

Race and Globalization

**Global Apartheid, Foreign Policy,
and Human Rights**

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Human rights—“the reasonable demands for personal security and basic well-being that all individuals can make on the rest of humanity by virtue of their being members of the species *Homo sapiens*”—are in increased jeopardy in this era of globalization. Small, poor countries increasingly are dominated by imposed economic controls that make a mockery of their rights to self-determination. For about two decades, this neoliberal regime—in which developed nations aid poorer nations on the condition that they restructure their economies and political systems to accommodate maximum wealth accumulation by multinational corporations—has arrived packaged as so-called free trade. This phenomenon is more than an idea or ideology. It is a cultural system, “a paradigm for understanding and organizing the world and for informing our practices within it.” It is “an approach to the world which includes in its purview not only economics but also politics, not only the public but also the private, not only what kinds of institutions we should have but also what kinds of subjects we should be.”¹

The reasons for this assault on human rights—political and socioeconomic—are complex. In many parts of the world, however, it can be attributed, at least in part, to the relative immunity with which transnational corporations and agencies dictate social, political and economic issues within nation-states, especially smaller nations. These nations’ ability to protect rights to education, health care, and humane work standards has been drastically compromised by internationally mandated policies and programs that give higher priority to corporate rights and the rights of transnational capital than to the basic needs and dignity of ordinary human beings. Although the social contract that more democratic states once had with their citizens has virtually disappeared in many places, the repressive role of state power clearly has not. In many cases, Western, particularly U.S., foreign aid packages include generous provisions for police and military upgrading. Thanks to this free market in arms, intergroup tensions within smaller nations now are more apt to escalate into militarized conflicts.

For example, the militarized condition of life in Jamaica provides a prime example of

how U.S. foreign aid for fighting drugs and crime impacts developing nations. During the 1980s, after the politically orchestrated demise of the democratic socialist administration, the policing and military capacity of the conservative Jamaica Labor Party government was substantially upgraded with a sizable security aid package, the largest ever given by the U.S. to any country in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The aid enabled the government of Edward Seaga, former prime minister, to act more punitively against the “dangerous elements”—crime, labor discontent, and political unrest—that threatened law and order on the island and threatened the U.S.’s strategic interests in the region. The well-funded war against crime was led by the Special Operations Squad, popularly dubbed “Seaga’s eradication squad.” In the mid-eighties, Americas Watch issued a human rights report that decried the growing pattern of extrajudicial executions responsible for half of the nation’s total homicides. The militarization of the state and the deployment, often indiscriminate, of repressive police tactics remains a problem today. Last year, these problems prompted Amnesty International to censure the government in a special report.²

These problems are not confined to the southern hemisphere; comparable trends are also in evidence in the north. In the United States alone, Reaganomics, Contract with America, welfare reform, the dismantling of affirmative action, Proposition 187, policing by racial profiling, and the prison industrial complex are variations on the same theme. Note that they closely resemble the structural adjustment programs that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) stipulates and the war on drugs and crime underwritten by the U.S. in debt-ravaged, so-called developing countries. Common themes emerge upon examination of these tactics to regulate the global economy and police the crises that regulation engenders. This neoliberal method results in processes that might be called capitalism’s second primitive accumulation and a “recolonization” of markets in a world fraught with dilemmas of postcolonialism and the postmodern condition.³

David L. Wilson, an activist with the Nicaragua Solidarity Network, provides another example of this dynamic in his analysis of *maquiladoras* (assembly plants operating as subsidiaries or subcontracted firms of transnational corporations) as a site for the workings of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, he writes, is a regime of development, a phenomenon of primitive accumulation in many ways comparable to the classic case that Marx described for the transition into capitalism. Primitive accumulation then and now creates “a vast labor pool of people desperate for jobs, even at wages below subsistence levels.” Wilson argues: “[W]hat is new about neoliberalism is a sort of primitive accumulation against capitalist and post-capitalist economic forms—against industrial production for the domestic market, against small-scale capitalist or co-operative agriculture (often the result of agrarian reform), and against the tenuous but crucial safety net that has developed in many third world countries.”⁴ These conditions of change, mediated by the IMF, World Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO)—all multinational but strongly U.S.-influenced—have been intensified by the geopolitical and politico-economic realignments engendered in today’s post-Cold War milieu in which alternatives to capitalism have been widely discredited. Subsequently, capitalism’s conflicts with communism and socialism have—except for the brutal U.S. embargo against Cuba—given way to wars

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between competing ethnic groups and to a U.S.-funded “war against drugs” driven by the contradictory foreign policy of the remaining superpower.⁵

In this context, one of the gravest human rights problems is the intensification of discrimination and violence that target people on the basis of race.⁶ Race is a socially constructed distinction, material relation, and dimension of social stratification that intersects with and is mutually constituted by class, gender, ethnicity, nation, and increasingly transnational location and identity. Although culturally variable, it encodes social differences often presumed to be hereditary—differences that, if not carefully managed and policed, are considered threats to a nation’s social structure.

Although, historically, racial differences were considered to be rooted in biological variations, today these differences are increasingly expressed not in racial terms but in cultural terms. These trends in reconfiguring race are evident across a wide array of international settings, from European zones of ethnic cleansing, where through mass rapes women became permanently partitioned racial subjects, to African contexts in which ethnonational conflicts have become racial and, in extreme cases, intensified to the point of genocide.⁷ The conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi is a tragic instance of this. Anthropologist Lisa Malkki has pointed out that members of Rwanda’s Hutu community have crafted mythohistorical narratives that define their differences from Tutsis in terms of “moral essences,” which operate as powerfully as biological distinctions that operated during an earlier era.⁸

In many places around the world, race is being reconfigured in more acceptable ideological codes and rhetorics that some scholars view as a new form of racism without races. Social critics in France, Germany, and Austria have pointed out that even right-wing xenophobes in their countries formally acknowledge that blatant racism is widely discredited and that “races” do not “really exist.” Although this may sound progressive, this cursory, one-dimensional awareness does not mean that racism has withered away or is not being reproduced in modern and postmodern guises. Despite the nominal no-race stance taken by some western European neo-fascists, their punitive assaults against Third World immigrants and eastern European refugees (e.g., the Roma and Bosnians) effectively demonize ethnonational outsiders and subject them to conditions so oppressive that a new form of apartheid may be emerging. Encoded in the notions of *immigrant* and *refugee* are meanings of ethnic absolutism that invent or renew racial identities on reconfigured landscapes of national inclusion and exclusion. Paradoxically, although certain categories of immigrants are viewed as troublesome parasites whose cultures threaten the purity of European nations, their economic participation in ethnically and sexually segmented labor keeps their host economies thriving and enriches their employers.

Nearly ninety years after Du Bois’s analysis and seventy-six after Bunche’s, political scientists and others who study international relations still need to be urged to include race and racism in their analyses of global politics and political economy

This ambivalence is also present in the U.S., where nativist campaigns target immigrants. Californians who supported Proposition 187, which barred children of illegal immigrants, mainly Mexican, from educational and health services even as California’s



Paris, 1989. Copyright © Charles M. Martin

agribusiness and service sectors became increasingly dependent on the exploitable labor of the children's parents. Propositions such as 187 are not intended to create an inhospitable atmosphere for immigrants, thereby urging them to return to their native countries; it's really about keeping them in their (exploited and vulnerable) place within the U.S. by restricting their legal rights. In other words, these measures perpetuate a deskilled and stigmatized labor force that cannot make credible human rights demands like those increasingly made by Americans and legal residents of color—demands that are eroding white privilege and engendering a crisis of white identity.

