy State, but the entire population and its economy” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 421). The citizens of the Iraq and Afghanistan are victims of total war, they are at the mercy of the occupying and newly formed militaries. Random home searches, vehicle checkpoints, and unjustified jailing are a part of life for these people. Citizens are even told to hang up their cell phones when vehicle convoys come by because they may be relaying information to the insurgents. The economies of these countries are being controlled by governments that are making trans-national corporations rich, supposedly under the guise of the free market.

While the current acts of U.S. foreign policy can be viewed as imperialistic it is my belief that the failures of the U.S. prove that Empire is upon us and imperialism is dead. The Bush Administration has experienced failure after failure and this is due to the fact that imperialism is no longer a possibility and the U.S. is no longer the superpower it once was. The U.S. will not experience success in the Middle East while conducting an imperialistic mission.

For the purpose of my research Deleuze and Guattari define international organizations well. “... we shall call an international organization anything that has the capacity to move through diverse social formations simultaneously: States, towns, deserts, war machines, primitive societies” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 435). There is no doubt that the World Bank has the ability to move through all aspects of our world society and therefore exert a tremendous amount of control over the citizens of the world and help spread capitalism while making the people suffer..

Of course, with the move from industry that many countries are experiencing presently we have to ask what students are being trained for. Gilles Deleuze answers this question in “Postscript on Control Societies” with explaining how our world is moving from disciplinary to control. In a control society the actions and movements of the people are controlled and monitored.

The old sovereign societies worked with simple machines, levers, pulleys, clocks; but recent disciplinary societies were equipped with thermodynamic machines presenting the passive danger of entropy and the active danger of sabotage; control societies function with a third generation of machines, with information technology and computers, where the passive danger is noise and the active, piracy and viral contamination. (Deleuze, 1990, p. 180)

Philosophically this is a move from postmodernism to poststructuralism. “Control is a short-term and rapidly shifting, but at the same time continuous and unbounded, whereas discipline was long-term, infinite, and discontinuous. A man is no longer a man confined but a man in debt” (Deleuze, 1990, p. 181). Information technology plays an important part in our lives; or it could be argued it plays the most important role in our lives. Through the need and desire for the services offered by information technology every part of a person’s life can be controlled.

Many have discussed the transition from disciplinary societies to societies of control. Peters (1996) gives an excellent summary of this move:

Deleuze (1992) uses the term ‘societies of control’ to denote a set of new forces and processes of free-floating control, which Foucault foresaw as

the basis of the immediate future society. Just as disciplinary societies succeeded societies of sovereignty in the eighteenth century to reach their apex in the early twentieth century, so too societies of control have succeeded disciplinary societies, the development of which have accelerated in the postwar period. (p. 104)

In the countries that were based upon the Fordist factory model there has been a drastic decrease in factories and a rise in service industries. The “First World” no longer creates anything rather it only has jobs that provide service and communication.

Foucault’s presentation of discipline societies places individuals in an endless life cycle. With this cycle people are given preset occupations and simply move through life replacing one role with another. However, the change into a control society has replaced roles with new ones. “What we have is no longer The Schoolmaster but the monitor, the best student, the class dunce, the janitor, etc. No longer the general but junior officers, the noncommissioned officers, the soldier inside me, and also the malcontent: all have their own tendencies, poles, conflicts, and relations of force” (Deleuze, 1987, p. 224-225). The occupations that are listed by Deleuze explain that control and surveillance are more present in our society today.

We can also verify the evolution of our world into a society of control by looking at how monetary systems are based. “The distinction between the two kinds of society is revealed in the difference between monetary systems: the discipline the gold standard vs the control of floating rates of exchange based on standard currencies” (Peters, 2003, p. 126). During the Great Depression the U.S. decided to end the gold standard and instead

base their money on faith, which in turn gave corporations more power and it also extended the amount of power that capitalism and competitiveness have over the people.

In order to understand Deleuze's idea of rhizomatic thinking and his presentation of the nomad we must also understand his theory of multiplicities. As Deleuze (quoted in Reynolds & Webber, 2004) explains we need to replace is with and, and learn that and creates the in-between that we need to find.

AND is neither one thing or the other, it is always in-between, between two things; it's the borderline, there's always a border, a line of flight or flow, only we don't see it, because it's the least perceptible of all things. And yet it's along this line of flight that things come to pass, becomings evolve, revolutions take shape. The strong people aren't the ones on one side or the other; power lies on the border. (Reynolds & Webber, 2004, p. 31)

It is on the border that the rhizome is able to thrive and grow. Also, the border is the place in which the nomad is able to prosper. As Claire Parnet states: "Nomads have no history, they only have geography" (pg. 31). By using the border nomads are able to come into contact with society but still able to stay out of society. It is while they are outside of the control of society they are able to prosper.

Geography is of the utmost importance to the nomad. "The nomad has a territory; he follows customary paths; he goes from one point to another; he is not ignorant of points. A path is always between two points, but the in-between has taken on all the consistency and enjoys both an autonomy and a direction of its own. The life of the nomad is the intermezzo" (Deleuze, 1987, p. 380). The intermezzo is the place where the

nomad can thrive because a stop on his path may change and thus require a new point to be established but the points are not where the nomads thrive, they thrive in the middle of the journey. Nomads are able to have original thoughts because they are not influenced by the same factors as those who are controlled by Empire.

If it is through the nomad we can learn how to change society then it should be easy to do. However, as Deleuze states: “It is a vital concern of every State not only to vanquish nomadism but to control migrations and, more generally, to establish a zone of rights over an entire exterior, over all of the flows traversing the ecumenon” (1987, p. 385). Goods and services can travel across borders with no problem but people are controlled. While traveling to Mexico last summer I took a moment to appreciate the irony of standing in a long line at the immigration check point to have my passport and identification checked. The U.S. claims to have a problem with illegal aliens coming across the southern border from Mexico but Mexico continues to control those who are attempting to get into their country.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri

Empire is an extensive work that presents new ideas about the political and economic structures that control our world. The thesis of *Empire* is “... that sovereignty has taken a new form, composed of a series of national and supranational organisms united under a single logic of rule” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. xii). The international character of Empire is what makes the nation-state less effective, however even though it is international and comprised of many organizations it is controlled by a center. In “Globalization and Democracy” Hardt and Negri state: “Empire refers above all to a new sovereignty that has succeeded the sovereignty of the nation-state, an unlimited form of

sovereignty that knows no boundaries or, rather, knows only flexible mobile boundaries” (Hardt and Negri, 2003, p. 109). There are several general themes that are explained in great detail in this work: Empire, labor, corporations, military, trans-national organizations, and non-governmental organizations. Much of the first half of this work is somewhat slow because of the vast amount of background information about world politics the authors provide. This background information helps provide an explanation of the theories they present. “Empire thus appears in the form of a very high tech machine: it is virtual, built to control the marginal event, and organized to dominate and when necessary intervene in the breakdowns of the system” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 39). Empire controls everything and dominates every aspect of life. When there are glitches or bumps in the system then Empire has the ability to correct these problems, thus proving its ability to control all aspects of society.

Empire can be described as an all or nothing work, because either readers' buy in to the ideas or they do not. One of the main reasons that many theorists and scholars find this work to be troubling is because of the shift that is made from Foucault and disciplinary societies to Deleuze and the ideas of a control society. This shift can also be seen in the way in which Empire does not create division as imperialism has done before. Instead, Empire recognizes differences, accepts them and many times proclaim these are great. “The triple imperative of the Empire is incorporate, differentiate, manage” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 201). While imperialism created division in order to control weaker subjects Empire does not create division but acknowledges difference and controls it.

One of the concepts that must be understood in the works of Hardt and Negri is biopower. “Biopower is a form of power that regulates social life from its interior,

following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and rearticulating it” (Hardt and Negri, 2003, p. 3-4). Power from this perspective is able to control the mind and body and since it is able to control entire bodies then it extends to groups of bodies or rather, the society. This relates back to the idea of a control society because every “body” in the society is controlled at the deepest, darkest levels then society, which is composed of the controlled bodies, is able to be controlled. Hardt and Negri continue with the idea of control with: “Biopower thus refers to a situation in which what is directly at stake in power is the production and reproduction of life itself” (2000, p. 24). Once life is controlled from the inside then the reproduction of it is easy to control because the same life will be reproduced with the same type of control as before. All throughout society there is evidence of economics and politics and the ability of these to affect our lives is becoming increasingly apparent. “In Empire and its regime of biopower, economic production and political constitution tend increasingly to coincide” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 41). All major political parties around the world address economic issues in their platforms and it is through this constant merging that Empire is able to gain such a strong amount of control over society.

Hardt and Negri go to extensive lengths to explain how traditional Marxism by itself is no longer relevant in Empire. Marx’s proletariat was a stationary body of workers who could join together in a union and fight for their rights and justice. In Empire, the proletariat is mobile and much of the labor they produce is immaterial. Marx used a mole to describe how the proletariat could be successful in fighting for their rights. Hardt and Negri suggest that in Empire Marx’s mole needs to transform into a snake if the proletariat is to be successful in their fight (Hardt & Negri, 2000). One of the

interesting and possibly confusing parts to understand about Empire is that the proletariat wanted unity of the world's workers and Empire is a result of that unity. Hardt and Negri explain: "Rather, proletarian internationalism was antinationalist, and hence supranational and global. Workers of the world unite! – not on the basis of national identities but directly through common needs and desires, without regard to borders and boundaries" (2000, p. 49). We must remember that one of the foundations of Empire is there are no boundaries or borders and unity can be viewed on every level. In Empire the proletariat cannot be exempt because it must be exploited.

The idea that labor is only associated with that of factory workers is quickly changing. As Hardt and Negri explain: "The central role previously occupied by the labor power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labor" (2000, p. 29). One of the major changes in many countries today is there are industries that only provide services the workers in these service industries to do not produce an actual product, rather they just provide a service. This is a major change that can be seen in nation-states around the world, if you have a Dell computer in the U.S. and need technical support then you will most likely speak to a technician in a call center in India. The telecommunications industry has played a major part in globalization and also in the creation of Empire. Hardt and Negri explain the importance of this industry with: "Today information and communication have come to play a foundational role in production processes" (2000, p. 289). The impact of the telecommunications industry is easily observed but what must be observed is the created desire and need for these industries and the electronics they produce.

The need and desires is what corporations create through marketing. Marketing techniques are used to create the “I’ve got to have that” mentality. However, the marketing tactics that are used are clearly poststructuralist. “Marketing itself is a practice based on differences, and the more differences that are given, the more marketing strategies can be developed” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 152). This difference is clearly seen in target groups that are attacked by marketing companies, while one person of a certain age and gender might not become “hooked” on the campaign, someone that is different will. The marketing industry helps trans-national corporations become more profitable, and every successful corporation has a marketing department or a marketing company on the payroll.

The role of corporations is of a great importance in Empire. There are no more local, regional, or national large corporations instead there are trans-national corporations. In order for a corporation to be considered successful it must have a global market and it must have influence over people in different areas of the world. These new corporations have no borders and they also have no allegiance to individual nation-states. One of the most important aspects of these corporations is their ability to market their product. It is through this marketing that people are controlled and kept in place. Labor helps these corporations because of the mobile workforce that is now available, a company can have a factory anywhere and the workers will migrate to this area. However, it is not only the workers that are migrating: “Along with the flight from so-called Third World there are flows of political refugees and transfers of intellectual labor power, in addition to the massive movements of agricultural, manufacturing, and service proletariat” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 213). The migration of intellectuals is easily to

observe by simply visiting any large hospital or university. Empire demands not only those who physically toil with their hands to migrate and find better employment but also those who are considered intellectuals.

Throughout history, for any type of government to be successful they had to employ a military. In order for Empire to be successful it must have the ability to use force. As Hardt and Negri state: “Empire is formed not on the basis of force itself but on the basis of the capacity to present fore as being in the service of right and peace” (2000, p. 15). Empire must maintain the appearance of being for what is right and just and also it must possess the ability to use force if needed. Hardt and Negri explain the role of the military in Empire as being more of a police force than what we would normally consider a military. One of the basis of using the military in Empire has: “... the right of intervention. This is commonly conceived as the right or duty of the dominant subjects of the world order to intervene in the territories of other subjects in the interest of preventing or resolving humanitarian problems guaranteeing accords, and imposing peace” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 18). The convincing argument that the authors use to back their claim is the various military engagements of the 1990’s. The right of intervention breeds “Just Wars”. Just Wars are said to be fought for moral and ideological reasons and they are justified more so than any other type of conflict. The ability to intervene is done so on moral grounds. As Hardt and Negri explain: “In fact, Empire’s powers of intervention might be best understood as beginning not directly with its weapons of lethal force but rather with its moral instruments” (2000, p. 35). There can be no doubt that Empire does possess the military ability to attack any force that opposes it but it does not only rely on brute force it also uses moral tactics and devices. One can easily trace this with Empire’s

ability to use NGO's and other international organizations to provide moral guidance to those in need.

Another aspect of the military that Hardt and Negri propose is the idea of fighting against concepts. No longer is there an easily visible enemy rather there is an enemy that is elusive and can only be defined in broad terms. Since the enemy is no longer a nation and is instead a concept the war zone is also not set, the war can be fought domestically or internationally. Wherever, be it in the deserts of the Middle East or the heartland of the U.S., the enemy shows its face the military has a right to attack. All wars are tied to economic production; this is nothing new. However, we must understand that economic production and corporations can cause wars to begin and also lengthen wars for their profits and to spread the capitalists' agenda.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) are very easy to define; they are organizations that consist of representatives from around the world who supposedly operate outside the control of any country. Some of the most well known NGO's are Amnesty International, Catholic Relief Services, Doctors Without Borders, etc....

“These NGOs, which are sometimes characterized broadly as humanitarian organizations, are in fact the ones that have come to be among the most powerful and prominent in the contemporary global order” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 313). The power these organizations have is largely unknown by most citizens of the world and sadly their power is usually greatly underestimated. Most NGO's are viewed as humanitarian organizations that are supposed to help the oppressed and poor people around the world. However, the amount of power they exude is amazing because they can basically choose whom to help and when. “Here, at their broadest, most universal level, the

activities of these NGOs coincide with the workings of Empire, beyond politics, on the terrain of biopower, meeting the needs of life itself” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 314). We must remember that Empire, through the use of biopower, is in control of the production and reproduction of life. The NGOs, even those considered humanitarian, help Empire extend its biopower.

What is a shortcoming of this expansive work? Education. Education affects all levels of society but Hardt and Negri do not address its importance. Education can be structured, organized, and formal or it can be in the opposite forms. The mass, no matter what time or place, is an organized body that is educated. Hardt and Negri give no guidance as to the role that education should play in Empire. Two institutions that Hardt and Negri do not discuss in detail are the international organizations such as the World Bank and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The World Bank should be considered when analyzing the power and role of Empire on society due to the tremendous amount of influence and control this organization is able to impose on so-called Third World countries. Also, through the World Bank and the OECD, education is affected and controlled in poor countries through the repayment of loans.

Is there a way to challenge the power of and overcome Empire? Yes, however it is not something that can follow the paths of resistance movements of the past. Hardt and Negri explain the vulnerability of Empire:

... the construction of Empire, and the globalization of economic and cultural relationships, means that the virtual center of Empire can be attacked from any point. The tactical preoccupations of the old

revolutionary school are thus completely irretrievable; the only strategy available to the struggles is that of a constituent counterpower that emerges from within empire. (2000, p.59)

This counterpower that emerges within Empire is the multitude, which Hardt and Negri explain in detail in their sequel. The movement against Empire must not be a national or local movement but rather an international movement. “We have to accept that challenge and learn to think globally and act globally. Globalization must be met with counter-globalization, Empire with counter-Empire” (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 206-207). The movements that need to be formed must be global and these counter movements will be a union of those with different agendas, different nationalities, and different protests. However, they will have one thing in common and that is wanting to challenge the power and influence of Empire.

Multitude, also by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, can be viewed as an answer to the problem of Empire. However, it must be stated there is not an easy cut and dry definition of the multitude and this can be attributed to the many aspects that compose Empire. The multitude can be viewed through different lenses such as race, gender, sexuality, social, and economic. “From the socioeconomic perspective, the multitude is the common subject of labor, that is, the real flesh of postmodern production, and at the same time the object from which collective capital tries to make the body of it global development” (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 101).

In order to fight against Empire we need to form the multitude. “Indeed, as the protests organized against global capital and a global war on terror illustrate, the very communication networks that elude national control and facilitate the control of global

capital's various appendages can also facilitate the self-organization of democratic action at a global level by a new political subject, the multitude" (Passavant, 2004, p. 3-4).

Millions around the world use the computer and Internet; however, it must be said that many around the world have never heard of the Internet. One of the problems with organizing in a virtual world is lack of personal contact. Another problem with the use of the Internet is that many people view information from it as being false and many times rightly so. Also, a problem with using the Internet to organize is the ability of governmental agencies to spy on people and groups. Anything that is posted, sent, downloaded, and viewed on a computer can be obtained by anyone around the world if the computer is connected to the Internet. Also, if students and professors are using the colleges' computers then they are basically giving up their rights to privacy.

The way we can combat the rule of Empire is to educate for the multitude. The multitude: "... is a force that both calls Empire into being and opens up the possibility of political change, of an alternative to imperial rule" (Dean, 2004, p. 275). We need educators, from elementary teachers to college professors, to learn about the affects of Empire and also learn how to educate their students to become active in the multitude.

It is through the economy that the multitude is attempted to be controlled and defined. As Hardt and Negri (2004) state:

Capital wants to make the multitude into an organic unity, just like the state wants to make it into a people. This is where, through the struggles of labor, the real productive biopolitical figure of the multitude begins to emerge. When the flesh of the multitude is imprisoned and transformed

into the body of global capital, it finds itself both within and against the processes of capitalistic globalization. (p. 101)

There is little doubt the world is controlled by the use of capital and it is through this control that trans-national corporations are able to extend their power across national boundaries. We must remember that the multitude is not a group or people or a mob. In “Globalization and Democracy” Hardt and Negri explain this difference with: “The multitude is not a unity, as in the people, but in contrast to the masses and the mob we can see that it is organized. It is an active, self-organizing agent” (2003, p. 114). The idea of the multitude being self-organizing can be misleading but it must be remembered that a diverse group of protestors is somehow organized and demonstrated the potential power of the multitude.

