



The Group of 78
Le Groupe des 78

The Growing Struggle
Between Democracy and
Global Economic Liberalization

Group of 78 Annual Policy Conference
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Contents

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	3
The Group of 78	4
Conference Themes: An Overview	6
The Need for Democratic Control over the Market	7
Rebuilding the Welfare State	8
Supporting Democratic Development Globally	9
A New Bretton Woods System	10
Position Statements	13
Keynote Address - The World Economy: Who's Really In Charge?	15
Speakers	22
Program	26
Conference Participants	27

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Peggy Mason, Chair, Peacebuild, former Chair, Group of 78

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Most of all, thanks to the 78 participants who made the Conference possible, who collectively developed the Position Statements, and who continue to work on strengthening the democratic control of the economy.

The Group of 78

The Group of 78 is an association of Canadians committed to leadership in the promotion of global stewardship: a Canadian foreign policy based on the pursuit of peace, justice and global survival.

The Group began in 1980 when several concerned and distinguished Canadians crafted a statement on how Canada could contribute to the building of a peaceful, secure world. In November 1981 that statement, *Canadian Foreign Policy in the 80s*, was sent to Prime Minister Trudeau. It was signed by 78 Canadians – a group of 78. The statement set out three inter-related objectives.

In summary:

- removal of the threat of nuclear war
- mobilization of resources to achieve a more equitable international order
- strengthening and reform of the United Nations and other global institutions

That began a dialogue between the Group of 78 and the Canadian government. Members of the Group made their views known about new issues in international relations and their implications for these central and universal objectives. While these objectives remain valid, the world to which they apply has changed. As a result, after celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2005, the Group decided to re-examine its core statement of principles, its objectives and its operations. Two major conferences in 2007 led to the adoption of a new statement of principles of Canadian foreign policy: *Global Stewardship: Awakening Canada's Commitment to the World*. A call was issued to Canadians and their government:

We call on Canadians to commit to the world with moral integrity, energy, enthusiasm and investment unparalleled in our history. We call on Canadians to demand that these principles guide our policies, at home and abroad: Justice, Peace, Survival.

Further, it identified concrete core objectives for Canadian foreign policy:

- Renew multilateralism
- Eliminate weapons of mass destruction
- Make a reality of human security
- Prevent armed conflict
- Protect the environment
- Promote and protect human rights
- Create a fair, democratically accountable international trading system
- Ensure effective development assistance
- Support and strengthen responsive and accountable governments.

Activities

The Group holds an annual foreign policy conference each September to deliberate on key issues and to formulate recommendations to government. In 2009, the Group addressed the Middle East in the framework of international law. In 2010, the theme was security and human rights in Canadian foreign policy.

The Group also holds monthly luncheon talks, open to the public, on a wide range of topics. Recent speakers have addressed the Responsibility to Protect, aid effectiveness and delivery, the International Criminal Court, Palestinian refugees, and International Disarmament treaties. These sessions provide background and insight for participants and underscore the Group's public engagement and advocacy work.

Periodically the Group convenes other special events, often in cooperation with other civil society organizations.

Thematic panels, or working groups, within the organization track key themes of Canada's role in the world community towards greater understanding of the issues, recommending positions and actions by the government and civil society, and suggesting other program initiatives for the Group.

Through its Board of Directors, the Group produces positions on topical issues and recommends policy and actions for the Government of Canada to consider in its conduct of foreign policy.

The Group invites all like-minded Canadians to join it in pursuing these objectives.

Membership

The Group of 78 is open to individuals who identify with and are committed to the principles of the Group.

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Conference Themes: An Overview

Daniel V. Preece, Conference Rapporteur and SSHRC Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Political Science, Carleton University

A key focus on examining the relationship between democracy and capitalism—between markets and society—must be on the role that ideas play in shaping the actions of governments. Both academics and policy makers draw upon competing ideas to shape the practice of governance, and with descent of the global economy into a sustained crisis in 2008, space has emerged in which alternative ideas of how to organize economic governance can find new traction in policy debates. In this context, the Group of 78 convened to investigate how societies govern the economy and concluded that globalization in its neoliberal form acts to constrain democratic governance in which societies are free to make central socio-economic choices in accordance with their priorities and preferences.