Alongside, and in some instances interacting with, these culturalist essentialisms, though, is the relentless resurgence of biology-based accounts about the nature and roots of social difference. This is clearly the case in North America where Richard Herrnstein's and Charles Murray's 1994 book, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, and research funded by neoconservative foundations such as the Pioneer Fund have revitalized discussions on measurements of intelligence, athleticism, fertility patterns, and criminal violence.

These disturbing patterns are reemerging despite the decades-old perspective of such scholars as Ralph Bunche, who noted in his *A World View of Race* that racial distinctions lack any real biological basis. In his bold analysis of imperialism, global intergroup conflicts, and the threat racism posed to world peace, Bunche—who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1950 for his role as UN mediator in Palestine and in Israel's conflicts with neighboring Arab states—underscored the economic basis of the global racial hierarchy and its fundamental intersection with class exploitation.⁹

Bunche was influenced by Du Bois, who in 1915 published a seminal essay, "African Roots of the War," in which he theorized about imperialism and global conflict before Lenin published his *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 1917. Histo-

rian and biographer David Levering Lewis writes that the essay, which articulated Du Bois's "mature ideas about capitalism, class, and race" in the workings of colonialism and the causes of World War I, was "one of the analytical triumphs of the early twentieth century."¹⁰ Nearly ninety years after Du Bois's analysis and seventy-six after Bunche's, political scientists and others who study international relations still need to be urged to include race and racism in their analyses of global politics and political economy.

WCAR and Antiracism Advocates

Anyone who reads the newspaper—and knows how to read between the lines—is aware that racism and the interlocking injustices of xenophobia, class exploitation, and gender oppression are escalating global phenomena. If they read the alternative media, they know that some people think the globalization of free-market ideas and policies, especially those imposed on vulnerable nations (i.e., neoliberalism) have something to do with this trend. If they read or heard broadcast news reports in late August and early September of last year, they are well aware that these problems were foci around which the fraternal twin meetings, the World Conference against Racism (WCAR) and its parallel Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum, convened in Durban, South Africa. The meetings marked the year 2001 as the International Year of Mobilization against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, one of the highlights of the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1993–2003).¹¹

South Africa's symbolic power as a post-apartheid society and, previously, as the setting for a protracted struggle for African liberation and multiracial democracy, resonates deeply with the political sensibilities and yearnings of anti-racists the world over. As a sort of secular "Mecca," the Durban meetings attracted "pilgrims" from all over the world. Not surprisingly, quite visible among them were NGO representatives and country delegates from the African continent and diaspora. In the spirit of optimism, we might say that the pilgrims who gathered in Durban participated in symbolically charged and substantively meaningful rituals of rebellion and solidarity. On this hopeful note, let us also assume that some of them—by virtue of their experience and by virtue of their critique of those experiences—underwent a significant rite of passage that will lead them to a new phase of critical knowledge, consciousness, and struggle. Their expanded social action and political mobilization toolkits may enable them to better respond to today's volatile atmosphere of restructuring, an atmosphere that seems particularly resilient in the face of many of the resistance tactics employed in the past.

As they police the crises that neoliberalism unleashes, the managers of today's global economy insist that there are no alternatives to the market liberalization, privatization, and cuts in government spending—domestic and foreign—being mandated by the IMF, World Bank, WTO, and U.S. policy. These neocolonial ideologies are informed by transnational interests that force vulnerable nations to redefine their national priorities. Neoliberal ideology and policy directives, which cross national boundaries with impunity, have promoted free market rights at the expense of human rights. It is crucial to note that globalized politics and policies, particularly those of such post-World War II institutions as the IMF and World Bank, are now largely controlled by a single superpower: the U.S. Although, as Sherle R. Schwenninger writes, "the perception of U.S. power and influence has in many cases exceeded its reality," the U.S. has come to dominate especially in the area of finance. Owing to the "unusual circumstances of the post-cold war period—Europe's preoccupation with the European monetary union, Japanese deflation, Russian weakness, low oil prices, geopolitical inertia in East Asia," the U.S.

controls “world monetary policy in a way not seen since the 1950s.” As a consequence, it has been able to “[push] financial liberalization (without adequate safeguards) on such unprepared countries as South Korea, Thailand and Russia.”¹² In other spheres as well, the U.S. sets and limits the policy in accordance with its interests—interests that often disregard the threatened life chances, health, and subsistence security of most human beings.

Will post-Durban thinking and organizing lead a critical mass of anti-racists beyond the formal trappings of democratization, and its mystifying public relations rituals and selective enforcement of human rights? Will new mobilization strategies move activists beyond the state-centeredness of most UN programs to more effective ways of combating the rights violations for which transnational interests are responsible? In light of the forces that circumscribe and often dictate what states, particularly peripheral states, can do, will the pilgrims push for principled implementation of substantive, concrete change and true human rights?

Global Apartheid

Although South Africa was certainly an ideal site for the UN-sponsored human rights conference and antiracist pilgrimage, in all honesty, the country can only be characterized as *postapartheid* in the most narrow terms. *De facto* justice has yet to be achieved. Thus, the concerted struggle against apartheid must continue in South Africa *as well as in the world at large*. The biggest threat to human rights and to human *life* and life chances, particularly those of racially subjugated peoples, is the structural violence that emanates from *global apartheid*.¹³ Structural violence is the symbolic, psychological, and physical assaults against human psyches, physical bodies, and sociocultural integrity that emanate from situations and dominant institutions. This broader range of symbolic, psychological, economic, and environmental assaults is neglected because the conventional human rights system has mainly focused on liberal notions of individuals’ political and civil rights within nation-states. Yet, ultimately and ironically, these structurally induced forms of violence set the stage for the very political abuses that have traditionally been the focus of human rights monitoring. A central issue that has not gotten its due is the question of social and economic rights, which are controversial in their potentially profound implications for income and wealth redistribution. These rights are highly contested and effectively sabotaged by structures of power and privilege dictated primarily by transnational forces such as the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and U.S. foreign policy—entities whose politico-economic purview, as mentioned earlier, transcends that of individual nation-states.

Apartheid is a policy of enforced separation and disparities between races. Other than through the deployment of state repression in explicitly racially coded laws, oppressively segmented labor markets, and brutal policing, apartheid’s enforcement can also be accomplished through subtler, covert means that evade and disguise race while reproducing it nonetheless. Consequently, apartheid persists although *de jure* forms of racism officially ended with the historic 1994 election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa’s president. Beyond the specifics of South Africa, the term *apartheid* can be applied to the global order, the so-called New World Order—and not simply as an effective metaphor. As Salih Booker and William Minter point out, the “concept captures fundamental characteristics of the current world order missed by such labels as ‘neoliberalism,’ ‘globalization’ or even ‘corporate globalization.’” Global apartheid is a reality marked by the operation of “undemocratic institutions [that] systematically generate economic inequality.” Booker and Minter define it as



Post-Election, Kingston, Jamaica, 1989. Photo by Panos/Marc French

an institutional system of minority rule whose attributes include: differential access to basic human rights; wealth and power structured by race and place; structural racism, embedded in global economic processes, political institutions and cultural assumptions; and the international practice of double standards that assume inferior rights to be appropriate for certain 'others', defined by location, origin, race or gender.¹⁴

Peace studies researcher Gernot Köhler reinforces this view by pointing out that, in the current world situation, a minority race of whites and "honorary whites" dominates the majority of humanity, which is composed disproportionately of peoples who were once defined by former colonial authorities as racial outsiders and are now—at least implicitly—treated as racial subjects by neocolonial powers and their political economy.¹⁵ Related to this view is anthropologist Ann Kingsolver's concept of "strategic alterity," which refers to "the practice of shifting between strategic assertions of inclusion and exclusion (or the marking and unmarking of 'selves' and 'others') to both devalue a set of people and to mask that very process of strategic devalorization"—the present-day transnational world is organized around such strategic differences.¹⁶ As Köhler writes, apartheid in its global form is even more severe than what existed in predemocratic South Africa in that the disparities in wealth, power, military control, health, and life expectancy are even more extreme and are still growing.