One of the most interesting and yet frustrating aspects of the work of Hardt and Negri is they do not give a contemporary example of the multitude. They do believe that the multitude will appear and the conditions are ripe for such an appearance. The goal of the multitude is to create a global democracy, which is different than the so-called democracies we have been accustomed to living in. It could be assumed that the new form of government might not be a democracy but rather a concept that is yet to be invented. As Negri (in McLemee 2004) states: “People spend a lot of time criticizing contemporary global institutions as well. The obvious thing, of course, is to ask: What would an alternative look like, and where would it come from? Some of those answers begin to emerge in the final pages of *Multitude*, but not the answers” (p. 52). The answers are to be found by those theorists who continue the work that is grounded in the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri. Also, the authors are planning on presenting a third

volume that will provide more insight to the questions they posed in the first two volumes.

The ideas presented by Hardt and Negri, in both works, have caused a firestorm of debate in the form of articles, essays, and books. “*Empire* has become a point of focus for a larger debate about globalization, contemporary forms of imperialism, and the post-cold war era, subjects of great importance” (Abu-Manneh, 2004, p.22). When reading many of these critics I have often wondered if they have read the same works I have. All reading is open to interpretation but the conclusion that many of these critics draw out of *Empire* and *Multitude* I simply do not see. For instance, Liidakis (2005) addresses the philosophical base of *Empire*: “The postmodernist approach followed by H&N tends to undermine and ultimately nullify whatever valuable insight there is in the work. They are led to superficial periodization of capitalism, based on a highly arbitrary and abstract, temporal-cultural distinction (modern/postmodern)” (p. 359). Liidakis goes on to explain: “Thus they ignore not only the inherently uneven character of capitalist development, but also the internal contradictions and political conflicts characterizing the emerging structure” (p. 359). Hardt and Negri do not ignore the internal conflicts and the politics that are associated with current events in the world. The U.S. is attempting imperialism again, this is true, but it is the failures the U.S. has experienced that help explain that imperialism cannot be accomplished in *Empire*.

One of the most entertaining critiques of the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri are presented in an article in *Science and Society* in April, 2003. This article was written to display a collaboration that was printed in the French journal, *Journal for Concrete Analysis*. This critique is entertaining because they refer to the authors as “Negri and his

associates” and also the article is bursting with Eurocentrism. The collaborators claim that the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri are believed mainly by those who: “... have lost their way” (Rossi, 2003, p. 196). I believe the works of Hardt and Negri offer guidance not to those who have lost their way but to those who are aware the current ways in which to look and define the world’s problems do not prove sufficient. The collaborators in this article go to great lengths to express their belief that Europe should be included as the dominant area in global politics and Europe holds the same position as Hardt and Negri give the U.S. There is no doubt that Europe has been at the center of world politics for centuries and the advancement of the European Union is a testament to continuing this position. However, as is the case with the U.S., the problem is bigger than Europe and this is what the collaborators in this article are missing.

Other theorists and scholars who speak critically about the work of Hardt and Negri are Samir Amin and Bashir Abu-Manneh. One of the main problems that Amin has with Hardt and Negri is in *Empire* they reference an article by Amin, that he completed in 1993, and use this as evidence of Empire. Amin has written several critiques of *Empire* and *Multitude*; however, Amin treats these works with a gentler evaluation than others do. Abu-Manneh, who Peter McLaren likes to reference, has written several articles explaining how the concepts of Empire and multitude, as presented by Hardt and Negri, can not be justified in our world today.

Empire is premised on the power of desertion and nomadism. Having in one breath criticized postcolonial theory for being outmoded, Hardt and Negri go on to privilege its most recent theoretical trope in the next the migrant as bearer of truth, as symbol of a new world and its liberatory

potential. Through migrancy, the multitude anticipates and invents Empire. (Abu-Manneh, 2004, ¶30)

It is interesting that Abu-Manneh chooses the ideas of migration and nomads to critique because these are the points at which a change from disciplined to control societies can be observed. Deleuze spoke often about the privileged position of the nomad. The nomad can move easily because it has no set geography and no history, it can also come in contact with the stationary society but still remain on the outside. When speaking of migrants, especially in regards to the way Hardt and Negri use this term, we must not only think of the immigrant laborers but also the intellectuals. The ability to migrate easily from one nation-state to another is an indication there is less of a need for borders to separate nation-states and therefore the importance of the nation-state is less than before.

In the field of education the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri have also found many critics and skeptics. One of the most outspoken critics of the theory of Empire is Peter McLaren. “Our major disagreement with Hardt and Negri is with their stubborn insistence that state power has become obsolete or that its role has significantly diminished” (McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2005, 3). McLaren and Farahmandpur assert that the U.S. is continuing its mission of imperialist domination and through this the role of the state, especially the U.S., is stronger than ever. One of the main ideas that comes across in any of McLaren’s writings since November 2000 is his ultimate hatred and disdain for G. W. Bush. While I understand his anger, I believe that this causes McLaren not to see the bigger picture.

In *Critical Pedagogy in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization* McLaren claims that the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri: "... needs to be roundly rejected" (2005, p. 65). Once again McLaren goes on to suggest that the imperial domination by the U.S. and Western Europe prove that the ideas presented in *Empire* are not valid. He, once again, directs much of his writing to the evils of the Bush Administration. Again, I understand his anger and agree with many of his thoughts about the current administration but the problem is bigger than the U.S. and it is bigger than the Cowboy.

Another concept that McLaren continues to promote and develop in all of his writings is that of Marxism or neo-Marxism, he often uses these terms interchangeably. McLaren does not agree with the shift to postmodernism and he is often more critical of postmodern theory than Hardt and Negri. "Like graffiti sprayed adventitiously across the tropes and conceits of bleached-out modernist narratives, postmodern theory remains a soft form of revolt" (McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2005, p. 31). Since most postmodernists do not advocate taking-up arms and storming the barricades for a revolution McLaren feels as though it is soft.

Another educational theorist that has critiqued the work of Hardt and Negri is Stanley Aronowitz. In "Global Capital and Its Opponents" Aronowitz addresses some of the problems he sees with the concept of Empire. "The main problem is that they overstate their case. From the incontrovertible observation that the traditional forces of resistance have lost their punch, the authors conclude that there are no more institutional mediations; power must be confronted directly" (Aronowitz, 2003, p. 186). There is no doubt that Hardt and Negri do go to extensive lengths to make their case however I believe they do so in order to provide a clear picture of their concept of Empire. The

resistance movements of the past are no longer effective in Empire because most of these movements were nationalist and based upon single-issue causes. The new movements must be international and they are also a combination of groups that each have their own cause but they come together to confront Empire together.

Aronowitz goes on to explain that Hardt and Negri did not address in detail some of the major international organizations that have a tremendous impact on our world today. “One of the serious omissions in *Empire*’s analysis is a discussion of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, three of the concrete institutions of the repressive world government of Empire” (Aronowitz, 2003, p. 188). I definitely agree with Aronowitz that Hardt and Negri should have evaluated the influence of these organizations more than they did. I believe the World Bank is one of the most powerful international organizations because of its ability to choose which countries to help and then control how those countries repay the loans they received. The influence of the World Bank is what I want to focus on in three. With the assistance of the OECD the World Bank is able to exert tremendous power over the educational institutions in countries around the world.

CHAPTER 3

GLOBALIZATION: THE FAILURES OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

U.S. Imperialism

Recently many have argued that the United States is participating in a rebirth of imperialism. There is no doubt that the U.S. practiced imperialism aggressively from the late 19th century well into the 20th century. Even when the U.S. was involved in the Cold War the foreign policy of containment was nothing more than a form of imperialism. The U.S. is not experiencing a rebirth of imperialism rather it is practicing imperialism in a different manner. Rather than relying solely upon its military forces for domination of weaker nation-states the U.S. also relies heavily upon trans-national corporations. Through the use of military force, followed directly by trans-national corporations, the U.S. is able to continue expanding the influence of capitalism and the so-called free market.

As globalization engulfed the world the economies of most nation-states have changed. As we know the economy of the U.S. changed greatly in the twentieth century. As Boutwell (2005) explains our economy has experienced four great changes:

First, technological innovation is applied relentlessly in the workplace to replace or de-skill workers. Second, managerial processes are radically modified in order to organize the functions of employees and managers to maximize the efficiency of technological innovations. Third, economic interests, investments, and ownership are internationalized. Fourth, and most germane to our purposes, intellectual talent and ideas are internationalized. (p. 131)

The changes that are outlined by Boutwell are in-line with the ideas about how our world has changed from one that is based on discipline to one based on control. The spread of concepts such as knowledge capitalism and knowledge economy, which will be discussed in detail, by international organizations display Boutwell's fourth great change.

Many theorists feel that the U.S. is the cause of most of the injustices in the world and it is only through understanding and accepting this can things begin to improve. Chalmers Johnson, considered by many to be an expert on U.S. foreign policy, believes that the U.S. is at the center of the major events in the world and the current administration is waging a new type of imperialism in which they control the IMF, WTO, and World Bank. There can be little doubt that the U.S. has obtained an enormous amount of control over these institutions and this is blatantly clear when you consider where the headquarters of these organizations are located.

Johnson believes that we are headed down a path that will change the country in which we live in drastically. He feels that "four sorrows" are about to come: perpetual war, loss of democracy with the executive branch becoming more powerful, propaganda and disinformation will replace the truth, and bankruptcy will become a plague (Johnson, 2004). I believe that at least three of Johnson's sorrows are present in our society today. While Johnson is critical of the U.S. and that is what he is referring to, these sorrows can be found around the world.

Corporations and businesses have always shown they will pay their workers as little as possible, it was only through the work of countless unions that workers were able to receive a fair wage in the past. It is well established that workers in the northern and western areas of the U.S. were able to obtain higher wages for their work than those in

the southern part of the country. One obvious reason for this is due to the cost of living has always been lower in the south than in other parts of the country. However, many southern states are considered “right to work” states and trade unions do not always enjoy the same support that they might receive in other parts of the U.S. Corporations began to take advantage of this fact as Boutwell (2005) states: “First, the core corporations and their subsidiaries began to shift factories and routine manufacturing work to low-wage areas within the U.S.” (p.130). However, this only lasted for a decade and as Boutwell (2005) goes on to explain: “When they ran out of places to move to in America, routine manufacturing companies began moving to Mexico, Malaysia, Ireland, and other low-wage foreign countries” (p. 130). In the U.S. there has been a shift from being a country that produces items to being one that is service oriented. It is hard to find a product around your home that is “Made in the U.S.A.”. This is not necessarily a bad thing, however, the U.S. has a large work force that has been trained to work in industries. Therefore this workforce needs to be retrained because their former jobs are not going to come back to America.

With, as Douglas Kellner aptly names it, *Grand Theft 2000* G. W. Bush was able to take the presidency of the U.S. It should be unbelievable that George W. Bush became President if you look at how he has conducted his life. He partied his way through Yale and graduated with a C average. He did not report to all of his training when he was in the Texas Air National Guard. He was also arrested for drunk driving and it has been reported that he had a drug addiction. He failed repeatedly in business and cannot verbally express himself at all. But, there is one thing that has always been on his side; he is from a rich and powerful family.

The Bush Administration changed the role of the United States in international politics in several ways. There was widespread world support of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan after the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11th, 2001. America was under attack and many in the world felt the U.S. had a right to hunt down those responsible for these attacks. However, there was international opposition to the invasion of Iraq even if Iraq did possess Weapons of Mass Destruction. The Bush Administration found they could not bully the United Nations into supporting this mission. “The U.S. government’s new wars, its policy of pre-emptive strikes, its military occupations, its seizure of oilfields and its projects to remake the political map of the Middle East were all immediately recognized as imperialist endeavors” (Hardt, 2006, p. 26). The U.S. has waged a war against the concept of terrorism and in doing so they have invaded two countries, detained thousands, and conducted torture all in the name of security. This Administration has lied repeatedly to the citizens of the U.S. and the world. It is amazing that it has been proven there were no WMD’s in Iraq and the majority of U.S. citizens continued to support the war for three years.

When viewing the current political ideologies in the U.S. there are several terms that continuously reoccur such as: Right, Left, neoliberalism, neoconservatism, etc... The use of these terms can vary and for the purpose of my research I generally accept the definitions of each that follow. The Right is usually against economic, political, and/or social change and this group is in favor of *laissez-faire* economics. The Right is also in favor of religion guiding the morals of the State, as long as it is a Protestant-based religion. The Republican Party is associated with the Right in the U.S. The Left is often considered the group that seeks change in economic, political, and social institutions and

this group customarily is in favor of governmental controls over the economy.

Traditionally the Left believes in freedom of religion and does not want religion to play a part in the operations of the State. In the U.S. the Democratic Party is usually the party of the Left. Of course there are some variations of these to broad terms such as Religious Right, Conservative Right, etc... The stereotypes that are associated with these political ideologies are humorous at times. As I stated earlier, when people meet me they automatically assume that I belong to the Right. Being on the Right or the Left is not about race, class, gender, or creed. These classes are not relevant today in regards to political ideology.

In order to grasp a better understanding of the Right there are two groups that are considered a major force in this movement; neoliberals and neoconservatives. Many theorists and writers often refer to these two groups when attempting to explain the current trends in American society. Neoliberals' desire a country in which free markets and free trade are ensured by the government. However, they are not just concerned with economic interests they also want their economic desires to filter over into a society that replaces everyday institutions with businesses and business persons. Brown (2006) explains neoliberal desires as: "Equality, universality, political autonomy and liberty, citizenship, the rule of law, a free press ..." (p. 696). These desires are not negative but the way in which they are implemented in society creates negativity.

Neoliberalism retains many of elements of classic liberalism such as individuals being interested in only themselves, free market economics, commitment to *laissez-faire*, and devotion to free trade (Olssen & Peters, 2005). These aspects of liberalism contributed to the flourishing of capitalism around the world. A reason many believe in

free trade and are committed to *laissez-faire* is the idea of rugged individualism. Many continue to have a “pull yourself up by the bootstraps” mentality and they in turn become more greedy.

It is important to understand that the “neo” addition to concepts that have been used to explain the current movements in the U.S. and the world do change what has been traditionally assumed about these concepts. The prefix does not simply mean a rebirth of a classic theory but a metamorphosis into a new way of thinking and viewing society.

“In classical liberalism the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom. In neoliberalism the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 315).

One of the most important components of the two dominant groups is competition. Competition is viewed as necessary and good. For instance, in call centers, operators are judged on how many calls they can take in an hour. Quality is not as important as quantity. Call centers are a major employer in our service-based economy and many trans-national corporations have moved these centers to India in search of a cheaper labor market. The standardization of education is completely absorbed with competition and schools, teachers, and students are compared and the results are reported for analysis.

Neoconservatives look at society today and believe that problems in society are due to outside influences and multiculturalism and they want a return to “how things used to be”. One of the leading advocates of neoconservatism is William Bennett and his book *The Book of Virtues* provides “moral guidance” to students through tales. This work is nothing more than the promotion of Western-based thought, culture, and ideas. The “neocons”, as they are often referred, seek to return to that time when American ideas

were supreme, a time in which white culture was the only culture that was accepted.

“Behind much of the neoconservative position is a clear sense of loss – a loss of faith, of imagined communities, of a nearly pastoral vision of like-minded people who shared norms and values in which Western tradition reigned supreme” (Apple, 2001, p. 48).

This time, in reality, never was and never will be.

Brown utilizes Ann Norton’s ideas to explain neoconservatism: “... neoconservatism abandons classic conservative commitments to a modest libertarianism, isolationism, frugality and fiscal virtues of refinement, rectitude, civility, education, and discipline” (2006, p. 697). It is interesting how these two different ideologies merge together to shape the current policies of the U.S. Brown (2006) describes how these two groups converge:

Perhaps most importantly, neoliberalism figures a future in which cultural and national borders are largely erased, in which all relations, attachments, and endeavors are submitted to a monetary nexus, while neoconservatism scrambles to re-articulate and police cultural and national borders, the sacred, and the singular through discourses of patriotism, religiosity, and the West. Neoliberalism looks forward to a global order contoured by a universalized market rationality in which cultural difference is at most a commodity, and nation-state boundaries are but markers of culinary differences and provincial legal arrangements. (p. 699)

When reflecting upon the major events over the past decade we can easily understand how both of these movements have won victories in achieving their goals. However, we must remember that the current administration is able to address both sides effectively.

It is important to note that Apple (2001) believes that neoliberals and neoconservatives are part of the dominant culture in the U.S. but he also believes there are two additional groups, authoritarian populists and the new middle class. Apple explains that authoritarian populists are conserved with the religion and the are fundamental in their religious beliefs. Brown argues that religion is what allows both neoliberalism and neoconservatism to take hold in our society. The new middle class, as Apple argues, are the professionals and managers that have ensured we on course with the neoliberalism and neoconservatism. The new middle class, in my opinion, is not a separate group because there is evidence of this group in the policies of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. The “authoritarian populists” are sometimes referred to as the Christian Right or Religious Right and have an immense amount of power in the U.S. It was with this group’s help that G. W. Bush was able to become President and he is often heard invoking the will of God as his mission. Peter McLaren rightly named him, “God’s Cowboy”. It is the mission of the Christian right to publicly damn all those who do not believe as they do and to lambaste the world with what they feel is moral and ethical.

The movement of transforming the U.S. has taken decades to accomplish. We must remember that it was during the Cold War that the U.S. was one of the two major world powers but with the loss of the Vietnam War and subsequent downfall of the conservative movement in America the Right found themselves slowly loosing power. There have been many to suggest that it was during the Reagan administration that many

of the leading conservatives began to acquire positions that would help them achieve dominance during the Bush Administration. One would have to only look at the biographies of people such as Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, John Bolton, William Bennet, etc... to see they have been involved in the policy making of the U.S. for an extended amount of time.

The Left is also composed of many smaller groups, however, these groups are often associated with causes and not necessarily political ideologies. For instance, the current Left in the U.S. is composed of minorities seeking equality, feminists, homosexuals seeking equality, environmentalists, peace activists, etc... Those on the Right would like to place labels on the Left and one group that is constantly berated by neoliberals and neoconservatives are those in academia. Neolibs and neocons can often be heard and read referring to those in academia as the intellectual elite. This, however, is just a political tactic because the neocons and neolibs are suggesting to middle America that those in academia think they are elite and more intellectual than everyone else when usually this is not the case.