As noted by Tony Clarke during his keynote address, the current crisis of economic governance echoes the same conditions of the Great Depression of the 1930s, in which a grand compromise between the state, capital, and labour was created to ‘save capitalism from itself’ and reorient the governance of the economy following World War II. Emerging from this consensus, most western countries implemented a policy regime loosely based upon the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes and established welfare regimes to pursue the overarching economic goal of full employment.

This golden age of welfare capitalism continued until the 1970s, when the acceleration of globalization led to structural changes in the global political economy and undermined the ability of the Keynesian welfare state to deliver on the goal of full employment. As noted by a number of speakers throughout the conference, opponents to the Keynesian model seized upon the crisis of the 1970s to actively promote neoliberal governance as the only viable alternative model for economic growth. Towards this end, Clarke detailed how business and political elites formed the Trilateral Commission, which sought to reduce dramatically the scope for democratic governance of trade and finance and open the global economy to transnational business. Similarly, Roy Culpeper explained how the dismantling of the Keynesian welfare state was justified and promoted by the development of three key economic theories of human behaviour: the rational expectations hypothesis, public choice theory, and the theory of efficient markets. Increasingly, these two reinforcing trends consolidated into the new ideological model of neoliberalism, in which market liberalization, flexible labour markets, and minimal state regulations to enhance an economy’s competitiveness were presented as the only viable alternative for economic success in a globalized economy.

However, the global economic and financial crisis of 2008-2009 has once again led governments to re-examine the foundations of social and economic governance. The increased volatility of financial markets following the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September 2008 resulted in substantial losses for major investment commercial banks in both the United States and Europe. Once the financial crisis began to affect other economic sectors and develop into a global recession, the debate shifted towards a fundamental re-examination of how we organize and govern the global economy. Contributing to this debate, the participants at the conference discussed the changing balances between economic and political forces that have shaped—and that continue to shape—societies in

this current neoliberal world, including some detailed discussion of the complexities of Canada's free trade agreements and the current transformations being witnessed in the Arab world. And this led us to consider the changes that would have to be promoted if the world was to regain the market model that existed for a quarter century after WW II, a time when economies were very successful, financial crises were virtually absent, and the benefits of growth were widely shared in ways that allowed democracies to function effectively. Recognizing the need to govern the global economy in a more progressive manner, the 2011 Group of 78 Annual Policy Conference took up this call and adopted 12 position statements on how Canada should proceed.

The Need for Democratic Control over the Market

The move towards neoliberal governance has been accompanied with a sustained attempt to insulate economic behaviour from democratic influence. Even though the move towards deregulation was justified on the basis of market efficiency and promoting economic growth, a number of speakers explained how the reduction of democratic control has resulted in a number of negative social and economic consequences. In this way, Manfred Bienefeld demonstrated how the shift towards neoliberal governance has been accompanied by an accelerated concentration of wealth in the top five percent of the population. Similarly, Michel Chossudovsky discussed the disconnect between the public statements and actual outcomes of economic policy by demonstrating how wealth concentration is an integral component of neoliberal capitalism and the implementation of this agenda has substantially enhanced poverty. As observed by Bruce Campbell, rising levels of inequality act as a further barrier to participation in government and the policy process; as poverty rises those who are already disenfranchised become further socially excluded. Prompted by the social consequences of unrestrained capitalism, a recurring theme of the conference was the need to reintroduce and strengthen the democratic control of, and participation in, the economy.

However, Manfred Bienefeld reminded us that democratic representation is not simply the existence of competitive elections and that such economic inequalities and uneven access to social programs weaken the democratic foundations of the country. In particular, Tony Burman drew on the developments during to the Arab Spring of 2011 to conclude that inclusive and transparent government institutions are a necessary precondition for ensuring meaningful democratic participation. If the voters believe that the government is not responsive to their demands, merely holding elections does not satisfy conditions of democracy; without the capacity to affect change and protect the best interests of citizens, democracy is not truly served. This concept must be embraced domestically as well as extended to countries in various stages of development. Control over the economy, which is inextricably linked to political sovereignty, is a necessary condition for real democracy to thrive.