Sociologist Howard Winant correctly underscores that the contemporary international hierarchy (i.e., capitalism, a system that necessarily creates and perpetuates racial hierarchies) works through varied experiences, identities, and conflicts rather than through any

overarching uniformity . . . [E]ach nation-state, each political system, each cultural complex necessarily constructs a unique racialized social structure, a particular complex of racial meanings and identities. Thus the . . . increasing internationalization of race can only be understood in terms of prevalent patterns, general tendencies, [but] in no sense can such generalizations substitute for detailed analyses of local racial formations.¹⁷

Foreign Policy, Globalization, and Its Crises

Scholarly research on issues of race and racism is producing a rich canon on the diversity of racisms and the culturally specific ways that race—whether marked or unmarked—is socially and politically constructed (and reconstructed) as an institutional or structural basis for identity. Many of these studies elucidate how the social processes that give rise to new race-centered identities are reconfiguring the sociocultural terrains of ethnicities, nationalisms, religious allegiances and conflicts, and gender politics. Throughout the global order, new identities and movements have emerged organized around intensified and often primordialized distinctions—that is, differences assumed to stem from a people’s beginnings. Increasingly, territorially anchored struggles over the meaning and control of place are emerging, alongside struggles over newly reconfigured criteria for group membership within deterritorialized, diasporic, and transnational space.¹⁸ These apparently contradictory yet complementary tendencies are occurring within, and as divergent responses to, a world that

has become much more tightly integrated into a nexus of . . . global fields . . . [across which] sophisticated telecommunications, an accelerated mobility of capital and labor, and rapid flows of commodities and culture compress both time and space [over] fractured technoeconomic, geopolitical, and sociocultural landscapes.¹⁹

Although it is clear that various forms of racism exacerbate global apartheid, critical race analysts must also examine how disparate, culturally specific social constructions of race interact with the ideological and structural forces of race-making that emanate from international and transnational forces. The ensuing portion of this essay will investigate the racial politics of one of those culturally specific forces—U.S. foreign policy. Upon that foundation, I will then compare the various interplays between specific domestic configurations and transnational spheres of race and power.

To a considerable extent, neoliberalism reflects the cultural logics of the dominant nation-states of the North, particularly the U.S. In other words, certain cultural logics have more sway than others in the market of cultural exchange and in the international hierarchy of cultures, peoples, and nations. The ideological underpinnings of U.S. policy—domestic and foreign, geopolitical and economic, overt and covert—rest upon racist presuppositions. These presuppositions, which have shifted over time, include Social Darwinist, eugenicist notions of difference and more liberal ideas that distance themselves from discredited, biodeterminist discourses. A multinational network of policies rooted in white supremacy fuels global apartheid. These policies, however, are being refashioned as formerly colonized peoples scatter across the globe and force multicultural awareness in white folks’ back yards. These changes are especially evident in the tensions that arise when dominant western nations interact and build alliances with—as well as compete with—East Asian, primarily Japanese, entities.

Anthropologist Aihwa Ong elucidates the role that the transnational mobility of Japanese capital plays in racializing the international division of labor. Others have exam-

ined the liminal location the Japanese occupy in the global racial hierarchy sandwiched between the “Civilized White” and the “Barbarous Black.” John Russell argues that by denigrating Blackness in their mass culture, the Japanese align themselves with whiteness and all it symbolizes in terms of wealth, power, cultural capital, and racial supremacy.²⁰ As evidenced by the staggering increase in white-Asian interracial marriages in the U.S., this alignment is increasingly acknowledged by whites and Asians who imagine a somatic norm based on a mixture of Asian and European features. One could argue, however, that the Japanese do not simply consent to white hegemony in their appropriations of symbols of whiteness; they also contest and undermine its normativity by copositioning themselves at the apex of the global hierarchy.²¹

A “Norm Against Noticing”

International relations scholar Robert Vitalis has noted that foreign policy and the study of international relations are driven by a longstanding unspoken “norm against noticing” race.²² A dramatic example of this occurred when the U.S. refused to participate in the WCAR because it objected to two key issues on the conference’s agenda: reparations for slavery and colonialism (an issue of considerable international scope with implications for African and Caribbean debt relief and for post-affirmative action policy struggles in the U.S.) and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly discussions of Zionism as racism. The U.S. State Department was especially adamant in its insistence that an international conference focused on racism was not an appropriate venue for discussing Israel and for implicating U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. From the U.S. perspective, the WCAR violated an important international norm by simply acknowledging the potential racial implications of its policies.

At the Durban forum and conference, however, Palestinian NGOs and solidarity groups from other parts of the world, including South Africa and Brazil, resisted the U.S.’s attempt at political censorship and asserted that discrimination and oppression comparable in many ways to that of predemocratic South Africa exist in Palestine. This characterization appears in documents distributed at the WCAR NGO Forum in Durban.²³ Additionally, although neither the words *apartheid* nor *race* appear in this document, a report by the Palestinian Coalition for Women’s Health titled “Israeli Violations of Women’s Health Rights in Palestine During the Al Aqsa Intifada” details violations to the rights to life, medical care; safe education, residence, and work; and mental and social welfare that are consistent with examples of global apartheid in other parts of the world.

It is important to note that criticism of Israel’s human rights violations against Palestinians is not limited to Muslims or Gentiles. As evidenced by the small but growing cadre of Israeli army officers who are going to jail rather than enforcing repressive Israeli policies in the West Bank, there is Jewish dissent as well, both inside and outside of Israel. In a call for financial support for the progressive Jewish journal, *Tikkun*, Cornel West wrote in the October 1, 2001 issue of *The Nation* that the magazine is on the verge of bankruptcy because pro-Israel Jews are retaliating against their liberal and progressive counterparts for criticizing Israeli policies toward Palestinians.²⁴ Lest the views of the Palestinian NGOs be considered unfairly biased, evidence from social scientific research on Israel—apparently unmotivated by anti-Semitism or a deliberately propagandized pro-Palestinian position—is emerging to counter such assertions. For example, political scientist Stanley Greenberg conducted a comparative analysis situating Israel alongside the U.S., specifically Alabama, and South Africa and Ireland.²⁵ In this work, Greenberg points to Israel as a settler colonial regime organized around race. This orga-

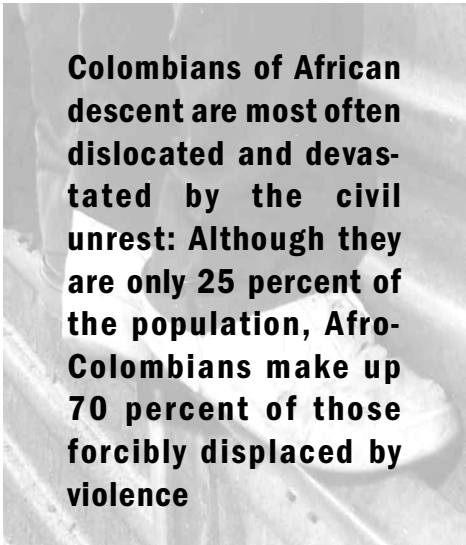
nization is manifested clearly in patterns of land alienation, labor control, and state policy. Although Greenberg does not equate Israel's situation to South Africa's, he does, however, underscore similarities between the two societies that place them within the same critical framework. Such a comparison illuminates varying forms and instances of racialization, including the more implicit varieties in which salient social distinctions are publicly marked in culturalist or political categories of religion, ethnicity, and ethnonationalism.