If, as many have argued, the U.S. is practicing a new imperialism then it must mean that the ideas presented by Hardt and Negri are defunct. This would seem to be logical on the surface but in reality all the current administration has experienced is one failure after another. The U.S. military, which is arguably the best in the world, has been frustrated by groups of people who cannot be identified, their leaders have been identified but if one of the leaders is killed then a new face appears on the nightly news. The American people are shown a new face, and the failures continue. As Hardt (2006) states: "My view is that they (*failures*) indicate not only the errors of one government's

policies but also the end of imperialism itself and the emergence of a new logic of global power that comes with new dangers and possibilities” (p. 26). The U.S. government and its military cannot find a way to defeat this war machine, because they are rhizomes and nomads. Here, we have evidence that a rhizome and nomad may not always be good and humane but I imagine the insurgents are fighting what they believe is bad and inhumane.

We have two years left of failures and it will be interesting to see what direction a new president takes the United States. Currently there is a debate between Congress and the Bush Administration on additional funding for the Iraq War and the subject of time tables. I have serious doubts that the U.S. military will completely leave Iraq anytime in the next decade but one thing is evident, imperialism is dead and the U.S. is no longer the superpower it once was.

T. R. Reid’s, *The United States of Europe: The new superpower and the end of American Supremacy*, is an interesting look at the ways in which the European Union has taken the stage as possibly the new superpower in the world. One of the most intriguing arguments for Reid’s assertion is in the story he tells about Jack Welch and General Electric. Welch wanted to take over Honeywell and even with backing by the Bush Administration the European Union was able to stop this from happening. This is intriguing because GE and Honeywell are both U.S. corporations and they were stopped from merging by a foreign entity. As I repeatedly argue, no longer are corporations national rather they are trans-national.

Reid also tells a story about a fictitious husband and wife who decide to take a road trip to visit their son. Along the trip the couple use products that are considered “American” such as a Jeep, Amoco, Dunkin’ Donuts, Baby Ruth, Miller Lite, Bazooka

gum, and many others. However, as Reid states at the end of the story none of these products are owned by American Corporations, instead they are owned by European corporations (Reid, 2006). I do disagree with Reid in his assertion that these corporations are European. It is my belief that corporations do not have loyalty to any government or locality, the world is their market place and their headquarters can change at the next board meeting. This became evident to Americans in March when Halliburton announced that it will be relocating its headquarters to Dubai.

Globalization

In the past twenty years we have transformed from a world separated by borders to one where information, ideas and people conduct border crossings every minute. Through the advancement of technology the ability to communicate with those in other parts of the world is only a mouse click away. Globalization is more than technology it is the interdependence and shared ideas across national borders. As our world becomes more interdependent the citizens of the world become more dependent on transnational corporations and international institutions.

Many theorists (Singh, Kenway, Apple) have identified two types of globalization; from above and from below. Globalization from above refers to transnational corporations and international organizations and their ability to affect the daily lives of citizens around the world. With this type of globalization the citizen has no voice or control over the effects of international interdependency. With the neoliberal project of globalization from above the knowledge that is considered correct and legitimate usually does not take into account the local communities that are being affected (Singh, Kenway, & Apple, 2005). Since globalization from above is carried out by trans-national

corporations and international organizations the effects of this are seen as coming from a larger more indirect source.

Globalization from below is understood to be a movement in which the citizens of the world have some control over global interdependency. This form of globalization is often seen as a response to the previously mentioned form and it is also considered to be one in which there is less exploitation and corruption. Some of the examples of this form of globalization are local protests, grassroots political parties, and citizen led initiatives.

One of the most alarming features of globalization is the ability of trans-national corporations to go into war-ravaged countries and make millions. Trans-national corporations also change the supply chains in the market and through their ability to cross borders unchecked they are able to influence cross-cultural opinions. “The consequence of this dependence is to pit people and localities against one another in a self-destructive competition for economic survival, yielding ever more power to the center” (Korten, 2001, p. 241). The goal of the transnational corporations is to increase their wealth by having people that will produce the most for the cheapest.

International institutions are very influential in the daily lives of people around the world. When developing their basis of Empire Hardt and Negri (2000) expressed their feelings about the role of international organizations: “... there is no need to limit our analysis to or even focus it on the established supranational regulatory institution” (p. 31). This is one major disagreement I have with Hardt and Negri because I feel as though a detailed and thorough analysis of these institutions, particularly the World Bank, is needed. A detailed analysis of the structure, charter, and policies of the World Bank is

needed because people need to understand how powerful this institution is and how it works to expand capitalism around the globe.

It can be argued that the vast majority of people in the world do not understand the influence of the WTO, IMF, or the World Bank. As Stiglitz (2003) states: “Though they are public, there is no direct accountability to the public. But while this should imply that these institutions be even more open, in fact, they are even less transparent” (p. 227). In reality they have been able to garnish such an expansive amount of power they are now able to control nation-states.

World Bank

The World Bank, whose official name is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is composed of 184 member countries and they describe themselves as a cooperative in which the member countries are shareholders. These countries are represented by a Board of Governors that make major decisions and set policies for the Bank. The Board of Governors meets annually along with representatives of the IMF. “Because the governors only meet annually, they delegate specific duties to 24 Executive Directors, who work on-site at the bank. The five largest shareholders, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States appoint an executive director, while other member countries are represented by 19 executive directors” (IBRD, 1989). It is amazing they actually refer to themselves as a cooperative because 179 countries are represented by 19 directors, that is one executive director for an average of 9.42 countries. The current President of the World Bank is Paul Wolfowitz, who has strong Republican ties.

The World Bank operates in theory like a traditional bank that serves individual people, however the entities they conduct business with are much larger. “The Bank may guarantee, participate in, or make loans to any member or any political subdivision thereof and any business, industrial, and agricultural enterprise in the territories of a member” (IBRD, 1989). The World Bank, which is supposedly a cooperative, can make loans to member countries, non-member countries, or to businesses. Therefore the World Bank is an international force that has the ability to affect the globe. However, Section 10 of the World Bank charter states that the World Bank will not get involved in the political affairs any member county. However, I do not understand how anyone can believe the World Bank is not involved in politics because if money is being loaned to countries for projects then someone in that country will receive the credit for orchestrating this deal and therefore someone’s political agenda is being served and more importantly the World Bank is able to expand capitalism and exploit the citizens of the world.

When reviewing the Charter even further there are some alarming provisions one can find. “The President, officers and staff of the Bank, in the discharge of their offices, owe their duty entirely to the Bank and to no other authority. Each member of the Bank shall respect the international character of this duty and shall refrain from all attempts to influence any of them in discharge of their duties” (IBRD, 1989). This provision is alarming because the officers of the Bank, even though they are citizens of countries, should be loyal to the Bank above all else. This is another sign of Empire because employees and representatives of an international organization are asked to give loyalty to the organization instead of the nation-state where they are citizens.

The duties of most member-countries of the World Bank are limited. In the richest countries their obligation is to deposit money and be present at meetings. This, however, is not true of those who look to the Bank for financial aid. “If a member fails to fulfill any of its obligations to the Bank, the Bank may suspend its membership by decision of a majority of the Governors, exercising a majority of the total voting power” (IBRD, 1989). If the World Bank is a voluntary organization then a country that wants to end its’ relationship with Bank should, in theory, be able to. However, ending the relationship is not as easy as it might seem. “When a government ceases to be a member, it shall remain liable for its direct obligations to the Bank and for its contingent liabilities to the Bank so long as any part of the loans or guarantees contracted before it ceased to be a member are outstanding” (IBRD, 1989). There are many countries that have accumulated large debts with the Bank. It can also be assumed that the citizens or those in political parties that are in opposition to the ruling party do not know exactly how much debt their country may have to repay to the Bank. If a country takes a new direction, dare I say a revolution occurs, the new government will still owe the World Bank even if they choose to not be members any longer.

It is amazing the level at which the Bank has managed to protect itself and its officers. “Property and assets of the Bank, wherever located and by whomsoever held, shall be immune from search, requisition, confiscation, expropriation, or any other form of seizure by executive or legislative action” (IBRD, 1989). The World Bank is much like a military organization that has a fort/base in a state or foreign country. When a military base/fort is established in a foreign country the actions of people on that base are not

under the jurisdiction of the host country, they are under the control and laws of the country that owns the base.

The assets and property of the World Bank cannot be taxed and tariffs cannot be levied against these. While the citizens of the world have to pay taxes on almost everything this organization is allowed to be immune from such things. The property and assets of the Bank are also free from any type of control or regulation by nation-states. These provisions add to the argument that the Bank is above all countries laws and regulations and cannot be controlled by any.

The World Bank offers training and information workshops to representatives from countries and the private sector who wish to learn more about their projects. One such conference, scheduled for April 16, 2007, was entitled “Strategic Choices for Education Reform”. This conference was aimed at helping countries attain Millennium Development Goals, Education For All, and create a better economy. One of the speakers at this conference was Luis Crouch who is the Vice-president of Research Triangle Institute (RTI) and the conference leader is Dr. Donald Winkler who was employed previously at RTI. This company has received contracts worth several million dollars for work in Iraq, which I will discuss later.

One of the World Bank’s main projects is the Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s), which is focused on eliminating poverty and creating sustained development. There can be a valid argument that poverty can never be eliminated. Since the beginning of recorded time there has been poverty. “The poor is destitute, excluded, repressed, exploited – and yet living! It is the common denominator of life, the foundation of the multitude” (Hardt and Negri, 2000. 156). I am not advocating that we do not try to end

poverty however we must accept the fact that we are all poor in one way or another. A billionaire can be spiritually poor in contrast to the Buddhist monk who is monetarily poor.

Another major project that has been taken on by the World Bank is Education For All (EFA). EFA has listed six goals: improve comprehensive early child care and education, by 2015 all children will have access and complete free compulsory primary education, ensure the learning needs of all children and adults are met, by 2015 achieve a 50 percent improvement in levels of adult literacy, eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, improve all aspects of education in measurable learning aspects (UNESCO, 2000).

The Bank believes its' programs provide desired opportunities to the world's citizens. "World Bank lending has helped provide expanded schooling opportunities for children around the world with an increasing focus on the delivery of good learning experiences to all children" (World Bank, 2006). It is hard to define "good learning experience" and this concept can be perceived differently in various cultures. It appears as though the World Bank has been able measure this, somehow.

Knowledge Economy

As Frederick Douglass stated in his autobiography: "Knowledge unfits the child to be a slave". While one does obtain some liberation with any knowledge they receive, knowledge has come to be a commodity that is sold and marketed around the world. "The most significant material change that underpins neoliberalism in the twenty-first century is the rise in the importance of knowledge as capital" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 330).

In describing the movement towards a knowledge economy Olssen and Peters (2005) relate the explanation given by Joseph E Stiglitz in his work, *Globalization and Its Discontents*. Stiglitz believes that this movement demands that we rethink economic fundamentals. He suggests that knowledge is different than other commodities because it can be considered a public good. If knowledge is a public good then governments play a vital role in trying to protect intellectual property rights. This economy also allows for more monopolies than we have seen in past times. There is no doubt there are many monopolies in our world today and they continue to develop as countries attempt to control the globe and also control knowledge.

Terms such as “knowledge economy” and “knowledge capitalism” are used by the World Bank and the OECD. By linking knowledge with money they attempt to place a price on what is being taught and control what is being taught. “The term knowledge capitalism emerged only recently to describe the transition to the so-called knowledge economy, which we characterize in terms of the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialization of the state, and, investment in human capital” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 331). According to David Skyrme Associates (in Olsen & Peters, 2005) the knowledge economy is different from a traditional economy in respect to: economics is changed from that of scarcity to abundance, location is not important, laws and taxes are almost impossible to apply, products enhanced by knowledge can control price, price and value depend upon context, knowledge associated with systems has higher value, and human competencies are a key components. The movement of concentrating on knowledge economy and knowledge capitalism is an effect of Empire.

It must be understood that one of the major initiatives of the Right in the U.S. is to implement the use of vouchers in public education. Vouchers are beneficial only to those that already have the funds to send their children to private schools. The average citizen would not benefit under a voucher system because the amount of the voucher would not be enough to pay for the price of private schools. This initiative should be considered in the context of being part of globalization and a movement towards combining knowledge and capitalism. “In the age of knowledge capitalism, we can expect governments in the west to further ease themselves out of the public provision of education as they begin in earnest to privatize the means of knowledge production and experiment with new ways of designing and promoting a permeable interface between knowledge businesses and public education at all levels” (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 339-340). If a voucher system was established then privately owned schools would begin opening all over the U.S. We have already witnessed, in the prison system, what occurs when private companies begin to take over the responsibilities of the government.

It is well established that even in our globalized and interdependent world the way in which knowledge and technical skills are distributed is not equal. “Critics point out that the flow of international knowledge and understanding is as unbalanced as the trade figures” (Ziguras, 2005, p. 105). The countries that have the most vibrant economies are the ones in which more money has been spent on obtaining new knowledge and developing better technical skills. Even though most corporations are only concerned with their bottom-line earnings in order for them to continue to be prosperous they have to be able to hire workers that will meet the demands of the industry. Since the Industrial Revolution the U.S. enjoyed many of the benefits of a capitalist free market system that

enabled the business leaders to become rich while the middle and lower classes were further exploited. The U.S. does continue to operate in this tradition with its educational system but due to the amount of interdependency that is apparent in our world today this does not seem fair. If the majority of the products that Americans are consuming are produced in other countries then it is unjust that these countries are not equal in the percentage of schools and institutions of higher learning that are available to their citizens.

As I have stated previously, we are continuing to educate our students the way our parents were educated and also we are educating them with the same information and the same goals in mind. The knowledge that our students need today is vastly different than the knowledge that was exchanged in classrooms ten years ago. Our students are more technical, more connected, and more demanding than students of yesteryear.

The knowledge now needed by young children growing up in the postindustrial societies of the twenty-first century differs markedly from times past, when the industrial economy ruled the world. The major function of school is not simply to prepare young children for their unknown and unknowable future as workers, but to enable them to use new technologies to facilitate information production and knowledge creation. (Grieshaber & Yelland, 2005, p. 197)

If we do not accept the fact that the current ways the majority of our students are being taught and what they are being taught is incorrect then we will be failing them and seriously damaging the future of our world.

The concept of knowledge society changes what many believe to be an educated society. At one time it was assumed that having a one hundred percent literate society meant your country had achieved the educational promise land. With the implementation of computers into every aspect of life the idea of an educated society shifted to include computer competency. Also, instead of having workers it was the goal to have skilled workers. A knowledge society goes further and demands a highly educated highly skilled society. While this can be viewed as just semantics it is much more because this gives the World Bank selling points when judging a nation-states educational systems and society.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is a group of thirty countries that claims to support democratic ideals and a market economy. They work with seventy other countries, NGOs, and citizen movements. “Best known for its publications and its statistics, its work covers economic and social issues from macroeconomics, to trade, education, development, and science and innovation” (OECD, 2006).

Since, through surveys by the OECD, the World Bank can show how a country does not perform as well as others they are able to increase the market for their loans. In order to have a highly knowledgeable society countries have to offer intensive and specific training to the citizens. “Much of the available knowledge, particularly that which is highly technical cannot be absorbed without specific and extensive training. Hence the importance of effective training systems” (Tilak, 2002, p. 299). The countries that are most affected by the need for this training do not have the financial stability to

offer programs on their own, therefore the Bank is viewed as a savior to their problems. But the Bank is not the savior rather it is the bearer of evil and suffering.

The transition of a country to a knowledge society is something, according to many, that cannot be done quickly. If a country is trying to change the ways in which they educate and train their citizens it will take decades to become a reality. There is no quick-fix solution to years of limited access, under funding, and limited resources. If a country wants a truly educated society they need to look at educating their students and not training them because training not require critical thinking skills.

The OECD promotes the concept of a knowledge-based economy with the idea that workers will benefit from such a system. “The knowledge-based economy is marked by increasing labour (*sic*) market demand for more highly skilled workers, who are also enjoying wage premiums” (OECD, 1996, p. 16). The OECD does cite several studies in which they base this statement upon, however, if the economy as a whole is transformed then the price of commodities the citizens’ need and desire also changes. The increase in pay then is not effective because the amount of money being spent has increased.

In order for a nation-state to change into a knowledge society they have to rely on the educational system. “Hence, governments in developing countries have an important role in promoting research in the universities, research institutions and other institutions of higher learning” (Tilak, 2002, p. 307). The governments have to consider the changes that are needed in their basic educational system also if they want to change their centers of higher learning.

The OECD admits that it is hard to measure knowledge in individuals and the effects they have on the economy. For decades psychiatrists, counselors, and educators

have been administering IQ tests in an attempt to measure an individuals' mental capacity. While it has been proven numerous times these tests are culturally and regionally biased they continue to be widely used. It can also be argued that an IQ test cannot predict the level of achievement an individual may reach in their life. While the OECD has not called for IQ tests to be administered to students and workers they are very interested in trying to measure a society's knowledge base.

“An unknown proportion of knowledge is implicit, uncodified and stored only in the minds of individuals. Terrain such as knowledge stocks and flows, knowledge distribution and the relation between knowledge creation and economic performance is still virtually unmapped” (OECD, 1996, p. 29). The wording of this statement is intriguing because they are attempting to not only measure knowledge but also place a price on it. Since the economic success of a country is the determining factor as to whether a country is developed or not everything has a price. International organizations are interested in measuring and pricing knowledge because through initiatives like these they are able to extend their capitalist agenda around the world.

The OECD promotes changing the ways in which economies are measured in relation to the knowledge base of their society. “Economists have traditionally measured the development of human capital in terms of proxies, such as years of education or experience. Such measures do not reflect the quality of education and learning nor the economic returns to investment in education and training” (OECD, 1996, p. 41). Many would agree that the years of education or years of experience do not give a clear picture of the knowledge an individual possesses. This, however, leaves open the debate on how knowledge can be measured. The OECD has taken on this task and are intent on

developing a way in which knowledge and its effects on society and economics can be measured.

“To fill in some of these measurement gaps, the OECD has recently initiated a project to develop ‘human capital indicators’, aimed particularly at measuring private and social rates of return to investment in education and training” (OECD, 1996, p. 41). The concept that the knowledge of a society can be measure through “human capital indicators” is, to be blunt, crazy. By measuring and comparing the impact of money spent on education and the levels of education attained by society to the economic growth of a society, the OECD believes the “social rate of return” can be assessed. From this point of view a country can spend little on education but if they experience great economic growth then the social rate of return for that country would indicate that government money should not be spent on education. How can a country that spends little on education have a strong overall economy? Imagine if a country has large amounts of natural resources, such as petroleum or natural gas, it would have a strong economy.