Continuing this theme, there was debate over the need for transparency in the negotiation of international trade agreements as a means to ensure a more democratic governance of the economy. With the discussion focusing on the negotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and the Free Trade Area of the Americas, a number of participants at the conference drew attention to the inability of MPs or the general public to influence or reasonably refute the final product of the negotiations that occur behind closed doors. While Gordon Ritchie noted that some need for secrecy is a requisite for international negotiations to

ensure that states do not sacrifice their bargaining positions, especially when preliminary starting positions do not reflect the potential final policy, this position was tempered by other participants who countered that some form of public access and public oversight over these negotiations must exist to ensure democratic control over economic governance. For Campbell, the current governance environment reflects a profound 'crisis of followership', in which the lack of pressure on government and the complacency to its decisions by the public has led to a widespread sense of despair and political disengagement. Once again using the example of the Arab Spring, Burman suggested that this crisis of followership could be countered by the emergence of leaders who instil confidence and a sense of participatory government.

Finally, Burman also emphasized the need for democracy to encompass both political and economic behaviour to be successful. Toward this end, the restoration of funding for civil society organizations was identified as a vital aspect of fostering greater public involvement and, in turn, representation. Strengthening civil society should be a key priority in the bolstering of democratic legitimacy that currently troubles the Canadian government, as it would facilitate greater communication among citizens, enterprise, labour, and, of course, government, when making decisions about the configuration of economic policies and the congruence of these economic goals with broader social ones. Instead, we have seen the reduction in funding and, more troubling, the disinterest on behalf of the government in consulting the public at large and the groups that advocate on their behalf. This is especially relevant in the context of public opposition to the government's pursuit of increasing military spending and the strengthening of criminal punishment systems.

Rebuilding the Welfare State

Despite the trend towards neoliberalism over the last 30-40 years in most economies, a number of participants at the conference highlighted there are, in fact, a variety of ways in which capitalism can be practiced. Even though the American model, with its substantial reliance on the market to manage social needs, is often identified as the only way to achieve success in the global economy, Gordon Ritchie argued that Canada must resist pursuing this model any further. Recognizing that Canadians have experienced chronic cuts to social programs for the past three decades, a number of participants at the conference maintained that policies supporting economic growth should be complemented with publicly funded social programs to ensure the well-being of citizens.

In this vein, Manfred Bienefeld and Roy Culpeper both suggested that by readopting the Keynesian economic model, where the government is allowed to run a deficit to sustain social programs in periods of negative economic growth, not only will we combat income inequity but also reinforce democratic standards. Investing in education is especially important in this regard. A well-educated public is more likely to take part in political processes and to exercise and demand their freedoms and rights. For Tony Burman, a general rise in the level of education of youth, as well as the increased ease of access to information, will facilitate increased pressure, involvement, and democratic governance of the economy.

Observing that the 'hands-off' approach advocated by neoliberalism severely limits democratic influence over the direction of the economy, Bienefeld proposed that the best way to embed the practice of capitalism firmly in the values of society lay in pursuing a Social Market model—while

markets are valuable, the benefits are only truly realised when they are embedded in society. Patterned after the practice in Scandinavian countries, in which economies remain economically competitive despite high levels of taxation, Bienefeld detailed how the adoption of this model could ensure that governments could both pursue global competitiveness and deliver high quality social programs, such as education, health care, and social security, that prioritize the well-being their citizens.

Continuing this theme, a number of participants discussed how the Canadian government must take on a more active role in the economy to secure Canada's position in the competitive global market and ensure future economic growth. In this way, Ritchie maintained that for Canada to remain competitive in the global market, the government must make long-term investments in infrastructure, health, and education. Similarly, the instability of financial markets and the unsubstantiated nature of wealth in these markets further demands that Canada invest in its real economy. Toward this end, Culpeper called upon governments to use national development banks to coordinate the activities of both the state and the market to fulfil national goals and desires. Further sustainable economic growth is only possible through the investment in infrastructure and industry and the appropriation of new technology. Investing in education gains even further significance in this context as it allows Canadian expertise in new technologies to flourish and it vitalizes existing industries.

Supporting Democratic Development Globally

The third recurring theme throughout the conference revolved around the growing gap between rich and poor countries and the role that Canada should play in promoting international development. Tracing the present crisis of underdevelopment of the Global South to the 1970s and the 1980s, Tony Clarke explained how the worldwide promotion of neoliberal economic policies was supported and driven by international organizations like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. As a key component of this agenda, commonly identified as the Washington Consensus, these institutions imposed a series of strict conditions upon loans issued to developing countries. In detailing the impact of these structural adjustment policies, Clarke outlined how these policies both opened developing countries to foreign investment by transnational corporations and forced governments to reduce public spending.