The apartheid metaphor, therefore, may be quite useful and appropriate for interrogating the current Palestinian predicament. In a recent article on the peace process's effect on Palestinian geography, John Simon, who directs the Monthly Review Foundation, draws on data, including maps documenting the "Swiss cheesization" of the West Bank, to illustrate recent attempts by the Israeli state to maintain control over 57 percent of the land mass of the West Bank for security reasons. This demand, he writes, "makes a mockery not only of the 'peace process' but of the very notion of an independent Palestine," and it condemns Palestine to "a kind of *Bantustan*-like arrangement yielding a pseudo-state both politically and economically dependent on Israel" (emphasis mine).²⁶

Although there was a great deal of polarized debate over the Palestinian question and whether the WCAR was an appropriate venue for it, according to the broad definition of "racial discrimination" found in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)—namely that it covers discrimination on the basis of race, color, descent, national, or ethnic origin—the Palestinian delegation had every right to bring their case to Durban and to argue their claim that there is a racialized dimension to their oppression. The legitimacy of their claim was recognized and supported by many African and African-descended delegates who contested the U.S.-enforced and -defined norms for labeling racial discrimination.

A War Against Drugs or People's Democracy?

A clear instance of a foreign policy with racial outcomes and subtexts, similar in many ways to domestic drug policies that criminalize many African Americans and Latinos, is the multibillion-dollar U.S.-led "war on drugs" in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. This "war" is propelled by U.S. economic and military aid that has escalated the violence of Colombia's army, paramilitary forces, guerrillas, and narco-traffickers. Colombians of African descent are most often dislocated and devastated by the civil unrest: Although they make up only 25 percent of the population, Afro-Colombians are 70 percent of those forcibly displaced by violence. Louis Gilberto Murillo, a political leader from the predominantly Black Chocó Province was forced into exile because of his efforts to mobilize a peace plan. He links the struggles of African Americans to Afro-Colombians. He said on a radio broadcast last year, "I would like African Americans to note that their tax money is used to support a U.S. policy, including Plan Colombia, which is detrimental to African Colombians. And not just detrimental to their standard of living, but to their lives. It is a policy that kills them."²⁷ (Plan Colombia is the Co-



Colombians of African descent are most often dislocated and devastated by the civil unrest: Although they are only 25 percent of the population, Afro-Colombians make up 70 percent of those forcibly displaced by violence

Colombian government's term for its massive, widespread drug-control program funded largely by foreign governments, including more than \$1 billion from the United States.)

Another activist, Marino Cordoba, president of AFRODES (the Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians), echoes Murillo with his report of assassinations and forced removals from rural farming communities. These graphic reports have been corroborated by *NACLA Report on the Americas*, which issued a recent commentary saying that U.S. aid is designed "to give the [Colombian] military 'rapid mobility capability' against guerrillas as well as to accelerate drug plant fumigation. Powerful herbicides . . . rain down on the . . . countryside" causing serious health problems and environmental damage as well as other human rights violations by indiscriminate security forces.²⁸

Paradoxically, the war on drugs has destabilized the Colombian state and civil society, undermining the business investment, free markets, and democracy that U.S. officials claim is their goal—a goal used, in part, to justify their military presence in the region. Consequently, what is euphemistically called a low-intensity conflict (because of the restricted deployment of U.S. ground troops), with high-intensity impact, cannot be justified in economic terms or, for that matter, any rational terms. Though the *realpolitik* of drug control appears to conflict with the economic goals of U.S. foreign policy, it "re-establishes [the U.S.'s] primacy of place by defining the hemispheric security agenda as a struggle against the corrosive influence of drug production, trafficking, and to a lesser extent consumption."²⁹ Moreover, it manufactures a domestic climate of hysteria over the dangers of illegal drugs. This climate, as Daniel Lazare writes, is built on the manipulation of fear and enables the state, in its domestic and transnational guises, "to operate in such a way that [is] 'free of any normal restraints from the 'bureaucracy,' from congressional subcommittees, and from the press.'" The war on drugs is ultimately a "war on reason" and a "war against political democracy" both at home and abroad that

. . . [enlists] Congress, the media, and ultimately the public itself in an all-consuming jihad . . . "[A] people unable to distinguish truth from falsehood when it [comes] to drugs [is likely to be] unable to distinguish truth from falsehood when it [comes] to global warming, energy policy, separation of church and state, or tax cuts for the rich and famous. Because it [is] unable to assess where its true interests [lie], it [is] all the more subject to domination and control."³⁰

According to sociologist James Petras, Plan Colombia's agenda, above all else, is to protect the U.S.'s geopolitical interests and imperial power in Latin America and beyond. In the late 1990s, the principal locus of both leftist and nationalist "resistance to the U.S. empire . . . shifted to northern South America—namely Colombia, the Eastern highlands of Ecuador, and Venezuela," which are called "the radical triangle." The Colombian insurgency, its systemic threat, and its appeal in other Latin American countries, although key factors, are only part of the larger geopolitical matrix that is contesting U.S. hegemony. Adding another element to the matrix resisting U.S. domination, the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez Frías, has instituted nonaligned policies regarding oil production, supply and prices, and is trading freely with Cuba—which has undermined the U.S.'s strategy of relegating Cuba to the status of a pariah state. Petras further points out that President Chávez's subsidized oil deals "have strengthened the resolve of the Caribbean and Central American regimes to resist Washington [D.C.]'s efforts to turn the Caribbean into an exclusive U.S. lake."

[W]hile the guerrillas and popular movements represent a serious social and political challenge to U.S. supremacy in the region, Venezuela represents a diplomatic and [political-economic] challenge in the Caribbean basin and beyond. In more general terms, the radical triangle can contribute to undermining the mystique surrounding

the invincibility of U.S. hegemony and the notion of the inevitability of free market ideology.

In other words, Plan Colombia's strategic geopolitical aim is to "reconsolidate [imperial] power in northern South America, secure unrestricted access to oil, [the primary source of energy in the U.S.] and enforce the 'no alternatives to globalization' ideology for the rest of Latin America." To these strategic ends, the U.S. covertly supports right-wing terrorists through its military aid to the Colombian armed forces, which, in turn, are in alliance with paramilitary forces. Paramilitary terror is an "any means necessary" tactic "to empty the countryside and deny the guerrillas logistical support, food, and new recruits."³¹

As indicated earlier, the impoverished peasants and workers of Colombia, who are most vulnerable to this brutal practice of sociopolitical cleansing are disproportionately of African descent. This problematic pattern of racial violence is the most recent expression of an already established practice of rampant social cleansing—a "genocide of the poor"—that has long targeted categories of persons presumed to be intrinsic sources of danger and disorder: "prostitutes, homosexuals, drug users and street children. . . . [M]ost of the adolescent victims are black."³² In light of this bias, it is not surprising that Afro-Colombians, especially young men, are perceived as the usual suspects in the war against drugs and guerrillas. Particularly in the Pacific and Caribbean coastal regions, which are home to the country's highest concentrations of Afro-Colombians, paramilitary and guerrilla activity has intensified, and capitalist "development" interests are encroaching. It is not happenstance that this is occurring with increased intensity as African descendants, more than ever, claim their collective rights to the lands they have cultivated since emancipation and assert their distinct cultural and political voice as *las comunidades negras*.³³

The repressive consequences of Plan Colombia have seriously constricted civil society, limiting, for example, citizens' rights to make trade union and civic demands or exercise political rights. It has increased the size, centralization, and military capacity of the state, which sees any measure of public debate and civil opposition as "subversive to



Made in India. Photo by Panos/Chris Stowers

the war effort” and as a “fifth [column] acting on behalf of the guerrillas.”³⁴ Consequently, alarming—and increasing—numbers of journalists, intellectuals, labor activists, and community leaders have been assassinated.