The other indicator that is measured is private rates of return. “Measuring private rates of return has tended to look at changes in human skills and competencies at the individual or firm level and the impacts on firm performance” (OECD, 1996, p. 42). The OECD found, through their research, that companies who invest in technology and technological training are able to see the greatest increase in returns. With this in mind it can be assumed that if a firm is doing well then the individuals who are employed by the firm must well trained and competent in highly technical jobs. If this is true the

employees at Wal-Mart must be well trained and educated, therefore having great knowledge.

It is insane to assume that all employees who work at a successful company are highly knowledgeable in regards to overall society. There are many issues that affect the overall performance such as taxes, tariffs, and trade networks. Also, since there are so many successful trans-national corporations it cannot be assumed citizens in one country are well trained and highly knowledgeable. A trans-national corporation may have its headquarters in one country and all of its workers may be in a foreign country. With this in mind, which society would be rated as having highly knowledgeable workers?

One of the main ways in which globalization is accomplished is through the use of the English language. “The English language is a chief instrument of global hegemony” (Imam, 2005, p. 479). For the upcoming Olympic Games in Beijing everyone from waitresses to doctors are required to attend English classes. This is not to say that other languages, such as French, Spanish, and Japanese, are not important. However, in order for trans-national corporations and international organizations to conduct business the people must be able to communicate easily. “The diffusion of English opens up developing country markets”(Imam, 2005, p. 480). If a nation-state wants to become part of the global trade network they must learn the language of international organizations. “The spread of English also facilitates those non-governmental organizations that use programmes (*sic*) of aid, credit, or business activities through micro-finance to control key social and governmental policies” (Imam, 2005, p. 480).

The need for nation-states to educate citizens in the use of English creates a demand. As always where there is demand a supply line will be established. “Likewise the promotion of western education in English creates a market for western publications, and encourages local students to pursue international education, which is three times the cost of local education and generates revenues for the developed nations” (Imam, 2005, p. 480). Since the ability to establish and maintain English education is costly the citizens who are being taught will be forced to pay more. This need to learn a global language causes many of the world’s impoverished to become poorer and more dependent upon international organizations who create a persona of being the saviors.

The idea of teaching English in order to help societies become more marketable can be devastating to the culture. If students are taught they need to know English in order to be successful then it would be easy for them to assume that their national language is of no value. “Languages – as the repository for knowledge of ecological and patriarchal critiques as much as technological and multicultural commodities – are what makes it possible for human beings to achieve so much across the generations” (Singh, 2005, p. 130). Every society and culture has a vast amount of knowledge that must not be lost.

If we look at the loss of knowledge that occurred due to the assimilation of Native Americans we find evidence of what can occur with demanding people learn English and forgetting their own language.

If for no other reason, the problem of language extinction raises key concerns about the death of knowledge that is important to the world’s multilingual knowledge economies. For instance, the extinction of a local

language means the death of intimate knowledge of that habit – its land, water, plants, and animals – and therefore a loss to postindustrial technological, ecological, and multicultural ventures of knowledge that could be really useful for learning how to interact with ecosystems more wisely. (Singh, 2005, p. 130).

There is no doubt that many of the societies that have “lost” their language have also lost knowledge of their surroundings that may never be gained again.

There are many advantages for people to learn additional languages, however we must make sure that the native tongue is not lost. Students need to be taught that their native language is the most important language they can know. English should be taught only so the citizens of the world can understand the language of the organizations that affect their lives in so many ways.

Many of the poorest countries in the world are deeply in debt to the World Bank and IMF due to attempting to improve their infrastructure and implement educational programs. Since the by-laws of these organizations do not allow them to cancel debts, the money owed by these indebted countries continues to rise sharply. Recently the World Bank and the IMF have decided to change their policies toward countries by creating the “Heavily Indebted Poor Countries” program. Under this program the countries must complete three years in an IMF program known as Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). The terms of the SAP will vary from one country to another however, the program requires that countries cut spending in health care and education in order to save money to pay off its debts. The World Bank is determined to get the money owed to them and they do not care how badly they affect the people in those poor countries.

In Tanzania the government was required to introduce school fees as part of a SAP. Tanzania is not the only country in Sub-Saharan Africa that is being affected by such agreements. In Kenya the IMF insisted that the government not give in to the demands of striking teachers if they wanted to receive a loan in which they applied for previously. I believe this shows that the IMF is an anti-union organization and also they do not want any group to organize and demand more money from a government that owes them money. Kenya's government pays approximately 25% of its revenue to debt repayment and then is able to spend only 6.8% on education. Due to the amount of negative publicity that SAP's have received the World Bank and IMF have introduced the "Poverty Reduction Strategy Initiative" which is only a name change for the same demands (SAPRIN, 2002). "Education and health care have become less service functions of the state and more goods to be bought in the market by those who can afford them" (SAPRIN, 2002, p. 168). In the U.S. we often take for granted that public education is something that is free, at least currently. It is absolutely amazing that some of the poorest countries in the world are required by an outside agency to charge for what should be a basic human right.

There are approximately 10,000 people around the world that are employed by the World Bank, with most of them working in Washington, D.C. These employees take on a variety of jobs such as research, establishing policies, finance, etc.... Many of the research projects that are conducted by these employees of the World Bank concern education and economics. A paper entitled "The Role of Education Quality in Economic Growth" looked at if the World Bank was correct in their beliefs about how to change educational systems in developing countries. This paper acknowledges that one of the

most important aspects in improving education is teacher quality, however:

“Unfortunately, the characteristics of good teachers are not described well, making it impossible to legislate or regulate good teachers” (Hanushek & Wößmann, 2007, p.77).

In the U.S. we are constantly reminded that all teachers must be highly qualified and this varies from state to state but I cannot understand why each country could not set standards for what credentials a teacher should have. I would never suggest that credentials make a good teacher because that depends on the heart of the teacher. However, it appears the World Bank does not want to allow and/or accept what a developing country classifies as a good teacher.

In this same report the authors go further to explain they believe that one of the main problems with improving educational quality is the lack of incentives. Of course, this is also in-line with one of the current movements in the U.S., to award teachers and schools if students score high on standardized tests. This is nothing more than paying for grades. As can be expected the researches take the next step and suggest that a form of measurement should be used to identify student achievement. In closing they also suggest that students and parents should be given school choice. Reviewing this study reminds one of *No Child Left Behind*.

It could be argued that since some in the World Bank suggest changes in developing countries educational systems that are a mirror image of *NCLB* then this is a sign of U.S. imperialism. However, I believe this is not the case and rather it is another sign of Empire. We have to consider that it will be corporations who are asked to set the standards and provide tests and also train the teachers. Therefore it is nothing more than forcing capitalism on unsuspecting countries and schools.

The idea of comparing students and educational institutions across the globe is nothing new at least for so-called industrialized nations. In another research paper, by Hanushek and Luque, efficiency and equity in schools is researched. While the authors do look at some of the poorest countries around the world some of the statements they make are quite alarming. “The particular emphasis is the power of resource policies such as improving teacher education or reducing class sizes. These policies have proven ineffective in the United States, but this situation does not necessarily hold elsewhere” (Hanushek and Luque, 2001, p. 23). I am not sure what they based this assertion on but I believe that it has been proven and is generally accepted that if teachers are better educated and classes are smaller then the students have a much better chance of obtaining the knowledge they are being taught. What is alarming about this paper is that it is read by representatives of countries around the world. While the authors do go on to state that reducing class size could have positive effects it is interesting they make the above statement about the U.S. In closing, this report states the importance of the family declines as a student gets older. Once again, I cannot even begin to imagine what studies they are basing this assertion on because familial support is always needed.

In “Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy”, another World Bank report, the idea of how create an atmosphere of lifelong learning in developing countries is addressed. The report states:

Performing in the global economy and functioning in a global society require mastery of technical, interpersonal, and methodological skills. Technical skills include literacy, foreign language, math, science, problem-solving, and analytical skills. Interpersonal skills include

teamwork, leadership, and communication skills. Methodological skills include the ability to learn on one's own, to pursue lifelong learning, and to cope with risk and change. (World Bank, 2003, p. 22)

It would be interesting to see how exactly the methodological skills are evaluated and assessed. Of course, through multiple choice tests these institutions can claim to be assessing literacy, language, math and science. If these tests are designed properly they could be considered objective, however, what concerns me is the subjectivity that would be present in evaluation and assessing the interpersonal and methodological skills.

The bridging together of knowledge with capitalism and economy began in the twentieth century. The terms "knowledge capitalism" and "knowledge economy" first appeared during this time in reports that were issued by the OECD and World Bank. Since these international organizations have an enormous amount of influence in the world this causes many countries desire ways in which to access knowledge in their economies. "In terms of these reports, education is reconfigured as a massively undervalued form of knowledge capital that will determine the future of work, the organization of knowledge institutions and the shape of society in the years to come" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 331). The idea of attempting to measure the level and quality of education and its' affects on the economy has merit because students should be prepared to engage in meaningful employment when they exit schools and/or universities. The problem that develops is the reports issued by the OECD and World Bank become gospel for governments around the world and learning institutions are then changed and instructed to produce workers and not educated citizens. The World Bank is only

interested in creating workers for trans-national corporations and creating a desire in the people for goods and more capitalism.

The World Bank suggests that ways in which to measure how people are able to interact with one another are still in the beginning stages of development. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is said to be able to measure a student's social competency and other tests that measure the ability to understand and relate to other cultures are being developed. The World Bank states: "Some private businesses use personality testing, and many companies and organizations are trying to measure interpersonal skills as part of performance evaluations" (World Bank, 2003, p. 22-23). It is alarming that the World Bank wants to follow businesses in their quest to measure how people interact. However, this is what the World Bank does, helps spread capitalism. Interaction and interpersonal skills are important but it is hard to measure competence in this area because true interpersonal interactions are random and spontaneous. Any attempt to measure these would have to be subjective and open to interpretation.

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an assessment that is used to measure student performance and the effectiveness of a country's education system. "PISA is the only international education survey to measure the knowledge and skills of 15-year-old, an age at which students in most countries are nearing the end of their compulsory time in school" (PISA, 2006, ¶ 2). In order for an assessment of this magnitude to be given the OECD contracts out the actual testing to agencies who specialize in assessment and testing. Experts from the fields of reading, mathematics, and science design the surveys and create the tests. "The data collected by

PISA shows the successes of some countries' schools and the challenges being faced in other countries. It allows countries to compare best practices and to further develop their own improvements, ones appropriate for their schools systems" (PISA, 2006, ¶ 20). As is done with the states in the U.S., countries around the world are compared to others, even though they have completely different cultures and societies.

The areas that are tested in the PISA are much like those in the United States that are tested every year. "Every PISA survey tests reading, mathematical, and scientific literacy in terms of general competencies, that is, how well students can apply the knowledge and skills they have learned at school to real-life challenges. PISA does not test how well a student has mastered a school's curriculum" (PISA, 2006, ¶ 22). It is interesting the World Bank is concerned with testing interpersonal communication and cultural skills yet they do not test any area in the field of social studies. History is the result of interactions and cultural skills being used in everyday life but local histories are not important to international institutions.

As the World Bank states: "Competency in math and science is important for participation in the knowledge economy" (World Bank, 2003, p. 25). Math and science are technical and can be easily measured and assessed. Also, these subjects are ones that are usually considered profitable in the future. Since the success of Sputnik the U.S. has concentrated on raising the mathematical and scientific skills of American students in order to become more dominant in the future.

One of the main aspects of a democracy that citizens expect is transparency of the government. The citizens need this in order to ensure their government is being honest in their dealings. The World Bank does not have transparency, people that are affected by

its decisions and agreements do not usually know the Bank exist (Stiglitz, 2003). One thing that appears to becoming more prevalent is governments are less transparent, which inevitably leads to corruption and possible totalitarianism. If governments are allowed to become less transparent then international organizations and trans-national corporations will follow.

In order for countries that need additional resources to obtain the “help” of organizations such as the IMF, World Bank, and/or WTO they have to agree to the rules and regulations of these organizations. “They are basically forced to give up part of their sovereignty, to let capricious capital markets, including the speculators whose only concerns are short-term rather than the long-term growth of the country and the improvement of living standards, discipline them, telling them what they should and should not do” (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 247). If nation-states are in dire need of medicine, technology, or food the international organizations will assist them. However, the nation-states have to agree to not only open their borders to good intentions but also to capitalism.

Trans-national Corporations

Trans-national corporations began to appear at the beginning of colonialism in the 17th century. This was only the tip of the iceberg because as transportation became faster and more affordable corporations began to establish bases around the world to extend their influence and control. “Four hundred years of slavery; ongoing although unofficial segregation; the exploitation of child labor; the sanctioning of cruel working conditions in coal mines and sweatshops; and the destruction of the environment have all been fueled by the law of maximizing profits and minimizing costs, especially when civil society

offers no countervailing power to hold such forces in check” (Giroux, 2005, p. 155).

There have been several times in the history of the world where groups have tried to stop the power and influence of corporations but it has been in vain.

The main reason that corporations are able to maintain such an enormous amount of control around the world is because people are dependent upon their goods and services. According to an article in *Business Week*, September 2001, seventy two percent of Americans felt that large corporations have too much power and control over American life. Seventy four percent believed that corporations have too much control over governmental policy and direction (Korten, 2001). Even though the overwhelming majority of people around the world feel as though corporations have too much power they continue to operate and report record profits.

It is easy for one to forget that the creation of corporations is based upon the will of the people. At some point in history it was the will of the people that allowed the existence of corporations.

Governments are the voluntary creation of the public of the people and therefore subject to their will. Corporations are in turn created when governments issue corporate charters. They are therefore properly subject to the will of the people through their governments. Yet people the world over find corporations corrupting the political system and the courts in order to co-opt governmental powers and rewrite the laws to advance their own interests. (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, p. 290)

When viewed from this standpoint it is the people who are the holders of the initial power that sets in motion the greater forces. As Cavanaugh & Mander explain, it is

through corruption that corporations are able to take all the power and then turn on the groups that were responsible for their initial creation. It becomes a situation like Dr. Frakenstein found himself in.

Due to the amount of corruption that surrounds corporations and the control they exert the question of how they are able to obtain this power needs to be addressed. It has been assumed for over a century that if democracy is the chosen form of government then the nation-state must have a free market economy. “Interwoven into the political discourse about free markets and free trade is a persistent message: the advance of free markets is the advance of democracy” (Korten, 2001, p. 72). The rationale behind this is that when people purchase items they are basically casting a vote for the corporation. Corporations need money in order to operate therefore it is through the dollars spent by consumers they are given power to operate.

The amount of recorded money that is given to political parties and candidates is mind-boggling. Due to the level of corruption that surrounds corporations it can be assumed there is an equal or greater amount of unrecorded money being exchanged. As Cavanaugh and Mander (2004) explain:

Corporations have become the primary organizing instrument for economic, political, and social activity on the planet. Through their market power, billions of dollars in campaign contributions, public relations, advertising, and sheer scale, corporations create the visions we live by and exert great influence over the political power structures that rule us. (p. 273)

A corporation is not going to give money away and expect nothing in return. This is a way that a government can become subservient to large corporations.

Corporations do not care about their impact upon the environment or the impact they have upon the people. As Korten (2001) states:

Corporations have emerged as the dominant governance institutions on the planet, with the largest among them reaching into virtually every country of the world and exceeding most governments in size and power.

Increasingly, it is the corporate interest rather than the human interest that defines the policy agendas of states and international bodies. (p. 60)

The overwhelming majority of people feel as though governments are the entities that are responsible for developing the laws and regulations they are required to live by. It does appear this way on the surface but in reality it is through the influence of corporations that laws are instituted. Governments are interested in extending capitalism and therefore corporations reap the benefits while exploiting the world.

There are many reasons given any time a group decides to attack another. Throughout history wars have been fought due to land disputes, military supremacy, racism, jealousy, etc... In our time we are told wars occur to stop the spread of terrorism, to find Weapons of Mass Destruction, and to spread democracy. These are three noble reasons to go to war, if they were true. We have to ask ourselves if there is something more behind the reasons we are being told. If we look at war from a corporate standpoint then it would make good "business sense" to go to war because money can be made. If there is one thing that any military in the world is good at it is blowing shit up! In the early 1990's the U.S. Army would conduct live-fire missions at Grafenwoehr Germany

and when a full brigade would conduct movement to contact missions it was referred to as the “million dollar minute”. It was given this name because it was believed that in one minute the soldiers, using tanks, howitzers, and fighting vehicles, were able to use one million dollars’ worth of ammunition. If soldiers are able to go through this much ammunition in training imagine what they could go through over a period of a month in a war zone. Also, imagine the damage that could be caused by that much ammunition. Who rebuilds after the dust settles? The military does have construction units however there are civilian contractors waiting, foaming at the mouth, for the contracts to rebuild. Following a modern military around and rebuilding what is destroyed is a very lucrative venture.

Halliburton and KBR, as has been publicized, reaped billions in profits from the US-led war in Iraq. While many feel as though this is further evidence of the imperialistic project of the US some of the recent actions of these companies show the internationalism they are capable of. Halliburton announced in March, 2007 that it would be moving its headquarters to Dubai. This move struck many in the US, and the world, as being a stab in the back of the US. As has been assumed by a few for years, this move illustrates the movement of our world from one controlled by nation-states to one that is controlled by Empire. Corporations do not have loyalty to any nation-state and those who feel as though they do need to look at the scope of their influence and also the ability of these corporations to simply move from one country to another. A citizen of the US could not simply decide to change their residence as easily as a corporation can.

Halliburton is not the only trans-national corporation to profit from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Military Professional Resources Incorporated was given two

contracts for a total of \$2.5 million to develop a plan for placing Iraqi Army veterans to work in the public works sector. Vinnell Corporation was awarded a one-year contract worth \$48 million for training the New Iraqi Army. However, the soldiers in this new Iraqi Army only received \$60 per month during this time. In April 2003 DynCorp was awarded a contract worth \$50 million per year to provide advisors to help establish law enforcement, judicial, and correctional facilities. Bechtel Group Incorporated was awarded a contract in excess of \$680 million to rebuild Iraqi schools, roads, and sewers. Due to how badly the infrastructure was damaged in Iraq, Bechtel was awarded an additional \$350 million in September 2003 so it could complete its initial list of projects. Research Triangle Institute, mentioned earlier, won a contract in value of \$167.9 million to help create local and regional governments in Iraq and also to develop a plan to increase Iraqi civic participation. (Center for Public Integrity, 2007)

The examples given above are of trans-national corporations with headquarters currently located in the U.S. and the contracts listed are based upon a failed imperialist objective by the U.S. The intention of listing these examples is two fold. First, we must remember that trans-national corporations do not have loyalty to any nation-state, they only have loyalty to money. Second, it does not matter if it was the U.S. that attempted this imperialism because if it had been attempted by another nation-state there would have been trans-national corporations standing at the ready to reap the benefits of war.

Trans-national corporations use marketing strategies to obtain consumers, whether the consumer is an individual or a nation-state. There are logos everywhere we look and corporations use these logos in order to entice consumers to desire their products. We see their buildings but we are really not seeing anything. "They own

buildings and stadiums and wield stupendous powers, but corporations themselves have no concrete form” (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, p. 276). We enter the buildings but we are not entering the corporation itself. “They have people who work in them, but corporations are themselves not alive, so they cannot inherently embody the same range of values and emotions that we expect of responsible people: altruism, shame, community concern, loyalty to one another, and so on” (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, p. 276). With this in mind people need to understand they cannot expect corporations to conduct themselves as moral entities, because as air is the life source of people money is the life source of the corporation.

Corporations are not human so they do not have human feelings and therefore are incapable of caring about the lives of the people they dominate and the environment in which they rape. When corporations have caused disasters such as the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska and the Union Carbide disaster in India their corporate executives go on television and offer sympathy and apologies. However, in the end, we see that the corporations offer no sympathy and they do not try to right the terrible wrongs that were committed (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004).

Korten (2001) suggests that our problem is not found in the market or business but rather it is a global economic system that is badly corrupted. Due to the level of corruption, corporate managers are not able to manage in relation to public interests even if they are moral. “As markets become freer and more global, the power to govern increasingly passes from national governments to global corporations, and the interest of those corporations diverge ever farther from the broader human interest” (Korten, 2001, p. 60). Although corporations have CEOs, CFOs, and numerous VPs they are still not

human and they do not have the interest of the people, nation-state, or even the globe in mind when they make their decisions. Corporations are concerned with only their profit and loss statements and the value of their stocks. Even though they are operated by humans the corporate system has managed to develop a way to keep these men (which is mostly the case) concerned about the corporation instead of people. As Korten (2001) states: “Top executives have to be paid outrageous salaries to motivate them not to yield to their instincts toward social responsibility” (p. 224). The amount of money these men are paid is unimaginable by most people in the world. But it is through greed they are willing to put human interest in the back of their minds and concentrate on how to make the corporation profitable and themselves rich.

Most large corporations have marketing departments and if they do not have these they employ a company that concentrates entirely on marketing. One such company, TAG Ideation gives a straightforward explanation of their goals: “We’ve developed innovative research and interdisciplinary marketing practices to help brands connect credibly and effectively with today’s skeptical, disinterested young adult consumer” (TAG Ideation, 2007). The idea this company will be able to help a business “connect credibly” is interesting because this implies they understand some of their clients have credibility issues. It is also interesting they identify young adult’s as “skeptical and disinterested” because once again this implies they are able to change the minds of young adults, which I am sure they do. I believe that many of today’s youth are skeptical and disinterested but not in products but in the political processes that are occurring in our world. Maybe teachers should get degrees in marketing.

Marketing companies also display their lack of morals and values in the various items they “sell” to the public. Berenter Greenhouse and Webster is a national advertising agency that explains their mission as: “The agency has experience with a wide range of categories including consumer products, alcoholic beverages and fashion but its primary strengths are in retail marketing and marketing to kids and moms” (BGW, 2006). This is almost unbelievable that a company would claim to be able to market alcoholic beverages and items for moms and kids in the same sentence. But this is the state our society is in, it does not matter what you make someone can help you sell it to somebody and if all else fails you can always sell it on EBAY.

There can be little doubt that globalization has wide-ranging effects. When and where globalization began has been debated for years, some propose that it began with Columbus’ voyage. With the advances in information technology in recent decades globalization is occurring at a pace that is mind-boggling. Corporations are at the forefront of globalization and the power they exert is more than most nation-states possess.

The World Is Flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century, by Thomas Friedman, is a celebrated work that seeks to define the ways in which our world has become leveled. Friedman believes the world has become flat because the way in which trade, migration, technology, and corporations are able to travel to any location in the world. Friedman definitely can be viewed as a person who is in favor of globalization and the role of corporations in the making the world more flat.

Friedman (2005) lists ten factors, or as he prefers flatteners, that he believes led to this flatness occurring. These factors are: the fall of the Berlin Wall (11/9/89), the day

Netscape became a publicly traded company (8/8/95), work flow software, open-sourcing, offshoring, supply chains, insourcing (*sic*), in-forming, and the last, which Friedman refers to as the “steroid”, digital, mobile, personal, and virtual. The impact these “flatteners” can be observed throughout the world and there is no doubt they all play a significant part in Empire.

Friedman explains there was a convergence of three forces that have caused the coming of the flatteners. “It is this triple convergence –of new players, on a new playing field, developing new processes and habits for horizontal collaboration ...” (2005, p. 181-182). Friedman is somewhat correct in his belief about the triple convergence. However, the new playing field is not a globalized world it is Empire. As Hardt and Negri explain this new beginning: “... a new notion of right, or rather, a new inscription of authority and a new design of the production of norms and legal instruments of coercion that guarantee contracts and resolve conflicts” (2000, p. 9). Empire is able to control nation-states and corporations and with this control it is able to conduct a metamorphosis of the market and governments.

Friedman presents an interesting theory (Dell Theory) where he explains the way in which some countries interact with their neighbors. If a nation-state is dependent upon another country to keep an economic supply chain open they will most likely not wage war against that country. When considering the validity of this theory of this theory keeping in mind the idea of “just wars” the relationships of nation-states around the world is easy to understand. There is little doubt that there are human rights violations in China yet they enjoy favored nation status by the United States but yet there is little chance of war between these countries.

When considering the recent and current wars around the world we can easily see more support of the Friedman's Dell Theory. Afghanistan and Iraq were not major legal trading partners with any country before the invasions and subsequent takeovers by foreign forces. It is interesting to note the ways in which both countries have become trading partners with the various nation-states of the "coalition of the willing". Is democracy being spread or are more economic supply lines being established? The answer is obvious and disturbing.

Friedman is considered by many to be an apologist for the trans-national corporations and their executives. In explaining his "flatteners" he definitely shows favoritism towards the work these trans-national corporations have done around the world. I believe that Friedman does offer some valuable insight about globalization however, it is not controlled by nation-states and it is not the "Dell Theory" that keeps countries from going to war. Rather, it is Empire that keeps the countries in supply chains from engaging in war with one another.

Non-governmental Organizations

The newest and perhaps most important forces in the global civil society go under the name of non-governmental organizations. The term NGO has not been given a very rigorous definition, but we would define it as any organization that purports to represent the People and operate in its interest, separate from (and often against) the structures of the state.

(Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 312)

According to this explanation it appears as though NGOs perform very noble tasks and our world must be a better place because of their work. This definition also states that

NGOs' represent the people and operate in the best interest of the people and are separate from the state. However, can an organization operate in a country and not have some dealings with the state? This is one area that many critics cite as being a flaw in the ideas of Hardt and Negri.

NGOs are international and one NGO may represent people in several different countries. With this in mind it becomes apparent that they cannot truly represent the people because a group in one area has very different needs and desires than a group in another. In Africa one of the main needs of the people may be AIDS education while in Asia there may be a need in the area of human rights education. Hardt and Negri (2000) explain that NGOs actually represent "... the vital force that underlies the People, and thus they transform politics into a question of generic life, life in all its generality. (p. 313). People around the world cannot be considered on the generic level because the needs and desires worldwide are different. If NGOs treat all life and people as generic then one would have to question if they were truly able to help the groups they claim.

Hardt and Negri believe that NGOs are able to gain a large influence in issues around the world because they operate under the guise of moral intervention. Hardt and Negri state: "... precisely because they are not run directly by governments, are assumed to act on the basis of ethical or moral imperatives" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 35-36). If an organization is said to operate on a moral or an ethical basis they are considered to be looking out for what is best for the citizens of the area they are operating in.

One aspect of Empire that Hardt and Negri discuss in detail is that of "just wars". As I explained earlier this is one of the reasons that an international coalition can become involved in the happenings of a nation-state. However, as Hardt and Negri explain it is

not only the international organizations who use this aspect of Empire as a reason for intervention. “These NGOs conduct “just wars” without arms, without violence, without borders” (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 36). NGOs may choose to help the people in one nation-state while not working to alleviate the pain and suffering that may be happening in a neighboring country. How NGOs choose to help some while ignoring others is confusing and since they do not answer to a government or group of citizens we are left wondering why this is done.

NGOs receive funds to operate from charitable donations from citizens, trans-national organizations, and also governments. As Ebrahim explains this charity: “... while NGOs depend on funds to maintain and expand their operations, funders also rely on NGOs for information, and to maintain or enhance their own reputations. In other words, NGOs and funders have strongly inter-dependent relations – and they are constantly engaged in struggles for control over and access to financial and symbolic kinds of resources” (2005, p.52). The people that provide funds for NGOs can create a serious problem for the work the NGOs are supposed to be doing. If trans-national organizations and international organizations provide funds for NGOs then the NGOs are obliged to implement services that would help these funders. If NGOs are implementing policies and trying to change societies to help trans-national corporations then they are not looking out for the best interest of those in need, instead they are conducting work on behalf of Empire.

Since NGOs are international organizations and there is not currently a system in place to monitor how funds are managed and the ways in which these funds are spent is left up to the NGOs themselves. “It is estimated that hardly 10-15 percent of the allocated

funds reach the needy people while most of it goes for the maintenance of the NGO establishments and the running expenditures of the so-called volunteer workers” (Mudingu, 2006, ¶ 3). There is no doubt that it takes money to operate any organization, but, if Mudingu is correct this is proof that some sort of oversight of NGOs is needed.

Mudingu (2006) states there are three types of NGO’s: those who provide immediate relief in cases of war and natural disasters, those seeking to provide long-term social and economic relief in the form of programs and aid, and those that seek to provide social action that is intended to better the lives of those in other countries. There can be little doubt that those in which provide immediate relief in times of war and natural disasters have been very busy in the past five years due to the events in the Middle East not to mention the ongoing conflicts in Africa. The NGOs that have the greatest affect on the people they are supposed to be helping are those that provide long-term assistance. Since these NGOs usually operate in countries for extended periods of time they are able to impose their will upon the masses.

It is important to understand that NGOs have been around for more than one hundred years. At the end of World War I there were an estimated 344 NGOs worldwide (Mudingu, 2006). Today there are millions of NGOs that provide a vast range of services around the world. It is hard to estimate how many NGOs are currently operating around the world because there are new ones opening every week.

There can be no doubt most NGOs are interested in spreading democracy and capitalism. With this in mind we must understand they are not trying to institute the idea of choice among the people instead they are imposing their ideals. “Indeed, NGOs try to instill the false belief among the oppressed that there is no alternative to capitalism and

that capitalism has finally triumphed” (Mudingu, 2006, ¶ 19). NGOs accept the idea that democracy is the best form of government and a global world needs a free market in order to be fair for all. Imposing the will of the dominant on the oppressed cannot be tolerated, people must be allowed to choose and develop their own ideas.

NGOs try to appear as anti-state which makes them attractive to progressive movements in third world countries. NGOs basically try to accomplish at the local level what the corporations who fund them attempt to accomplish at the global level. In the NGOs attempts to offer basic social services of education, health care, etc... they are taking over the role of the nation-state. In reality they are putting social programs and services in the hands corporations and their supporters (Mudingu, 2006). Viewed from this standpoint we must question the motives of all NGOs because if they are financed by corporations then they undoubtedly have to answer to those corporations at some time.

In their mission statements and declarations, most NGOs claim not to be not associated with any one political party or government but in reality this is a ruse.

They seek to depoliticise the masses by talking in terms of non-Party activism. They claim that they are apolitical and call upon the masses to stay away from all political parties; that they should solve their problems themselves through self-help, corporation, etc. Thus, by advocating such a seemingly apolitical strategy the NGOs actually work to preserve the status quo and to retain the influence of ruling class ideology and politics on the masses. They pose themselves as alternatives to the political parties and try to replace the revolutionary parties by projecting themselves as the champions of the poor. (Mudingu, 2006, ¶ 20)

We must not allow NGOs to work to keep the status quo. The myth that they are the champions of the people needs to be understood and explained because it is really the people that are being hurt. The status quo that is currently in place is one that is controlled by Empire.

It is not just the developing world that is being misled. NGOs have been successful in obtaining the support of intellectuals by providing funds for them to attend meetings, seminars, and training. However, the way in which they are able to provide such an enormous amount of funds is due to the donations they receive from corporations around the world (Mudingu, 2006). If intellectuals are being misled by NGOs then this will have a tremendous impact upon ideas and works that are produced around the world.

There are many NGOs that claim to work to expand educational opportunities around the world. When researching NGOs it is easy to become frustrated because there is not a complete index of these organizations and for those NGOs that have websites it is hard to find a list of donors and so-called partners. I believe most NGOs do not want to publicize the way they receive funds because it would show that governments and trans-national corporations donate large amounts of money to NGOs. By applying for grants many NGOs are able to obtain funds from the U.S. government and international organizations.

One active and influential NGO is World Links which is actually a spin-off of the World Bank. This organization promotes the use of technology in classrooms around the world. World Links has three main goals: transferring skills and building in-country capacity, creating sustainability, generating exponential impact, and providing proven results. World Links references a World Bank report to prove that their work is

providing proven results. Some of World Link's donors are World Bank, Goldman Sachs, Mobil Producing Nigeria, and the Education Development Center. It is interesting that Goldman Sachs has given over \$72 million to World Links alone.

The Education Development Center, which donated money to World Links, is also an NGO. The Education Development Center works in all areas of society but their primary mission is connecting organizations that focus on research, policy, and practice. This organization also provides programs in K-12 education in over fifty countries around the world. The Education Development Center does acknowledge several times on their website that they receive funds from the U.S. government and also foreign governments. In addition to the funds this NGO receives from governments they also obtain donations from other sources. Some of the trans-national corporations that donate money are AT&T, Ford Motor Company, and IBM. The Education Development Corporation also receives money from the Asian Development Bank, World Bank, and UNESCO.

Schools Online, the educational division of Relief International, is an NGO that works to provide the technological ability to connect to the Internet. Schools Online claims to have provided this type of service to over five thousand schools in the U.S. and another four hundred around the world. Providing the technology that is needed for this venture causes Schools Online obtains funds from a variety of sources. The trans-national corporations that donate money to them are Global Catalyst Partners, Nortel Networks, Cisco Systems, Prudential, Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, Goldman Sachs, and Mitsubishi. Schools Online, like most other NGOs, has a wide variety of donors from many different backgrounds.

An NGO that is based in Pennsylvania but provides goods to people around the world is Brother's Brother Foundation. This foundation receives donations in the form of books, shoes, clothes, etc... and then they distribute them internationally. Since this NGO provides goods they are in a constant need for donations. Some of the trans-national corporations that donate goods to them are Crocs Inc., American Eagle Outfitters, McGraw Hill, Pearson Education, and Heinz. While Brother's Brother Foundation does provide goods to those in need they also provide free marketing to trans-national corporations. What better way to get free advertising around the world than to have an NGO distribute your goods, that were donated as a tax write off.

World Education is an NGO that works to create partnerships between individuals and their communities. They do this work by implementing programs and training people in communities around the world. Some of the donors are Research Triangle Institute, Pfizer Foundation, World Bank, Ford Foundation, and Political Research Associates. I discussed earlier the amount of money that Research Triangle Institute has received for the rebuilding of Iraq. It is also interesting that one of the major donors to World Education is Political Research Associates whose work includes providing political guidance to developing countries.

The Institute for International Education is an NGO with a mission to foster a closer relationship in regards to education between the U.S. and other nation-states. One of their missions, according to its website, is to: "Rescuing threatened scholars and advancing academic freedom" (IIE, 2007). However, they do not give any examples of the tactics they employ to "rescue" scholars and promote academic freedom. The donors that are listed for this NGO are: ChevronTexaco Foundation, Northwest Airlines, Inc.,

Cisco Learning Institute, Citigroup, Inc., Coca Cola Company, Dole Food Company, Inc., GE Capital Commercial Finance, and Exxon Ventures, Inc. The Institute for International Education has an extremely diverse group of donors and it brings into question exactly how they conduct their missions. It is interesting that Dole Food Company is one of the major donors because this organization has a long history of working with the U.S. government in helping expand capitalism and imperialism.

All of the above mentioned NGOs, as well as the majority of others, are financed by donations from trans-national corporations. These corporations are able to donate large amounts of money to organizations and then receive tax write-offs. Since they are able to claim donations as write-offs they are in reality not losing money. Of course this should be expected because a trans-national corporation will attempt to not lose money in any way. One source for information about abuses, profits, and trade of trans-national corporations is transnationale.org. This website has a wealth of information, however, it is operated by Transnational Corporations Observatory, which is a French-based NGO.

One thing that comes to the forefront when looking at trans-national corporations is how they own percentages in other trans-national corporations therefore increasing their ability to spread capitalism around the world. Goldman Sachs, a donor to several NGOs listed above, is the twelfth-largest private bank in the world and it is also the world's largest advisor in merger and acquisitions. It also owns fifty percent of Education Management Corporation, which is a trans-national corporation that advises foreign governments about instituting so-called education reform. (Transnationale.org, 2007). IBM Corporation is the second-largest software editor in the world and it owns 18.9% of Lenovo, one of the largest suppliers of personal computers in China. IN the

computer industry Cisco Systems is responsible for developing the technology that routes two-thirds of Internet traffic.

Two trans-national corporations that have a tremendous influence in the field of education around the world are McGraw-Hill, and Pearson Education. McGraw-Hill provides textbooks and classroom materials around the world and three of its largest shareholders are foreign-based investment companies. Pearson Education claims to educate over 100 million people every year and it is one of the world's largest producers of textbooks and other forms of media. Pearson owns Penguin Books, *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, marketwatch.com, and Les Echos (a French publishing company).

One thing that must be understood about these corporations is that corporations do not simply donate money in order to obtain a tax write-off. Through their substantial donations, which is usually not published, these trans-national corporations obtain seats on the advisory boards of NGOs and they are able to promote their products and continue to expand their influence around the world. I have visited hundreds of NGOs' websites and I never found any statements about them not promoting the ideas and products of their donors. A statement that deals with this must be adopted by NGOs if we are to take their missions and goals seriously.