In the short term, U.S. policy in Colombia has undermined the climate for foreign investment and free trade. Nonetheless, the hemispheric and global superpower is well aware that its long-range business interests depend on the outcome of political struggles in Latin America and beyond. The American empire is trying to stack the geopolitical cards in its favor, assuming that a pro-imperial resolution of the war will recolonize the region and create the most conducive conditions for the transnational accumulation of U.S. capital.

Thwarted Sovereignty and Gendered Racial Subjects

In hegemonic discourse, the U.S. is touted as the leading paragon of democracy and freedom. In George W. Bush’s current rhetoric, with its appropriation of religious themes, the nation-state represents goodness in the struggle against evil. Yet, the U.S.’s human rights record at home and abroad is marginal, and it has long played an obstructionist role in the UN human-rights system. The U.S.’s refusal to participate in the WCAR was consistent with the U.S. government’s three decades of noncompliance with ICERD even though it signed it.

In the wake of the horrendous events of September 11, Bush publicly stated that evil terrorists hate Americans because we love freedom. The record shows, however, that U.S. policy has disregarded many people’s human rights by countering struggles for freedom, self-determination, and economic and environmental justice all over the world. Indigenous and ethnonational peoples, marginalized nations and nation-states struggling to make their way down nonaligned and, in some cases, noncapitalist paths; racial minorities, immigrants, and refugees abused as strangers, scapegoats, and criminalized dangerous classes in countless nation-states; and women, whose rights the U.S. has refused to recognize as human rights (as defined in CEDAW, the U.N. Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which it has refused to sign), have had to confront obstacles created or reinforced by U.S. policy’s greater interest in free markets than in free human beings.

In many respects, U.S. policy promotes the recolonization of markets and labor and, hence, helps to create a vast pool of men and women desperate for jobs and forced to

work at below-subsistence wages. Women, disproportionately women of color concentrated in the Southern Hemisphere, have been designated as a “new colonial frontier” for flexible capital accumulation.³⁵ The neoliberal regime of development depends on gender-dependent dichotomies such as “women’s work” and “men’s work” that are supported by patriarchal assumptions that sewing, assembling electronic components, and pursuing home- and community-based informal activities are extensions of women’s natural activities requiring no special skills, training, or compensation.³⁶

Aihwa Ong, drawing on postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak, refers to these women, who are compelled to work for slave wages under unhealthy conditions, as “paradigmatic subjects” of the in-

It is no coincidence that those super-exploited Haitian workers are Black women, second-class citizens in the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere

ternational division of labor.³⁷ In Haiti in 1996, women workers in the Disney factory earned only 28 cents an hour, less than a living wage even by Haitian standards.³⁸ It is no coincidence that those super-exploited Haitian workers are Black women, second-class citizens in the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. The gross violation of their rights to just terms of employment and fair working conditions must be viewed as a consequence of their bottom-level location within intersecting hierarchies of gender, race, class, and nation.

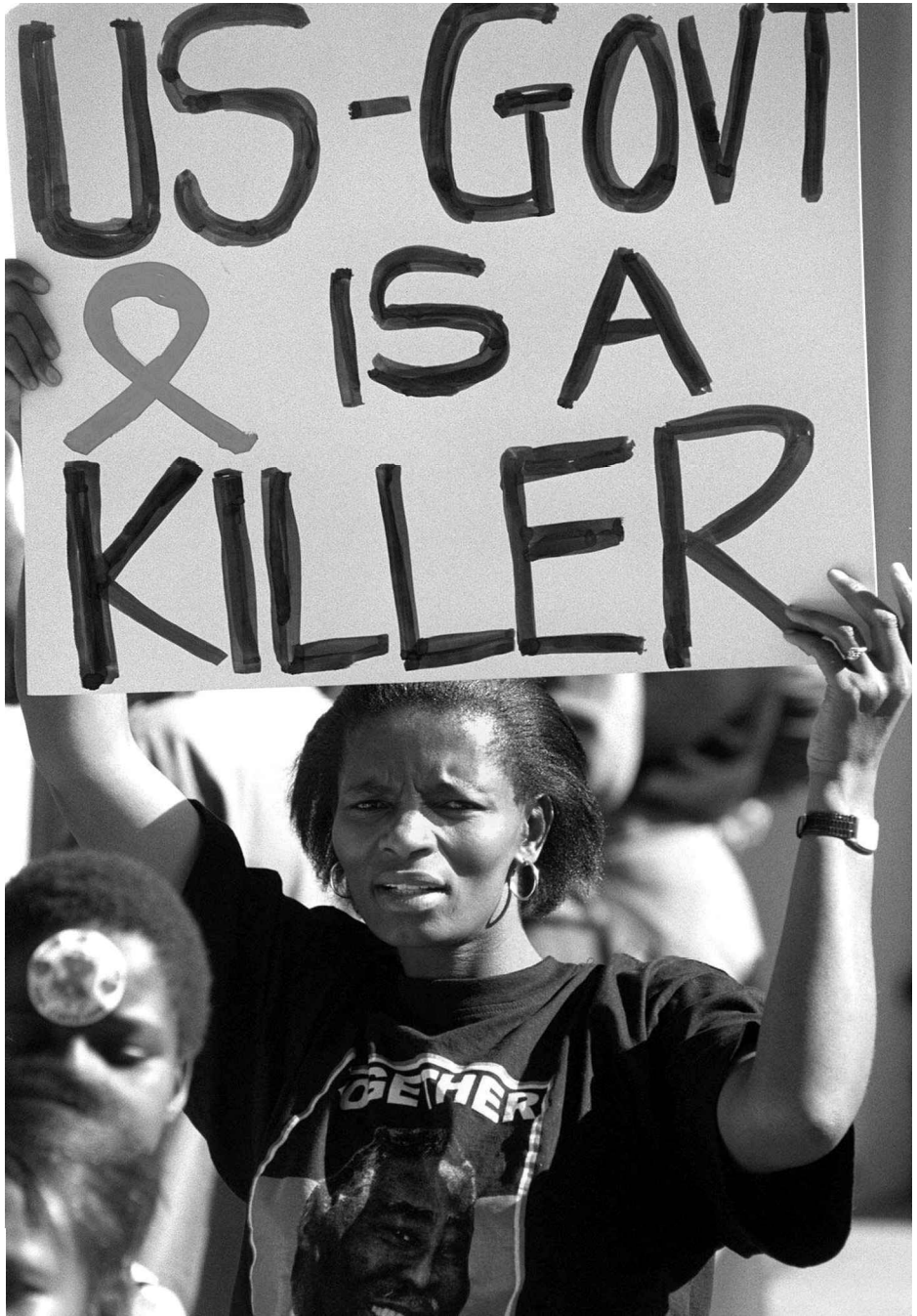
Labor exploitation that intersects with gender and racial oppression are inevitable consequences of “the logic and operation of capital in the contemporary global arena.”³⁹ In a world of growing disparities of wealth, power, and privilege, women comprise 70 percent of the poor, and they are particularly vulnerable to the ideological and physical assaults of nationalist militarization, economically induced environmental degradation, and the economic restructuring and political realignments mediated by policies such as structural adjustment. Structural adjustment depends on the cultural production of discourses and images about masculine dignity and feminine sacrifice, especially that of women of color. Furthermore, the policy is able to operate in the first place because of widespread expectations and role hierarchies ensuring that women will have to take up the slack when jobs and social safety nets are slashed or eliminated. Underscoring precisely this point, a UNICEF report on Latin America and the Caribbean stated, “[I]f it were not for poor women working harder and longer hours, the poorest third of the population in that region would not be alive today.”⁴⁰