CHAPTER 4

THE MULTITUDE

As I stated earlier, one of the most exasperating aspects of *Multitude* is that Hardt and Negri do not give a time and place where it will rise and challenge Empire. However, there are instances in our recent history and in our current world where the beginnings of the multitude can be observed. The most obvious, and most referred to, contemporary example of the multitude are the Seattle protests in 1999. These protests saw a combination groups that had diverse interests come together to voice their concerns. However, it is not only in protests that we can observe the possibility of the multitude. The Internet, media, and the formation of groups seeking a voice all display aspects of the multitude described by Hardt and Negri.

Internet

Many individuals have turned to the Internet in order to organize protests and look for a platform for their voices to be heard. Many students' feel as though they will have a greater voice in cyberspace rather than on a street corner. There is no doubt there is a greater chance of having more people know your thoughts on the Internet than in your town or city. According to Tarrow (2005): "If the internet has become a basic organizing tool on the familiar territory of liberal democratic states, its potential must be great in organizing transnational contention, where activist at great distances from one another have little opportunity to develop face-to-face ties" (p. 137). It is easier and cheaper for someone to post a message on an internet site than it is for them to travel around the world spreading their message.

A website, Protest.net, has been established with the purpose of providing a platform in which groups/movements can publish information about planned meetings and/or protests around the world. According to their website, this organization was formed due to: “By publishing a public record of our political activities on the web we are taking a stand against the established media. Everyday from Kansas to India activists are meeting, organizing, and protesting to demand a better world for all. When the corporate media takes note of our activities it is only to spit upon our struggle.” (Protest.net, 2007). This organization is correct in their assumptions that the mainstream and/or corporate media do not provide a clear and complete picture of protests that occur everyday around the world.

Credit must be given to Protest.net because they are not like most websites, charities, and/or NGOs because they do not take donations from corporations. They also do not sell advertising space on their website because they do not want the focus of their work to be affected by commercial interests. However, we must remember that in order for websites and organizations such as this to exist they desperately need donations from individuals, we must dig into our pockets if we want change to occur.

The power of Empire is great and far reaching and in order to overcome the influence of it the multitude must form. As Passavant (2004) states:

Indeed, as the protests organized against global capital and a global war on terror illustrate, the very communication networks that elude national control and facilitate the control of global capital’s various appendages can also facilitate the self-organization of democratic action at a global level by a new political subject, the multitude. (p. 3-4)

Students' use the Internet as much or more than any other sub-group in the world and it is through this use they are able to express their thoughts and organize. One of the problems with organizing in a virtual world is the group, as a collective unit, is hard to view for the rest of the world. Another problem with the use of the Internet is that many people view information from it as being false, many times rightly so. Another problem with using the Internet to organize is the ability of governmental agencies to spy on people and groups. Anything that is posted, sent, downloaded, and viewed on a computer can be obtained by anyone around the world if the computer is connected to the Internet. Also, if students and professors are using a college's computer then they are giving up their rights to privacy.

There is another tremendous way in which the Internet is used and it is blogs. The term blogs is a morphing of the term web logs. Blogs became increasingly popular at the turn of the century and today there are thousands of blogs that cover topics ranging from personal diaries to independent reporting. The ability of people to express their opinions is what makes blogs appealing to most people. Through the use of blogs people are able to express their feelings about what is going on in our world. There are web sites that are devoted to hosting blogs and bloggers can then link to another blog forming a web that connects people with similar opinions. The way in which blogs can link to one another is rhizomatic because if one person stops blogging that direct link may be stopped but there are numerous other links between blogs so those who are connected are able to continue to spread.

However, the popularity of blogs does have its downfalls. There are individuals who launch attacks at opinions that are different than theirs. If these attacks remained in

the realm of discussions and debate then it could be constructive, out of discussion new ideas can evolve. Another problem that has developed with the use of blogs is that businesses are paying consumers to include favorable reviews of their products. Corporations will use any measure possible to ensure their products are viewed as good and needed by the masses. By paying people to give favorable opinions of their products corporations are extending their control and corruption to the consumer. Once again, capitalism knows no bounds. Even though there are some negative aspects to blogs they can still be instrumental in helping the multitude form.

Protests

For the purpose of my research I identify social movements collectively as protests. We must not only think of protests as people in the street with bandanas over their faces throwing rocks and bottles at riot police. Protests are much more and include sit-ins, petitions, marches, etc... Protests are not the only way in which the multitude can be formed but they are the most effective. Social movements operate in order to pressure governments to change policy, educate the public, and also to persuade others to support their cause (Meyer, 2007). Those involved in the protests hope to bring about change and seek a forum in which their voice can be heard. Due to the control that Empire is able to exert many peoples wants and desires are not addressed. Empire is only concerned with spreading capitalism and looking out for the interests of trans-national corporations and international organizations, the people are left suffering.

The protests in Seattle in 1999 did not just occur by happenstance, there was organization using the Internet long before the actual protests began. Using the tools of the telecommunications industry the protestors were able to organize and spread their

message, which at times was directed against the telecommunications industry. As Korten describes:

The Seattle demonstrations announced the birth of perhaps the most truly international movement in human history – a movement with a well developed analysis, a deep commitment to economic justice, and an informed and articulate membership for whom concern for issues relating to trade is incidental to their concerns for human and planetary life and their commitment to the democratic ideal that every person has the right to a voice in the decisions that affect their lives. (2001, p. 6)

The multitude has to be an international movement and it also has to be diverse. No longer can one group with a single cause combat Empire. The majority of those oppressed by Empire must come together if change is to be made. The diversity of the multitude is what makes it unique and different from past movements and this diversity also provides insight into how much control Empire has over everyone. During the time of powerful nation-states a group that was being mistreated and wanted to bring about change could make their voices and concerns heard. Due to how our world has evolved into one in which nation-states are not as powerful as they once were it takes groups with varied agendas working together to bring about change.

While the media in the U.S. portrayed the Seattle protests as unorganized rioters and trouble makers the protests caused concern to those attending the meetings and those at the head of international organizations and trans-national corporations.

In public, members of the establishment echoed the press in dismissing the demonstrations as the work of hooligans. In private they expressed shock

at the protestors' ability to stall the plans of the world's most powerful nations and corporations. They soon mobilized to suppress, contain, or co-opt the dissenters through a combination of police repression and invitations to multistakeholder dialogues and partnerships. (Korten, 2001, p. 6).

Since 1999 in Seattle there have been measures taken to ensure these types of protests do not occur again. At the IMF and World Bank meetings in Singapore during September, 2006 over eighty NGOs decided to boycott the meetings because twenty-seven activists were banned from entering the host country. "Singaporean police have said the banned activists pose a threat to security, law and order. They have banned all outdoor demonstrations in connection with the meetings and have designated an area the size of a volleyball court for indoor protests" (Aglionby, 2006, ¶ 4). In response to the conditions that were set by the Singaporean police more than 800 activists began to gather in neighboring Batam however, due to pressure from Singapore the authorities in Batam banned outdoor protests also (Aglionby, 2006). When the U.S. hosted the G8 Summit in 2004 the Bush Administration chose a location that could be controlled, Sea Island, Georgia. At Sea Island there is one way on and off the island and those who have the million-dollar homes located there are not people that would protest global institutions and trans-national corporations.

During the 1960's the military draft was in effect and at the beginning of the Vietnam War one way to stay out of harm's way was to attend college. This caused many college campuses to become populated with anti-war youth, who were seeking a

voice. The campuses were one place that youth could join together, organize, plan, and most importantly act.

A number of protests have occurred on college campuses over the last several years largely impart to the Iraq War. “The only rally of any size happened at FSU, where an estimated 1,500 students walked out of class the day after U.S. troops crossed into Iraq. But many of those students were counter – protestors who expressed strong support for the war” (Kumar, 2003, ¶ 11). The fact that this was the largest protest is hard to understand since the university is often considered as the place for opening minds and teaching students to question. It is also hoped that through education students learn there are better ways of solving conflicts than through violence.

“Books not Bombs” was a nation-wide anti-war protest held on college campuses that was organized by students in 2003. It was believed that: “... students from more than 360 colleges and high schools will participate in a daylong strike. Although it’s unknown how many students will participate – or to what degree they’ll take part – organizers expect a wide range of activities for a diverse group of students (Long, 2003, ¶ 5). This event was touted as being a large event in which the nation’s college students will let their voices be heard but in the end it turned out to be much smaller than anticipated.

Students’ protests are varied but most focus on the war and government spending. “Some groups demand that Bush shift defense spending into education programs, and that military recruiting on campuses be halted” (Maklein, 2003, ¶ 12). The debate over the military being able to recruit on campuses is one in which the Supreme Court had to decide and, of course, they found the military had a right to recruit on campuses just as

any other employer did. However, I have to say that going to work for the U.S. Army is a lot different than being employed by Georgia Power. Working in a nuclear power plant is dangerous but I think conducting a patrol in Sadr City is more dangerous to one's immediate health. The military recruiters are not only allowed to visit high schools across the nation and pull students out of class but they are also allowed unbridled access to administer the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery to students during school hours. The Bush Administration included a provision in the *NCLB* that allows for this activity to occur. However, continuous student protests at University of California Santa Cruz were finally effective in forcing Army and Marine recruiters to leave a campus job fair (Santa Cruz Independent Media Center, 2007). If continuous protests are effective then more students across the nation need to stand up.

The amount of money the United States has spent on the Iraq War is mind-boggling. There are many that believe this money should be spent on education in the United States and also on improving the conditions of children across the nation. "Protestors say the United States may no longer be rich enough to afford both guns and butter. One teacher from Morgan Hill, Chris Mink, explained her participation in a San Francisco anti-war rally. 'We have enough to do here at home, instead of putting a war in Iraq in front of the well-being of our kids'" (Bacon, 2003, ¶14). The idea that we have spent billions to supposedly spread democracy while we have children going to bed hungry in this country is sad because the U.S. is only interested in spreading capitalism and promoting trans-national corporations.

Where are the protests occurring since they are not reported by the media? According to Maklein: "And they're not just from Berkeley or Ann Arbor or other

campuses the nation has come to recognize as liberal bastions. The anti-war movement is stirring the passions of students at high schools, community colleges, public flagships, and private research universities and those institutions in between” (2003, ¶ 4).

Unfortunately protests are not occurring in large numbers and the protests that are occurring are not being reported in the mainstream media.

There is much more than the Iraq War that college students could protest and many of them are aware of world issues such as globalization, corporatization, workers’ rights, and genocide. After a four-year boycott on campuses across the nation the “Boot the Bell” campaign ended with agricultural workers receiving an extra penny a pound for tomatoes they picked for Taco Bell (Beckel, Dembosky, Macabasco, Mooallem, & Stein, 2005). *Mother Jones* recognized protests against Coca Cola, protests for intervention in Darfur, and protests against Republican politicians giving speeches on campuses across the nation (Beckel, et al, 2005). There is no doubt that these are just as important as the anti-war protests, however they also are not attended in large numbers and the amount of these protests that occur is rather small considering the number of students that attend universities today.

Mother Jones chose as the “Protest of the Year” in 2005 the actions of students at Princeton in which they staged a mock filibuster to bring attention to Senator Bill Frist’s claims that he would use whatever means necessary to get the President’s judicial appointments confirmed. This action of eight students spread to fifty campuses and lasted for 384 hours (Beckel, et al, 2005). The “Frist-a-buster” turned into one of the largest and most successful protests since the 1960s and 1970s. This is amazing since it was not nationally organized and only began with eight students.

One reason that protests do not grow into large numbers is there are many on campuses across the nation that have a blinded devotion to the actions of the Bush Administration. The quiet protest launched by Tariq Khan displays the brutality that many face if they try to protest. Kahn, an Air Force veteran and student at George Mason University, began a quiet non-violent protest in which he stood beside a table of military recruiters with a sign that stated “Recruiters lie. Don’t be deceived”. He was verbally assaulted and cursed by other students, campus police officers apprehended him, and he would have been pepper-sprayed, if it had not been for a young lady taking pictures with her camera phone. Police photos speak volumes because Khan is shown bruised and bloody, just for holding a sign (Grim, 2005). It is absurd that a man who has served his country cannot speak out against the military. This is someone who knows first-hand what the military will say and do to get you to sign-up and go to war. In addition to not being able to voice his opinion he was verbally assaulted by students who are nothing but brainwashed lemmings. But it is easy for those lemmings to defend a war and the military since they are on a campus in the United States and not taking enemy fire in the middle of Baghdad. If Mr. Khan cannot protest, then who can?

The prevailing question that arises when examining the lack of protests is why? According to Long: “Unlike memorable protests of the Vietnam War, in which students skipped days of classes or shut down campuses for weeks, today’s collegiate activists pencil in their anti-war activities much like corporate executives plan for meetings” (2003, ¶ 9). It is not surprising that today’s protesters are compared to corporate executives since our culture is controlled by capitalism and corporations rule the day. “Many groups have chosen to demonstrate for a few hours, or only in the morning or

afternoon. Some are working around midterm schedules” (Long, 2003, ¶ 20). Devotion to classes is admirable however there is something to be said when students feel as though they do not have time to voice their opinion.

Some students have been able to use the pen successfully and in interesting ways. According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004): “... students reinvented the Nike symbol: an image of a smiley face accompanied by the caption ‘happy worker’ sits alongside a frowning face in which the swoosh is substituted for the mouth and is accompanied by the caption ‘Nike worker’” (p. 278). These students realize the evils of a trans-national corporation that makes billions off the backs of workers in a sweatshop in another country. The fact that these students were protesting corporatization and globalization, both of which are societal ills that must be confronted, shows they are well informed and also creative.

There are many that take part in movements that seek change who feel as though this “new” way in which to voice their opinion is what will work to change current policies. As Graham-Felsen (2006) found:

This was not our parent’s campus activism,” Yale senior Sarah Laskow wrote of the event on CampusProgress.org. “So much the better, say the Roosevelt kids. We’d rather shine our shoes than dread our hair. We’d rather speak alongside our political leaders than shout out rhetoric from campus quads. We’d rather write policy papers than compose protest songs. The political elders have used us for our bodies and our energies. Now we want to offer them our

minds. Our politics of revolution pushes not for actions but for ideas. (p. 16)

Unfortunately, Laskow seems to underestimate the power of song and especially the power that music had on the protest movements of the 1960s and 70s. The impact of musicians such as Country Joe, Jefferson Airplane, Jimi Hendrix, Paul Arenson, Joan Baez, Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young, The Grateful Dead, etc... on the protests of the 1960s and 1970s cannot be emphasized enough. There are some musicians who have been active in producing music with protesting as a theme lately. Musicians such as Pearl Jam, System of a Down, Green Day, Red Hot Chilipeppers, Lil' Wayne, Ludacris, and Kanye West speak out against the Iraq War, the Bush Administration, and globalization regularly. It is also great to see musicians such as Neil Young continuing to fight the injustices in our world. We must also remember that the largest consumer group of music in the world is students. Most students would rather listen to the latest compact disc from their favorite artist rather than watch the nightly news.

I believe Laskow needs to rethink her assumption that their revolution needs more ideas and less action. In order for any revolution or movement to be successful there has to be action. Of course, there needs to be more thinking and theorizing in our world instead of the mindless devotion we see too often. However, I believe there are some great ideas and theories that have been presented in the last decade that need to be exposed through action.

The culture that college students are a part of today is one in which they seek immediate satisfaction and also one in which they are concerned only about themselves.

This culture is the result of the bombardment of capitalism these students have faced their entire lives. As Kumar (2003) found:

According to Sean Kinane: “Our society has become one in which it is possible to become detached from the concerns of the world.

There may be wars and suffering all around the globe, but as long as your fake ID gets you into the clubs of choice in Ybor (*sic*) City you don’t have to worry about it. Too many students simply don’t care because they feel they don’t have to. (¶ 14)

Kinane is a student at Florida State University and unfortunately the statements that he makes are probably correct. However, we have to wonder what type of government and society breeds students with these attitudes. In *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education*, Slaughter and Rhoades go into great detail to explain the impact that corporations have on the American University, from Nike to DuPont our universities have been taken over.

Another reason that can be given for a lack of anti-war protests is students do not think they are directly connected to the war. As Long (2003) points out: “... because there is no draft, students are not as personally involved with a possible war as students were during Vietnam. And the vast majority of college students were less than 10 years old when the United States fought Iraq in 1991” (¶ 13). It is evident that many students are not concerned with the war because they do not think there is a possibility they are in danger of being shot at in the middle of Iraq next year. Also, due to media restrictions by the Bush Administration we are not allowed to see the visuals of caskets coming from Iraq.

Why do most students not have to worry about going to war? “Most are from a different social class than soldiers in the all-volunteer military, making it harder for them to relate to those who enlist” (Kumar, 2003, ¶ 8). There is no doubt that the majority of soldiers in the military today are from lower socioeconomic classes. The fact that wars have been fought by the poor and minorities is nothing new in the United States and since there is not currently a draft many of those from the upper class have nothing to worry about. Even if there were a draft most of the upper class would find ways to keep from serving in a combat zone just as our President did during Vietnam.

Organizing

There is a bright light on the horizon, a rebirth of the SDS. “Angry at the Iraq debacle, emboldened by the Bush-Cheney tailspin, a new student radicalism is emerging whose concerns include immigrants’ rights, global warming, and the uncertainties facing debt-ridden graduates” (Phelps, 2007, p. 32). The “new” SDS is different than its namesake because of the number of issues they are concerned with and also due to how our world has changed since the 1960’s. However: “What most links the new SDS to the old is the principal of participatory democracy” (Phelps, 2007, p. 32). There is no doubt that the members of the new SDS want their voices to be heard. They are not an organization with established membership roles and their concerns may differ from one chapter to another. “SDS is loose, more movement than organization” (Phelps, 2007, p. 33). The principal avenue to join is by signing up on the Internet and since there are no dues it is hard to say how many active members they can claim. If we remember the ways in which Hardt and Negri define the multitude the new SDS can definitely be considered a possibility of the multitude forming.

How do protestors of the 1960s and 1970s feel about the current trends at universities? Graham-Felson (2006) found:

But SDS co-founder and lifelong activist Tom Hayden is wary of organizations that emphasize efficacy over ideals. “Students are being channeled into the Democratic Party or other mainstream institutions that will never bring about social change without a challenge and pressure from idealistic and free-thinking campus activists,” says Hayden. None of the issues Hayden believes are “the great moral challenges before this generation” – the Iraq War, fighting oil companies, resisting the pressure of military recruiters, debating alternatives to corporate-led globalization – are being pushed by the groups organizing campus progressives. (p. 16)

Of course many would argue that those from the 1960s and 1970s carried things too far. The tactics used by the original Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were radical and at times dangerous, however, they were able to obtain attention to their cause.

Many of the protestors from the 1960s and 1970s are now professors at universities around the world. As Kumar states: “Most college students, he says, have no sense of political activism, especially compared to their professors, many of whom came of age during the campus tumult of the 1960s and early 70s” (2003, ¶ 4). Why did the students of the 1960s and 1970s feel the calling to become activists? One could guess as to the reasons but as stated before students in this time faced the real danger of being drafted. Also, there are other reasons, society has changed drastically especially in regards to the way in which people have been led to believe they have no voice in governmental policy making.

Since 9/11 universities and colleges have become a favorite whipping boy of the Conservative Right. Immediately following the invasion of Afghanistan the American Council of Trustees and Alumni began to gather information on college professors who spoke against and/or questioned this action. “In fact, there were 117 names of scholars, students, and even a university president singled out for unpatriotic behaviors gathered from student newspapers, web sites, and the media and compiled in a manner reminiscent of McCarthy-era blacklisting” (Giroux & Giroux, 2004, p. 27). This group’s co-founder and former chairwoman is none other than Lynne Cheney, so it is reasonable to assume that the administration was fully aware of this group’s activities. It would be great to say that the harassment of professors ended here but it appears to be continuing with intensity. One time political activist, David Horowitz has recently written a book, *The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, where he takes it upon himself to list the professors that he thinks are a danger to the American way of life. I do not personally know Mr. Horowitz but due to his well-known actions during his life it appears as though he joins the side of prevailing thought while not contributing anything of worth. I believe that Peter McLaren gives a good overview of Mr. Horowitz:

Duty-bound to tear strips off the hides of liberals with all of the bluster of an evangelical preacher, this pompous, goatee-sporting ex-leftist with the permanent grimace, this self-ordained spokesperson for the good and the righteous who never tires of pandering to his fellow conservatives, can’t seem to manage to stem the tide of snake oil oozing from his lips.

Offering an ursoup of cranky right-wing slogans, he can provide little evidence for his accusations of left-wing academic malfeasance except for

a few anecdotal stories. Most of his analyses of left academy are just wild generalizations. Vitriol and slander follow him wherever he goes, like a bad smell wafting down from the attic. (Fassbinder, 2006, ¶16)

Indymedia

There is an enormous amount of evidence that people are organizing in order to have their voices heard. However, Americans do not learn about these movements and protests because the corporate controlled media often does not report such events. Trans-national corporations control the television, Internet, and major newspapers around the world. The people of the world are not informed about student walkouts, anti-war rallies, anti-globalization rallies, protests, etc... The corporate controlled media relays stories that create a constant fear in people and that works to keep citizens dependent upon their nation-states' government for security.

There are alternative sources of media available to those who want to read about what is really occurring in our world. This form of information is known as indymedia and they do not promote the agendas of trans-national corporations and governments. Most independent media is available in the form of websites, however, there are some independent newspapers available in larger cities. It is important to understand there is a difference between independent newspapers and alternative/smaller newspapers. Alternative/smaller newspapers are usually owned by smaller companies and while they do present a different lens in which to view the world they do not usually produce stories about citizens' protests/movements. Newspapers that are truly part of the indymedia movement do not sell advertising to corporations and they do not promote the capitalists agenda. The reporters that active in the indymedia realm do not receive money for their

work, most of the time they are volunteers who have other jobs. Their volunteer work is noble and greatly needed.

Through indymedia websites and blogs citizens who are concerned about the injustices in our world are able to have a voice. Protests and rallies are needed and they can be observed by those in the immediate physical area but due to the far-reaching ability of the Internet people are able to reach more readers. However, as I stated earlier, everything that is published on the Internet is subject to being monitored and is probably being monitored by some arm of a nation-state.

Personal Choices

I firmly believe that everyday consumers make choices whether or not to support globalization. I also believe that there is really no way for the majority of the world's citizens to remove themselves from capitalism. Of course, we could follow in the footsteps of Thoreau and get to the woods but I do not believe there are many that would be willing to make the move. In today's consumer culture we are basically voting with our money. The trans-national corporations are able to become powerful entities in Empire because they have produced products or services that many people desire. A company that produces goods that do not sell will not be able to stay in business or at least they will have to develop a new product.

Consumers are bombarded with the marketing strategies of trans-national corporations to buy their products and like blind lemmings we buy enormous quantities. If someone is able to overcome the hypnotic effects of the various marketing strategies they can decide not to buy certain products or shop at some stores. Personal choice is hard in a capitalist culture because there is a general feeling of wanting to acquire the

biggest, coolest, wackest, blingiest, best product on the market. However, I believe that personal choice can be a valuable tool and also necessary for helping the multitude form. When someone makes a personal choice to not shop at a store or to buy a brand people will inquire as to why they are making this choice. I do not shop at Wal-Mart and it amazing the number of times the name of this trans-national corporation comes up in everyday conversations. When I say that I do not shop there people always ask why. I then explain that I have problems with how the company buys products from suppliers who exploit the poor in Asia, the refusal of the company to allow unions to come in, the way the company keeps employees as part-time so they do not have to offer benefits, the way they charge more for the same products in poor rural areas than in urban areas where they have more competition, the repeated lawsuits concerning sex discrimination, etc... While people may leave the conversation thinking that I am insane at least, so far, they give me a chance to explain my position regarding this corporation. I also have recently quit drinking Starbucks coffee and mochas. While this company has donated an enormous amount of money to causes that address the power of Empire they recently made a decision that goes against its past work. In New York the company would not allow the workers to unionize and since I have a deep respect for unions I decided to quit getting my bag of coffee for the week and Sunday morning Venti Café Mochas.

I am not as committed to boycotting corporations and products as I would like. Several times a year I buy a product from a company that has one of the worst exploiters of poor people around the world. I run in Nike shoes and it is something that I am definitely not proud of but I just cannot run in any other shoes. But, if I have made the personal choice to not buy from two large corporations then I truly feel that their must be

others who have done the same. If we all make the personal decision to stop buying a product or shopping at a store then a difference can be made. For the multitude to form decisions such as this have to made. Would it be easier for me to do all of my shopping at the one-stop superstore? Would I not love a Venti Café Mocha right now? Of course I would but I feel it is my little way of fighting the system. If I can just convince one person to stop shopping at Wal-Mart or stop drinking Starbucks then I have accomplished something.

Conclusion

The multitude will have to be formed in order to fight against Empire. As I have outlined there are many possibilities in our society today that can help the multitude form. The Internet can be one of the most valuable resources to people that seek change in a world that is consumed by capitalism. One of the major drawbacks for using the Internet to organize is that the majority of the world's citizens do not have access to it. Therefore, it is imperative that those who seek to bring about positive change become a voice for those who are the most oppressed in our world by using the Internet.

Protests are extremely important in the formation of the multitude because protests represent people seeking a voice. As I presented there have been many against the entities that compose Empire and some of them have been more successful than others. The Seattle protests are considered to be the best representation of the multitude beginning to form by Hardt and Negri. The reason that Hardt and Negri give for this belief is because of the diverse groups that were present. Unfortunately there have not been protests of this magnitude lately because the Empire has been able to use its various police agencies to control the locales where international organizations meet. Protests are

not the only example of the multitude forming however it is the most public and therefore one of the most important.

In order for the multitude to form there has to be some form of organization even if one of the premises of the multitude is the lack of organization. There are many groups that have organized against globalization and the effects of capitalism on the world. One of the most inspiring new organizations is the new SDS. This organization is inspiring because it is comprised mostly of students that want to seek change. In order for the power and control of Empire to be confronted we have to find a way for students to become involved.

The people that are seeking change need to be seen and heard by the masses. It is evident that the corporate controlled major media will not cover those who want change. If they do present advocating change they usually do so as a side note and/or as radicals that are borderline terrorists. However, through the use of the Internet there are organizations that attempt to give an alternate view of those seeking a voice. Indymedia can be a tremendous source of information because it provides information about events that are usually not covered by the mainstream media. Information is power and media that is independent is desperately needed for the multitude to form.

Everyone makes choices and the citizens of prosperous nation-states make decisions about what products to buy and where to shop. While it is hard to overcome the marketing strategies of trans-national corporations, people need to consider the human rights' issues that are at stake when they choose what to buy. As I stated earlier, if we could all make the decision to boycott products and/or businesses that we feel are inherently evil then we can force change to come about. Of course, there has to be some

way for the personal choices to be known by others and a possible answer could be the Internet.

Unfortunately we live in a time where it is not popular to protest or speak out about peace, global warming, trans-national corporations, capitalism, human rights violations, etc... The bright lights that we have are those individuals who do what is not popular, who are not blinded with capitalism. We must become nomads and live on the outside of capitalism in some way, then we can begin to form our own paths and become less dependent on Empire. We cannot sit by, watch silently, and wait for someone else to speak for us. We must join the rhizomes and spread the word. The multitude needs missionaries and those discussed above are showing us the way. Their movements must become our movements; their cause must become our cause.

The multitude has to form in order for our world to move forward and for the citizens of the world to obtain representation. As Hardt and Negri, state there is no way to pinpoint when the multitude will form or what groups will compose it. As I have outlined there is evidence in our world of the beginnings of the multitude. In the next chapter I will outline possible events that would cause the multitude to form and also the need of education in order for this to occur.

CHAPTER 5

POSSIBILITIES

Summary

As I previously presented, in order for one to accept the theories of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri we have to agree that our world has evolved not only in physical attributes but also in theory. Marxism was a revolutionary theory when it was presented in the nineteenth century and it continued to be viable well into the twentieth century. However, as our world and governments changed new theories were needed to explain the current situation. Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guttari, and others presented new ideas that came to be known as poststructuralism. Poststructuralism does not accept one universal truth and instead promotes many truths. The major shift from postmodernism to poststructuralism can be seen in the writings of Michel Foucault and also Deleuze. Deleuze went beyond the ideas of Foucault and explained how our world has changed from one based on discipline to a society based on control. Of course, control is the basis of Empire.

Two additional ideas that were presented by Deleuze and Guttari are the rhizome and nomad. The rhizome is able to thrive because it does not have one life source instead it is spread out over an area and has many sources of life. If one part of the rhizome is threatened or killed the rhizome is able to continue because it does not depend upon a single life source. The nomad, as presented by Deleuze and Guttari, lives on the borders and does not have a set path to follow. The nomad is able to come in contact with others only as it needs to and this enables it to not become dependent on Empire. Nomads are

able to change and adapt easily to changing conditions. While the points on a nomad's journey may change it is able to be successful because a nomad thrives in the middle of the journey. Through understanding the ideas of the rhizome and nomad we can envision how the multitude can begin to form. Since Empire is based upon control then it is the rhizome and nomad that can be used to fight this control.

In *Empire* Hardt and Negri explain that a new super-national power is the major force in the world and the power that nation-states once had is gone. One of the primary forces in Empire is biopower, which as Hardt and Negri explain is a power that is able to control society because it controls the bodies that are in society and thus control reproduction itself. Hardt and Negri also remind us that labor must not be looked at as being only physical but also mental. Labor should not be associated only with producing goods because most labor in our society does not produce goods, rather it provides services. Trans-national corporations have a tremendous amount of power and, as Hardt and Negri explain, these entities are able to begin and extend wars and conflicts. NGO's are presented by Hardt and Negri as organizations that are able to wage a different type of war. These organizations are able to choose who to help and when the help will be given. Unfortunately, Hardt and Negri do not explain the amount of power that the World Bank has over many of the world's citizens. They do explain the way to overcome the power of Empire is for the multitude to form.

In *Multitude*, Hardt and Negri explain that the multitude has not yet formed but there have been some events that show the possibility of it actually forming. The multitude will not be a mob that is unorganized rather it will be organized and diverse. This diversity is important because it will be evidence of people with different concerns

about our globalized world coming together in a single voice demanding change. In order for the multitude to form there must be an event that will cause these diverse groups to come together and not go away until a new global democracy is formed.

There is no doubt that the U.S., under the leadership of President Bush, has attempted an imperialist project in the Middle East for the past six years. However, the repeated failures the U.S. has experienced is further proof that imperialism is over and we have moved into the Age of Empire. At one time the U.S. could claim to have the best-equipped military in the world and this may still be correct, however, the latest conventional technology is no match for an unconventional enemy. The U.S. identifies this enemy as Al Qaeda and/or insurgents but if we look at the structures of these organizations we can see how they are nomads and rhizomatic. The U.S. military is finding that it is extremely hard to kill a rhizome and/or capture a nomad.

The term globalization is used today more than at any time in the past and when and where it began is open to debate however it is evident we do live in a globalized world. Globalization has given many people in the world the ability to obtain products faster and cheaper and it has given rise to new powerful institutions. International institutions have now taken the control and power that nation-states once coveted. One of the most powerful international institutions is the World Bank. The primary way the World Bank is able to be powerful is that the majority of the world's citizens are unaware of what its' actions. The Bank does loan money for improvements in developing countries but most of the countries that receive these loans are not able to meet the repayment agreements. When they are not able to repay their loans the World Bank then puts the country into a program known as SAP. Once a country is placed in this program

they are required to cut social programs and one of the first programs to be cut is education. The Bank promotes, through the OECD, the idea of the knowledge economy and this is nothing more than promoting capitalism. Through these loans, which are supposed to be for improvement, the Bank is actually hurting the countries' futures.

A major component in Empire is trans-national corporations because of their ability to spread capitalism around the world. Since they are able to transcend national borders these corporations have access to the world. One of the most intriguing aspects of trans-national corporations is the ease and cost-effectiveness in which they are able to transport their goods around the world. It is amazing that cotton grown in the U.S. can be made into fabric and then sent to China or Bangladesh and made into trousers and then transported back to the U.S. and sold cheaper than if they were made in America. Of course, the way they are able to do this is by exploiting the poor workers in those areas and creating large supplies of their products. Although nation-states have trade regulations and agreements trans-national corporations are able to move their products with relative ease.

It is not only the goods and products that trans-national corporations are interested in selling to people. These corporations are concerned with creating greater revenue for their board members and shareholders and also extending their control. Trans-national corporations donate money to political candidates in order to ensure they are given access to the world's citizens and also access to natural resources. In addition to political donations trans-national corporations also give money to non-governmental organizations under the guise of helping to fund humanitarian goals.

When attempting to analyze NGOs I find it hard to give a definitive answer as to whether these organizations are good for the world or bad. In theory NGOs provide services that nation-states are not able to provide to citizens, however, it would be misleading to give a blanket statement about the good deeds these types of organizations perform. One of the main dilemmas that is apparent for NGOs is they need funds in order to operate and perform their work. In order to obtain these funds many NGOs receive donations from trans-national corporations and also grants from nation-states. Once they receive donations from these types of organizations the true motives of the NGOs has to be questioned.

Hardt and Negri present an answer to Empire, which is the multitude. Of course, as I stated earlier, the authors do not give a time or place where the multitude will actually come into being. There is evidence of the beginnings of the multitude but we must remember that at this time it has not fully evolved. The most referred to instance of the beginnings of the multitude by Hardt and Negri are the Seattle protests in 1999. If we follow this line of thought about protests being evidence of the multitude then it continues to be formed. There are routinely protests in different parts of the world where people are seeking a voice against the injustices that they and the citizens of the world face. However, there have been no protests to reach the magnitude of those in Seattle.

Organized groups in the streets are not the only evidence of the multitude attempting to form. Other possible examples of the multitude forming are web sites, indymedia, and a resurgence of social advocacy groups. The Internet is a powerful tool that many are using to express their opinions about the world in which we live. The Internet, however, can also be used by police agencies to monitor those that are

challenging the control of Empire. Some journalists have taken to the Internet to present information and insight that is not controlled by the corporate mainstream media.

Indymedia provides information to the people about protests, organizations, and individuals who are attempting to fight and organize against Empire.

There has also been a rebirth of 1960's organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society. While this new organization uses different tactics than its namesake it is still an organization that seeks more representation by the people instead of nation-states and international institutions. One major flaw with the New SDS is they are not as organized as the original group, therefore they currently have not experienced much success. It is great that students are seeking a voice in our globalized world, however, more groups such as the New SDS are needed.

Needed Action

What a mess! As I have explained in the previous chapters our world is one that is controlled by Empire through international organizations and trans-national corporations. The people of the world are left without a voice and in order for major changes to occur the multitude needs to be formed. In what follows I would like to present some possibilities in which the multitude could form.

Those who would advocate taking to the streets with weapons and starting a revolution are completely misguided. The primary reason that this cannot be an option is because of the amount of violence currently in our world and nothing constructive can develop out of an armed conflict. We must also remember the number of agencies that Empire can employ in order to deal with a possible revolution out weigh anything the

multitude can dream of forming. This is not to say that at some point that arms will not be needed in order to change but it must not be the first action.

In order for our world to move forward there is a situation that must be confronted and dealt with immediately and that is the horrors the Bush Administration has marshaled upon the world. President Bush must be impeached and removed from office immediately. We cannot wait any longer and we cannot wait for his remaining time in office to pass. Once he has been removed from office, he and his closest advisors must stand trial at the International Court of Justice (World Court) for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Due to lying and misrepresenting information President Bush is responsible for over three thousand U.S. soldiers and tens of thousands of Iraqis' deaths. Imperialism is over and the failed mission to spread imperialism from the U.S. to the Middle East has resulted in a dangerous quagmire. The U.S. has to withdraw their forces from Iraq immediately and end the needless bloodshed. Only once this is done can we begin to move forward in our world.

We must remember that it was not only President Bush, but also Congress with the consent of the majority of Americans, that wanted to wage war in Iraq. A majority of U.S. citizens supported this war for the first two years and it was only after the truth became obvious, Americans began to recognize there were no Weapons of Mass Destruction and Iraq was not a terrorist haven before the U.S. invasion. Recently support of the war is growing because there are not as many U.S. soldiers dying and the corporate controlled media is reporting the accomplishments of the new Iraqi government. Even though support is growing the U.S. must still stand in front of the world and ask for forgiveness, we must show the world that we are able to admit our mistakes.