Increasingly, the subsistence security and human rights of these women and their families are being eroded while they subsidize the production and accumulation of the world’s wealth, which, more than ever before, is being concentrated at the top of the transnational ladder. Structural adjustment and other neoliberal policies, often fused with the cultural politics of local settings, contribute to the superexploitation of women’s labor. Racially subordinate women, of course, bear the heaviest burdens and are the most vulnerable targets.⁴¹

These superexploited women, however, are not merely victims. They are also agents who actively negotiate the conditions of their everyday life and work. Through mostly covert acts of resistance and rebellion, they expose and contest the postcolonial industrial logic that institutionalizes inequalities of age, gender, class, and race. Although some of their negotiations may appear to be universal or transcultural (e.g., strikes), these actions are informed, at least in part, by culturally specific meanings, values, and experiences. Whether through social criticism encoded in songs and oral poetry in North Africa, through the covert language of protest expressed by spirit possessions on factory floors in Malaysia, or through conventional strikes that women in South Korea and Jamaica have organized against the repressive regimes of free trade or export-processing zones, women struggle to reclaim their human dignity. They do this in the face of domination that makes gender, race, class, and national—or transnational—identity socially and economically salient in a globalizing world.⁴²

The Cuban Embargo and Racially Sexualized Bodies

Although structural adjustment is a specific policy of the IMF working in conjunction with the World Bank, USAID, and other institutions, the term also refers to a general development orientation and policy climate driven by neoliberal assumptions about economic growth and change. In other words, *structural adjustment* can also serve as metonym for the restructuring and realignments that define present-day globalization.⁴³ Hence, in the case of Cuba, although the IMF, World Bank, WTO, and USAID do not



Johannesburg, July 1999. AP Photo/Denis Farrell

directly intervene in the Cuban economy, neoliberal policies—the most coercive and punitive being the U.S. embargo—have indeed reshaped the nation during its so-called Special Period since the end of USSR and Eastern bloc economic support, and they have undermined its revolutionary achievements in ensuring rights to employment, education, and health services. This has occurred even though, when the embargo began in the

early 1960s, the politico-economic climate in the U.S. and the world was Keynesian rather than neoliberal. Nonetheless, for the past two decades, this punitive policy has been enforced within a politico-economic matrix of neoliberal globalization.

In the wake of the disintegration of the USSR and the demise of the Eastern Bloc, the Cuban government undertook an “internal readjustment” and “rationalization,” to sustain its economy and meet basic subsistence needs. These changes allowed for greater economic diversification, a partial process of privatization, foreign investment, and “dollarization.”⁴⁴ The effects of these drastic changes—Cuba’s own structural adjustment—on everyday life have been considerable.

In George W. Bush’s current rhetoric, with its appropriation of religious themes, the nation-state represents goodness in the struggle against evil

Cuba’s status as a socialist sanctuary is being destabilized under dollarization and the conditions of economic austerity that led to it. Social inequalities are re-emerging and becoming conspicuous, and crime is becoming a problem. A red flag signaling the changing times can perhaps be found in a troubling December 2001 incident in which five members of a family, including an eight-year-old child and a couple visiting from Florida, were murdered in a robbery in Matanzas Province. This heinous incident was unusual in that murders are extremely rare in Cuba and mass murders “are unheard of.”⁴⁵ The economic crisis that has brought about this unprecedented crime wave has caused escalating unemployment and has reduced safety net provisions—trends that have impacted African-descended Cubans, and Afro-Cuban women in particular, more than any other segment of the population. With less access to kin-mediated remittances from the disproportionately white emigré communities overseas, there is more pressure on Afro-Cuban women, who are more likely than white Cubans to live in female-headed households, to stand in long lines for rations, stretch the devalued peso, and make ends meet by any means necessary.⁴⁶ *Any means necessary* has come to include doing own-account work—*trabajo por cuenta propia*—in the underground economy aligned with the growing tourist sector. For younger women, particularly those who fit the culturally constructed stereotype of *la mulata*, this is increasingly being translated into working as *jineteras* (sexual jockeys). This line of work reflects Cuba’s historical race, gender, and class boundaries.⁴⁷ Desperate to lure foreigners to the country’s beaches and hotel resorts, the Cuban government itself has resorted to manipulating pre-revolutionary racial clichés by “showcasing ‘traditional’ Afro-Cuban religious rituals and art, ‘traditional’ Afro-Cuban music, and Afro-Cuban women,” who are foregrounded as performers in these commodified contexts.”⁴⁸

The sexual exoticization of African-descended women has a long history in Cuba as well as throughout the African diaspora and the West, where variations on the theme of Black hypersexuality are rampant as either a positively valued essentialism or a fertility- or health-related social problem. Nadine Fernandez questions the assumption that Black and mulatto women predominate in Cuba’s sex tourism by highlighting the role of a racially biased gaze in attributing Afro-Cuban women’s interactions with male tourists to prostitution while perceiving white women’s interactions in terms of alternative interpretations, including that of “romance.” Because of their greater access to dollars and to jobs in the tourist sector, white women are more likely to have privileged access to tourists in restricted venues (shops, restaurants, and nightclubs) where Afro-Cubans are

not generally permitted to enter. Consequently, Afro-Cubans interact with tourists “outside tourist installations, making their meetings much more visible and scrutinized by the public eye.”⁴⁹ In the context of Cuba’s current crisis, traditional racial narratives of gender, race, and sexuality are being reasserted and rewritten to fit with recent restructuring.⁵⁰

The U.S. embargo is a flagrant form of foreign intervention. Like official structural adjustment policies, it has been premised on an ideology of power, recolonization, and ranked capitals that assumes that Cubans are expendable troublemakers—perhaps even harborers of terrorism—who deserve to be starved out of their defiant opposition to U.S. dominance. The same ideology that rationalizes the unregulated spread of commodification into all spheres of social life implies that Cuban women’s bodies, especially *Afro-Cubanas*’ hypersexualized bodies, can be bought and sold on the auction block of imposed economic austerity without any accountability on the part of the *papiriquis*, or sugardaddies, of global capital. The implication of these policies is that Afro-Cuban families and communities can be sacrificed so that northerners can enjoy privileges—including that of living in a “good” and “free” society—that southern workers and peasants subsidize. Cuba’s current crisis is being negotiated over the bodies of its women, with African-descended women, *las negras y mulatas*, *las chicas calientes* (Black and mulatto women, hot sexy chicks), expected to bear the worst assaults against what remains in many ways a defiant socialist sanctuary.⁵¹

Struggle for Transformation

Analyses of the heightening of racial conflict and the attendant increase in human rights abuses around the world point to the confluence of several factors. The world has become more integrated in ways that lead to more decentralized and flexible capital accumulation, dramatic disparities in social and life expectancy, a reconcentration of wealth in the hands of a minority, and a decline in subsistence security and environmental sustainability for the broad masses of humanity. Diminished socioeconomic security and increased social stress, often precipitated by free but clearly not fair market mandates, best explain the escalating tensions that provoke volatile politics of racial marginalization. Destabilizing economic forces are helping to deepen fragmentations of identity. As a consequence, once-established national identities are weakened and often give way to new identities in which culturally concrete forms of community, language, and ethnic loyalties become more salient and respond defensively to an increasingly globalized world.