Trans-national corporations must also be addressed and limits must be placed on their power and control. Confronting trans-national corporations must be on a global level not at the nation-state. Trans-national corporations such as Wal-Mart, Exxon Mobil, Haliburton, DynaCorp, etc... must be held accountable for the enormous profits they create for their Boards while continuing to make workers and citizens of the world suffer. We must adopt and enforce international anti-trust and anti-monopoly laws that ensure trans-national corporations do not have unbridled access to the world.

Since, for the near future, it appears that we are stuck with the World Bank we need to demand greater transparency. This organization should be required to publish the locations, dates, and minutes of their meetings at an easy to access location on the Internet and they should be required to give a telesized "State of the Bank" address at least once a year to the world. It is true that greater transparency will not guarantee the World Bank will become a better institution but the citizens of the world need to be informed about the actions of the Bank. The funds the Bank uses to operate with are collected through taxes imposed by nations on their citizenry. We, the citizens of the world, have a right to know how our money is being spent and also we need to become more informed about the programs instituted by the Bank. This initiative needs to be implemented immediately because every day that passes many countries are acquiring additional finance charges and fees as part of a Structural Adjustment Program that was instituted by the World Bank and education continues to suffer.

As I discussed earlier, NGOs are able to affect the lives of citizens around the world and often the people they claim to help are the ones that are hurt the most. NGOs that work to spread capitalism around the world need to be stopped and their real work

needs to be exposed. NGOs must begin disclosing, on their Internet home pages and in brochures, their major supporters. NGO's must also make the promise (and keep it) that they will serve the people's interests not a corporation or governmental agency. If NGOs continue to receive grants from nation-states then they must ensure they are not required to promote the interests of those nations-states. NGO's must focus on assisting people, not promoting capitalism.

Representation is something that all citizens' desire but in Empire we are not represented. A way in which all of the worlds' citizens are represented equally is needed and must be developed. Hardt and Negri, in *Multitude*, give several possible examples such as an organization modeled after the European Union or the having the world divided into new regions and then representatives chosen to a world body. However, as Hardt and Negri go into detail to explain all current ideas about a new global representative democracy would not actually work simply due to logistics and population. We must be represented honestly and our representatives need to answer to their constituents and not to lobbyists who are employed by trans-national organizations. The offices that representatives' hold should have time limits from the local to the national levels. The era of representatives selling their votes to the highest bidder must end immediately and the people deserve to be represented honestly and completely.

How can we find representation? If we continue to depend upon our current nation-states and the governments that run them then we will not find the representation that we desperately need. If we dissolve all borders this could lead to a new formation of nations that do not follow the current lines that currently constrict us. Borders have been major issues with territories and countries throughout history and they continue to be

major points of disagreement today. There is currently an immigration debate that is being waged in the U.S. today and it appears as though this issue will not be truly solved anytime in the near future. The overwhelming majority of those who cross borders illegally do so only to seek a better life, be it through earning money or living in a safer country than before. There are some that cross borders in order to cause damage and carry out terrorist attacks. If we care about our world we cannot turn our backs and resent those that only want a better life. However, we must remember that it is capitalism that is causing the desire to move to another country for a better life.

Since most trans-national corporations have went to developing countries in order to find a cheap workforce we must hold them accountable for their part in this migrating. An international minimum wage needs to be adopted by transnational corporations. Workers around the world have to be guaranteed a living wage and any trans-national corporation that does not furnish this should immediately be fined and the revenue from the fine would go to the workers. If a trans-national corporation repeatedly violates this law then it should be dissolved and not allowed to conduct business again in any part of the world.

The proposals mentioned above are what are needed immediately. Until the multitude is formed and the power of Empire is addressed we must confront the injustices in our world. However, these will not bring about the end of Empire and we need to take steps that address the numerous injustices in our world today.

Events

Hardt and Negri close *Multitude* with explaining that an event would have to occur that would put in motion the formation of the multitude. Of course, as I have stated

several times, they do not give any indication of what that event is or when it might occur. However, I would like to put forth two scenarios that would be of such significance it could cause the multitude to form throughout the globe. When trying to develop a possible scenario that would change our world I look to history. There is no doubt that the main aspect that helps keep Empire in control over all of our lives is capitalism. The organizations and institutions that I have examined all have one thing in common and that is money. From the CEO of a trans-national corporation to the worker in a developing country that is receiving less than fifty cents an hour it is money that keeps people in their roles in life. Capitalism has to be challenged and I believe that another “Great Depression” would be an event that would bring about the possibility of the multitude.

The “Great Depression”, as it is referred to in the United States, was an event that shook the previous held beliefs that the majority of citizens in the U.S. (and many in the world) had felt about capitalism. It is not my intention to explain the well-known events during this time. However, I believe that an event such as this could cause a disruption in all of the currently held beliefs about capitalism and the free market. This event left a generation of Americans with distrusts of banks, government, and politicians. This feeling was definitely warranted and it also caused this generation to become more involved in the political process and less concerned about acquiring large amounts of luxury items.

In the U.S. there seems to be a complete infatuation with trying to “keep up with the Jones”. This is evident with the number of bankruptcies that are applied for each year and also the inability to acquire large amounts of savings. In order to convince the

people who live in prosperous countries that capitalism and the free market is inherently evil we need an event that will wake them up. The attacks on September 11th, 2001 was almost such an event because the American people stopped spending and worrying about luxury items, instead many began to give to charities and save. However, this was short-lived and capitalism is running strong again.

The Great Depression caused the federal government to place controls on banking, corporations, industries, and agriculture. Unfortunately there were not enough controls placed on corporations. This is needed again, because we have allowed national corporations to regain the power they had in the Gilded Age and they have evolved into trans-national corporations. The Great Depression did not affect all the major countries in the 1930's, however the next economic depression will because of how interconnected capitalism is around the world. I do not think individuals can do anything to bring about another event such as this, however, in time this event will occur if there is not a radical change in the consumer culture of the world.

The second potential event that could bring the multitude into being is one that is considered to be unmentionable in some circles, nuclear war. For more than forty years the globe was at a nuclear stalemate between two superpowers. Except for a few well-known instances the inevitable did not occur. Today, there are several nation-states that are nuclear powers and as each year passes more nation-states gain nuclear capabilities.

If certain nation-states are able to obtain nuclear weapons this will be a major threat to Empire. Iran and North Korea are currently attempting to develop nuclear weapons and this poses a real threat to the control and power of Empire. Iran is a nation-state that is mostly controlled by Islamic Fundamentalists who reject everything

considered American and/or Western. In this rejection they are also including the products and effects of capitalism. The great fear that other powerful nation-states have is that Iran cannot be controlled through usual means such as economic sanctions.

The danger that Iran poses to the citizens of the world is that most of the Islamic Fundamentalists are not afraid of death and have no problem with non-believers dying. If a person/nation-state have no fear then they are truly dangerous. Of course, with the U.S. and Europe being considered Christian-controlled nations it can easily be seen as a religious war. I believe that it is not a conflict of religions rather it is a group that is challenging the power of Empire. However, the way in which they are challenging this power is potentially devastating.

North Korea believes that they need nuclear weapons in order to maintain their own security against the remainder of the world. It is extremely interesting that the U.S. is one of the most vocal opponents since North Korea is not a direct physical threat to the U.S. However, North Korea is a threat to China and Japan, which are major trading partners in our capitalist dominated world.

In addition to nation-states having the ability to obtain nuclear weapons terrorists are also working feverishly to obtain this power. Of course many of the groups that are identified as international terrorists today are also considered to be Islamic Fundamentalists by the West. If a terrorist group is able to obtain nuclear weapon they would be able to cause a massive loss of life and the subsequent responses of nation-states could lead to global destruction. Unfortunately, with Christian Fundamentalists on one side and Islamic Fundamentalists on the other the majority of the world's citizens are caught in the crossfire of modern-day Crusades.

I am not advocating doom and gloom. However, an event of this magnitude would shake Empire to its core. Currently on television there is a show that deals with how people would react and interact if a nuclear explosion occurred. One theme that runs through this show is the role of traditional nation-states and their inability to maintain control. The inspiring aspect of this show is that many “new” governments have formed in the face of this event. Unfortunately most of these governments are nothing more than militias that are controlled by individuals seeking more power.

Until these events occur we need to begin educating for the multitude. We need students that possess the knowledge to see the injustices in the world. Educating students for gainful employment does not need to be our focus rather we need to educate students to understand our world is in desperate need of change. Our students need to be less dependent upon the powerful institutions that compose Empire. Education must be used to create nomads; students that are able to look at problems from the outside and find options that are not at first apparent. The curriculum and content we currently use will not create nomads.

Immediate Proposal

I do believe there is a way in which we can begin educating for the multitude and that is to follow the path set forth by Paulo Freire; Critical Pedagogy. The overwhelming majority of education in the world is based on banking education. Bureaucrats at the international, federal, and state levels create a curriculum and expect teachers to follow it closely and the students are expected to sit like mindless lemmings and absorb the knowledge. Paulo Freire described banking education as a process in which the teacher decides everything and controls everything. Today, I do not think we are dealing with the

problem of the teacher controlling everything, I believe that it is Empire that is able to control education.

By using standardized tests, Empire is able to control the content students are taught. This is not just done in the U.S. but also around the world. The World Bank, with the OECD, uses standardized tests to measure the education levels in developing countries. As I presented earlier, the World Bank is only interested in education that supports a knowledge economy, which is what trans-national corporations' desire. Trans-national corporations are able to control education because they promote themselves as the future employers of the students. With this amount of control international institutions can ensure that educational systems around the world do not produce students who will question the power of Empire. By using a form of banking education nomads will never be able to develop. If nomads are not able to form then there is no hope for the multitude to form.

Teachers need to develop a deeper understanding of Freire's problem-posing education. There is no doubt that there are numerous problems in the world that our students are aware of and there are many more that teachers can introduce to students. Viewing standards and curriculum as something that students must learn to be knowledgeable of is nothing more than an indoctrination into the prevailing mindset of those controlled by Empire. Freire put forth the idea of education being the most important aspect for the liberation of the peasants in Brazil and we need to follow in his footsteps and liberate our students from the control of Empire. However, most teachers will not deviate from teaching the set curriculum because of fear of losing their job. I believe there are opportunities for teachers to use problem-posing education and still stay

within state, federal, and/or international guidelines. One of the most important aspects of attempting to use Critical Pedagogy is for the students to be in charge of the content they are taught, they must have a voice.

If given the choice, students would choose to discuss issues that are important to them and they will want to learn about the world they see. The idea of students choosing the content of a lesson is something that can be implemented today in any classroom in the world. Since most teachers are forced to teach towards a date where the students will take standardized tests they are left with several weeks of nothing to do at the end of the year. This small amount of time in the school year is where teachers have the ability to make a concerted effort to change the world. Instead of showing movies and having students do “filler activities” teachers need to let their students have a voice. Students would choose topics they want to more about and are important to them. Continuing to use their content the teacher can help guide a conversation about the topics the students chose and then students can develop a deeper understanding of the world in which they live. Only through a conversation can the teacher and students understand their reality and then find liberation.

While this proposal will not change the world and will not form the multitude it does have the ability to begin a conversation about the content that is taught during the year. What parent would not like for their students to come home and talk, with enthusiasm, about what they are learning? What administrator or bureaucrat can condemn students who interested in school? By personally doing this exercise I have been able to add two Current Issues classes at a school where I was told that students would not want

such a class. Who will choose the content of the Current Issues classes? The students, of course.

If classrooms around the world would devote a month to student-led content we could have a great foundation for the multitude. While students in different locations of the world will discuss a variety of issues I believe there will be some topics that transcend the borders of nation-states. Topics such as war, unequal distribution of income, role of governments, etc... will be of importance to students around the world. As I have explained all of these are factors in Empire and through investigation and conversation students can obtain this knowledge.

Distant Goals

The theory of Empire, as presented by Hardt and Negri, needs to be spread and understood by educators. One possible line this theory could be spread through is the university. Professors of education should learn more about the ideas of Hardt and Negri and also poststructuralism and then present it to their students. We need educators, from elementary teachers to college professors, to learn about the role of Empire and also learn how to educate their students to become active in the multitude. If the scholars and professors can be convinced of the globalized nature of our world then we can work to call the multitude into being. We can then begin to form a global democracy where everyone is equal and compassion is shown to all. These future teachers need to be introduced to these ideas and learn to look at the events in the world more skeptically and then hopefully one day teach their students these same things.

In the U.S., the Department of Education must require all states to adopt standards that address teaching about international institutions and current events. The Department

of Education can make this requirement because they currently require all states to give standardized tests. I firmly believe that students, no matter what age, are interested in the events that are occurring in the world. Schools and teachers need to take advantage of this curiosity and engage students in conversations about our world.

As I have stated before, the major problem with education in the United States is that we are educating students to be local citizens. The current attempts at Citizenship Education in schools in the U.S. are out-dated and speak of a time that is no more. We educate students about the foundations of American government and how it operates when in reality it is only a minor player in Empire. Continuing to educate students to be productive citizens of the United States is a farce because they live in a world that is consumed with trans-nationalisms. Educating students to be world citizens goes beyond including tidbits of other cultures and people in the margins of their textbooks. While there is still a need for more multiculturalism in our curriculum we need to look at the bigger picture. This picture is a world in which borders have been brought down and students are not going to be citizens of a nation-state but rather they are going to be citizens of the world.

The World Bank needs to be dismantled because of the amount of harm it has done to developing countries around the world. Any organization that cuts social programs in order to have loans repaid should not be allowed to operate. The nation-states that are the major contributors to the Bank should not be in the business of making money, a government should be in existence to serve the people. If one nation-state knows that another country is in dire need of capital then they should loan the money at zero percent interest. This would be the compassionate thing to do. Although many

would not agree but our world can operate without the Bank and many nation-states would be able to reinstate public services they previously had to cut. This would leave nation-states to choose what to educate their students for instead of having to educate for the knowledge-economy under the direction of the World Bank.

I believe our students are aware of the ways in which our world is changing and we are simply living a lie by continuing to educate them in the same manner with the same curriculum their grandparents were taught. The U.S. government and media attempt to convince people that we are still a powerful country with established borders. However, when our students see so-called illegal aliens marching by the thousands in the streets of major cities in order to gain citizenship in the U.S. we cannot be intellectually honest with our students and simply explain these immigrants have broken the law and our border is still intact.

Throughout most of the twentieth century many students in the U.S. were educated to be a part of the workforce for the local factory. However, the local factory has been closed for decades and the U.S. is no longer a country that produces products. It is hard for any educator to convince their students that an education is needed in order to be successful because so many jobs have been moved to other nation-states. Unfortunately there are only a very few students that will attend schools just out of the desire to obtain knowledge for knowledge's sake. This mindset needs to change, we must stop using marketing techniques that promote having a high school or college diploma will lead to a lifetime of more money. There are more important things in our world than obtaining more money.

There are numerous programs and classes that show teachers how to use technology in the classroom but this is nothing more than smoke and mirrors. Technology is marketed as a way in which to keep students interested and focused on the material being taught. We need to accept the fact that PowerPoints, Internet, streaming videos, etc... do nothing to enable our students to thrive in our ever-changing world. The amount of money spent on materials for use in classrooms has always been limited and due to the fact that technology changes everyday there is currently no way for schools to stay up to date on the latest technology. We are requiring students to create PowerPoint Presentations when they can now create their own videos on a computer. The only problem with them creating their own videos is that the schools probably do not have the software to run these types of programs.

Instead of concentrating on using technology to teach a lesson we need to teach students about the importance of technology in Empire. Students need to understand the importance of the telecommunications industry and how the police forces of Empire monitor everything and try to stop nomads and rhizomes. Computers control our lives and numbers identify us and students need to learn this. We need to help students understand they are more than a number or a bar code.

We need to change the content in which we teach. If we do not look to the future then we will not have students that will be able to truly understand their futures. I would like to suggest some changes but I firmly believe that these changes should be implemented using Critical Pedagogy as a guide therefore giving the students a greater voice in their education. Science should focus on the environment, physics, and space exploration. If we do not begin to focus on the importance of improving the environment

then we are doomed as a species. Math should examples based on scarcity and the profits of trans-national corporations. Teachers of mathematics should also use examples comparing the wages earned by workers around the world and help students understand how poor workers around the world are exploited by trans-national corporations.

Language Arts needs to replace Shakespeare with Marx, because it is the Ghost of Marx we need to follow. American Literature should use cyberpunk, such as *Snow Crash*.

Education needs to become interesting and something real that students can relate to. Of course, I do think we need to continue to teach history, but we do not need approach it from the side of the victors. We need to look at the struggles of those who were oppressed and how they fought oppression. History should not be about wars, dates, and dead white guys. We should use history to teach philosophy and help students understand how the world has always been controlled by the prevailing philosophies of the time. Using history students can also trace our Empire came into being and able to garner so much control over the world.

We also need to develop a curriculum that includes classes based on marketing. Our students need to become informed about the various strategies used by trans-national corporations to sell their products. Marketing influences our students everyday and we need to work to ensure they are aware of the way that these corporations use any means possible to sell their products and extend capitalism. If we want to create nomads students need to become informed about the marketing strategies used so they can overcome the hypnotizing effects of capitalism.

Standardized testing needs to STOP! When standardized testing is implemented teachers are left teaching to a test because they and their schools are graded according to

these scores. Standardized tests have done more damage to education than any other movement. The only things standardized testing has done is make publishing companies richer and single out those who live in poor areas of the U.S. The World Bank also uses standardized testing in order to promote capitalism to poor countries and this must also be stopped. We must concentrate on using, as Deleuze suggests, AND. Our students need to become comfortable with seeing more than one answer for a question. Hopefully they can see numerous possibilities. Educators need to organize and protests against standardized testing and become vocal in their disapproval at the national and international levels.

There are many ideas and programs marketed to schools that claim to help students obtain the knowledge prescribed in standards. Unfortunately these programs do nothing more than promote graphic organizers and vocabulary reviews. Many of the “designers” of these programs claim to increase student interest and, of course, increase test scores. The main way we can make education interesting is to make it relevant. The students have to be able to relate the information they are learning to the world in which they see. Our students are bombarded with images of capitalism, war, and terror. They are aware of the events that are transpiring in our world and we have to work to present the facts about these events.

We must be prepared for the event that will shake Empire to its core and set in motion the formation of the multitude. Education is the key to the multitude forming. The multitude may not form in our lifetime but future generations need to be prepared and hopefully challenge the system that consumed past generations. It is through education that we can become nomads and begin a caravan across the globe.

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