Domestic racism and global apartheid also are intensified by: the economic and political destabilization engendered by post-cold war realignments and restructuring; the circumscription of state (especially peripheral state) sovereignty under the influence of transnational forces; the crisis of social welfare resulting from the diminished ability of the state to provide a safety net and to protect rights to education, health care, and humane work conditions; the destabilizing effects of structural adjustment and stabilization programs on civil society; the instability and decline of international markets in export commodities (e.g., coffee in Rwanda), especially those around which less diversified, extroverted economies are organized; major demographic shifts leading to the increasing internationalization of work forces and societies; the elaboration of competing mythicohistorical and mythicosocial accounts that construct differences and identities in essentializing terms drawn from fundamentalist racial ideologies that are centered on biology, morality, and cultural alterity; and the globalization of the arms trade, which adds fuel to the fire ignited by intergroup tensions.

The structural violence of the IMF, the WTO, and the superpower politics of the U.S. are threads visibly woven through several of these factors. Whether expressed through foreign policy or international communications media, the U.S.'s culture of race and its relations of racism have a profoundly global impact in light of the superpower's position in the global hierarchy. For example, the internationalization of American media has carried with it powerful representations of Black Americans (including images of popular culture and identity politics) that have influenced perceptions of Blackness all over the world. The U.S.'s construction of race has had a profound impact on a minority of Afro-Latin Americans, particularly those involved in racially cognizant Black movements. Latinos of African descent traditionally have been politically fragmented by national ideologies of *mestizaje* (mixedness with the goal and implication of whitening) and by complex racial classification systems that delineate elaborate socioracial continuums. Resisting the hegemonic notion of a "mulatto escape hatch,"⁵² advocates of Black consciousness increasingly are appropriating the U.S. principle of hypodescent—the "one drop rule"—to build united fronts against racism among African descendants. The globalization of U.S.-led multilateral interests, however, does not nullify the culpability of domestic forces within nations that contribute to racism. Although they may be situated in contexts shaped by the interests of transnational capital, it is crucial to remember that real people on uneven playing fields make the choices that eventually lead to human rights violations.

Antiracist activists must be attentive to the workings of complicit forms of individual and collective agency—with their political, economic, and psychological dimensions. A holistic understanding of the dynamics of culture, power, and political economy at multiple levels—local, national, and transnational—within a global matrix of domination is needed to craft better means of coalition-building.

The September 11 wake-up call underscored the urgency of exposing and strategizing about U.S. domestic and foreign policy and of repositioning the U.S. on the terrain of international relations. The well-being of ordinary Americans is at stake: Our very lives depend on it. Will the current war against terrorism degenerate into yet another war against reason and democracy? This would sacrifice civil liberties and human rights on the altar of "superpowerdom" built by the architects of global apartheid.

There were many pilgrims at the WCAR who were well aware that their expanded antiracist repertoires and arsenals must include weapons suitable for combating the negative and dehumanizing aspects of globalization. They also know, now more than ever, that they must help forge a more humane globalization informed by more just ways of imagining and mobilizing global communities united against racism, xenophobia, and all related intolerance. The rite of passage that the WCAR represented for human rights educators, researchers, and activists may lead them in the direction of new tools, strategies, and opportunities for organizing in ways that are at once local, national, regional, and transnational. It will take an enormous amount of conviction and critical imagination, but it is up to diverse agents of many civil societies and receptive sectors of governments to make the WCAR more than an empty public relations symbol for the UN. All antiracists who regard the Durban Plan of Action as an inspiring tool in the struggle for transformation should translate the plan into real victories—and shape a twenty-first century truly reconfigured by change.



Brazil's advocates of Black consciousness increasingly are appropriating the U.S. "one drop rule" to build united fronts against racism among African descendants

Notes

1. Ellen Messer, "Anthropology and Human Rights," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22 (1993): 222. David L. Wilson, "Do Maquiladoras Matter?" *Monthly Review* 49 (October 1997): 30. Catherine Kingfisher and Michael Goldsmith, "Reforming Women in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand: A Comparative Ethnography of Welfare Reform in Global Context," *American Anthropologist* 103 (September 2001): 716, 727.
2. See Faye V. Harrison, "Crime, Class, and Politics in Jamaica," *TransAfrica Forum* 5 (Fall 1987): 30–32. Also see "Human Rights in Jamaica" (Americas Watch/Human Rights Watch, 1986); "Jamaica," in *Amnesty International Annual Report* (Amnesty International, 2001); "Jamaica: Police Killings—A Human Rights Emergency" (Amnesty International Press Release, October 4, 2001); "Killings and Violence by Police: How Many More Victims?" (Amnesty International, October 4, 2001): 1–72.
3. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durban, South Africa: Duke University Press, 1990); Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
4. Wilson, "Maquiladoras," 30.
5. Last year, in a historic turn of events, the U.S. Congress agreed to a limited relaxation of the embargo following Hurricane Michelle, which inflicted mass destruction on Cuba in November 2001, resulting in widespread food shortages and medical emergencies. As a result, the U.S. State Department authorized the sale of grain and medicines to Cuba. It was the first trade deal between the two countries since 1962, when President Kennedy established the embargo. In spring 2002, however, the Bush administration violated its agreement with Cuba when the State Department denied travel visas to Cuban food import officials who were scheduled to visit the U.S. to buy grain. "Cuba Reaches Historic Trade Deal with U.S.," *Latin American Monitor: Caribbean* 19 (January 2002): 8; "U.S.—Cuban Food Sales in Jeopardy," *Caribbean Update* 18 (May 2002): 8–9.
6. Faye V. Harrison, "The Persistent Power of 'Race' in the Cultural and Political Economy of Racism," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995): 47–74; Faye V. Harrison, "Facing Racism and the Moral Responsibility of Human Rights Knowledge," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 925 (Dec. 2000): 45–69.
7. For analyses of ethnic cleansings and other violently marked racial conflicts in Eastern Europe, Rwanda, and Oromo (a region in Ethiopia that is a site for a nationalist movement for self-determination), see: Vesnas Kexić, "Never Again a War: Women's Bodies Are Battlefields," in *Look at the World through Women's Eyes: Plenary Speeches from the NGO Forum on Women, Beijing '95*, Eva Friedlander, ed. (New York: Women, Ink, 1995): 51–53; Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Asafa Jalata, "The Impact of a Racist U.S. Foreign Policy on the Oromo National Struggle," *Journal of Oromo Studies* 6 (1999): 49–90.
8. Lisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 227–228.
9. *A World View of Race* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1968). Originally published by Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1936.
10. David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993): 504; Robert Vitalis, "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29 (2000): 354. For a discussion of Du Bois's UN petition, participation in early UN conferences; and in lobbying to have the UN Charter acknowledge "dependent peoples'" rights to self governing, see Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000): 507; also see Amiri Baraka, "Paul Robeson and the Theater," *Black Renaissance* 2 (1) for a discussion on African American and UN activism to protect Black people's human rights.
11. For reflections on the conference, see Samir Amin, "World Conference against Racism; A People's Victory," *Monthly Review* 53 (Dec. 2001): 20–23; and Faye V. Harrison, "Imagining a Global Community United against Racism," *Anthropology News* (Dec. 2001): 22–23.
12. Sherle R. Schwenninger, "America and the World: The End of Easy Dominance," *The Nation* 20 (November 2000), 20.
13. For a detailed analysis of the structural violence in urban Jamaica, see Faye V. Harrison, "The Gendered Politics and Violence of Structural Adjustment: A View from Jamaica," in Louise Lamphere, Helena Ragoné, and Patricia Zavella, eds., *Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life* (New York: Routledge, 1997): 451–168.

14. Salih Booker and William Minter, "Global Apartheid," *The Nation* 9 (July 2001): 11.
15. Gernot Köhler, "Global Apartheid," in *Talking about People: Readings in Contemporary Cultural Anthropology*, William A. Haviland and Robert J. Gordon, eds. (Mountain View, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing, 1978): 262–268.
16. Ann Kingsolver, *NAFTA Stories: Fears and Hopes in Mexico and the United States* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001) 110.
17. Howard Winant, *Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, Comparisons* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1994): 123.
18. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Blanc Szanton, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, Penn.: Gordon and Breach, 1994).
19. Harrison, "Introduction: Expanding the Discourse on Race," *Contemporary Issues Forum: Race and Racism, American Anthropologist* 103 (September 1998): 609.
20. Aihwa Ong, *The Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1987) and her "The Gender and Labor Politics of Postmodernity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 279–309. Russell, "Race and Reflexivity: The Black Other in Contemporary Japanese Mass Culture," *Cultural Anthropology* 6 (1991): 3–25.
21. A further discussion on this topic is found in Faye V. Harrison's "Unraveling 'Race' for the 21st Century," in *Exotic No More: Anthropology on the Front Lines*, Jeremy McClancy, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002): 145–166.
22. Vitalis, "Liberal Gesture": 333. This norm against noticing race is consistent with the tendency to ignore gender and, in particular, the problematic international politics of masculinity, of which feminist political scientist Cynthia Enloe's work (*Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* [Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1989] and *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* [Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993]) has made us more aware.
23. *Israel's Brand of Apartheid: The Nakba* [Catastrophe] *Continues*, a booklet summarizing the Palestinian NGO Position Paper for the WCAR; *Occupied Jerusalem, a New Soweto?* a study by the Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights; *Amandla Intifada*, newsletter of the Palestine Solidarity Committee, South Africa; and *Down with the Nazi-Israeli Apartheid*, a statement by the Afro-Brazilian National Congress.
24. Other dissenters among U.S. Jews include Jewish Mobilization for a Just Peace (Junity), a Philadelphia-based international network working to support Gush Shalom, a leading Israeli-Palestinian peace organization; Jews for Peace in Palestine and Israel, based in Washington, D.C.; Not In My Name, a Chicago-based organization; the Coalition of Jews for Justice, of the San Francisco Bay Area; Jews Against the Occupation, New York City; and Boston's Women in Black and, another group, Jewish Women for Justice in Israel and Palestine. This information is found in a 29 October 2001 email from the office of Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) regarding the 25 October 2001 congressional news conference on the Middle East Peace Process (sent by Jonathan.Fremont@mail.house.gov).
25. Stanley B. Greenberg, *Race and State in Capitalist Development: Comparative Perspectives* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980): 41.
26. John Simon, "Palestinian Geography and the Peace Process," *Monthly Review* (October 2001): 30–34.
27. Pacific News Service, *I Survived a Paramilitary Death Squad*, 4 June 2001, <http://www.pacificnews.org/content/pns/2001/june/0604survived.html>
28. TIRN [Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network] Fair Trade Committee, "Afro-Colombian Speaker in Tennessee"; "Whither the War in Colombia?" *NACLA Report on the Americas* 35 (September/October 2001): 7.
29. William Walker III, "A Reprise for 'Nation Building': Low Intensity Conflict Spreads in the Andes," *NACLA Report* (July/August 2001): 25.
30. Daniel Lazare, "A Battle against Reason, Democracy, and Drugs," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 35 (July/August 2001): 14–17.
31. James Petras, "The Geopolitics of Plan Colombia," *Monthly Review* 53 (May 2001): 33–41.
32. Nina S. de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha, "Colombia," in *Invisible No More: Afro-Latin Americans Today*, Minority Rights Group (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1995): 67.
33. Peter Wade, "Colombia," *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999): 477–478; also see the discussion on legal reform and collective land rights in his *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London: Pluto Press, 1997): 99.
34. Petras, 42.
35. Maria Mies, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, and Claudia von Werlhof, *The Last Colony* (London: Zed Books, 1988).
36. Jacqui M. Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Introduction: Genealogies, Legacies, Movements," in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, Jacqui

- M. Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1997): 5.
37. Ong, "The Gender and Labor Politics of Postmodernity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 289; Guyatri Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, R. Guha and G. Spivak, eds., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988): 3–44.
 38. National Labor Committee, *Mickey Mouse Goes to Haiti*, videorecording (1996).
 39. Mohanty, "Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts: Ideologies of Domination, Common Interests, and the Politics of Solidarity," in Alexander and Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies*, 28.
 40. Vivienne Wee and Noleen Heyzer, *Gender, Poverty and Sustainable Development: Towards a Holistic Framework of Understanding and Action* (Singapore: ENGENDER, Centre for Environment, Gender and Development, 1995): xv; Pamela Sparr, ed., *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment* (London: Zed Books, 1994); Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, 1–18; for an analysis of how gender ideologies have informed structural adjustment programs in the Caribbean, see Peggy Antrobus, "Crisis, Challenge and the Experience of Caribbean Women," *Caribbean Quarterly* 35 (1989): 17–28; UNICEF report quoted in Sparr, "How We Got into This Mess and Ways to Get Out," *Ms.* (March/April 1992): 33–34.
 41. June Nash, "Global Integration and Subsistence Insecurity," *American Anthropologist* 96, (January 1994): 7–30; Harrison, "The Gendered Politics and Violence of Structural Adjustment," in Lamphere et al., eds. *Situated Lives*.
 42. Ong, *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline* and "Gender and Labor Politics of Postmodernity," 289.
 43. See Harrison, "Negotiating Everyday Neoliberalism in Jamaica and Cuba" in book-length manuscript, *Anthropology From the Outside Within: A Project for Reworking Anthropology* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).
 44. Carollee Bengelsdorf, "[Re]Considering Cuban Women in a Time of Troubles," in *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997).
 45. "Five Family Members Killed," *The Weekly Gleaner* (27 December 2001–2 January 2002): 12.
 46. Ibid. See also Helen I. Safa, *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1995): 139. The issue of these racially differential effects and the unequal distribution of remittances from abroad is discussed in Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs, eds., *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2000): xv, 5, 34.
 47. Julia O'Connell Davidson, "Sex Tourism in Cuba," *Race and Class* 38 (1996): 39–48; Coco Fusco, "Hustling for Dollars," *Ms.* (September/October 1996): 62–70.; Gayle McGarrity and Osvaldo Cárdenas, "Cuba," in *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today* (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1995): 100; Georgina Herrera, "Poetry, Prostitution, and Gender Esteem," in *Afro-Cuban Voices*, Perez Sarduy and Stubbs, eds., 123–124; Nadine Fernandez, "Back to the Future: Women, Race, and Tourism in Cuba," in *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, Kamala Kempadoo, ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999): 81–89.
 48. Fusco, "Dollars," 67.
 49. Fernandez, "Back to the Future," 88.
 50. Bengelsdorf, "[Re]Considering Cuban Women," 245.
 51. The colonization and market configuration of Cuban bodies through sex work does not target women alone. There are also male sex workers, *pingueros*. Derived from *pinga*, the word meaning "dick," *pinguero* was coined in the wake of the legalization of the U.S. dollar. Derrick G. Hodge, "Colonization of the Cuban Body: The Growth of Male Sex Work in Havana," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 34 (March/April 2001): 20–28.
 52. The idea of an escape hatch comes from historian Carl N. Degler's classic study *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).