The spread of the Washington Consensus throughout the Global South entrenched a pattern of development that had substantial consequences for these countries. Based upon narrow understandings of poverty, the neoliberal program presented economic growth as the principal means for development. However, as detailed by Susan Spronk, the sole emphasis on economic growth meant that other critical concerns for development, such as the material and immaterial needs of the population in these countries, became marginalized. In this way, debates surrounding human rights and democratic governance within developing countries became secondary to the quest for enhanced economic liberalization and attracting foreign direct investment. In his summary of the economic ideology underlying this understanding of development, Roy Culpeper outlined how neoliberal academics and policy-makers assumed that economic growth would have trickle-down effect through the possibility of unlimited economic growth, even though these assumptions did not come to fruition. As a consequence of the imposition of the Washington Consensus, Michel

Chossudovsky explained how the adoption of these ideas throughout the globe resulted in greater inequalities both within and between states.

The regrettable role of Canada, and other developed countries, in reinforcing this negative development pattern was discussed by a number of participants. Most notably, Susan Spronk detailed how Canadian development policy, under both Liberal and Conservative governments, has been driven principally by the interests of Canadian businesses and has privileged the pursuit of free trade over the promotion of human rights repeatedly in the Global South. For Spronk, the shift in Canadian aid policy toward Latin America is particularly illustrative of this trend; in both Haiti and Honduras, Canada has supported the overthrow of democratically elected governments, and Canada has continued to ignore widespread human rights violations in Columbia and Peru in its pursuit of free trade agreements with these countries. Touching on similar concerns, Bruce Campbell discussed how Canada's involvement in the negotiation over free trade agreements from the North American Free Trade Agreement to the Free Trade Area of the Americas has acted to institutionalize a commitment to economic liberalization and market oriented strategies at the hemispheric level.

In order to reverse the current trends of neoliberalism, and to promote democracy and sovereignty in Latin America and other developing regions, a number of participants argued that the power of these governments to set their own development agenda must be restored. Expanding on this idea, Manfred Bienefeld contended that the international economic system must be premised on the ability of all governments to set their own national economic policies, so that countries can develop their own local industries and effectively compete in a global market. Reinforcing this point, Spronk called upon the Canadian government to recognize that our international support for a neoliberal development agenda undercuts Canada's social, humanitarian, and democratic goals. Canada must ensure that the promotion of trade and development does not subvert the operation of democracy and undermine the promotion of human rights within the Global South.

A New Bretton Woods System

The final theme addressed during the conference was the need to couple democratic governance of national economies with institutional reform on the international stage. The deeper international integration of production, trade, and finance generates uncertainties and limitations that narrow the scope for societies to make many critically important choices and threatens to undermine the viability of their economies, the sustainability of their infrastructure, and the coherence of their polities. As a consequence of the increased power of international corporations and the abandonment of the original goals of specific international institutions, the conference determined that the international system required substantial reform.

Over the past several decades, international corporations have acquired substantial political, economic and cultural influence over traditional holders of power such as national governments. As pointed out by Tony Clarke, the consolidation of corporate rule and power has had profound implications for liberal democracy, and it is an issue that has not been fully analyzed. Business connections to governments worldwide has influenced policies to reflect their corporate interest, while their brands have become so deeply embedded in society that they have helped reshape

cultures across the globe. As a result, Clarke argued that national governments must take steps to regulate and to control the activities of transnational corporations.

In addition, a considerable amount of power has been seceded from countries to international institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Focusing on the expansion of both the power of international organizations and the scope of international trade agreements, Bruce Campbell reflected on how this has resulted in a net reduction of national economic sovereignty. Similarly, Susan Spronk drew upon developments in Latin America to demonstrate how developed countries like Canada will let economic factors and security concerns trump human rights issues in their foreign policy actions, and have therefore often promoted the expansion of economic globalization at the expense of the practice of democratic governance. This globalization of economic governance has greatly influenced the economic, political and cultural systems of countries, which has, in turn, constrained the ability of these countries to govern their own economies, to the detriment of their own citizens.

Frequently throughout the conference, a number of participants expressed the desire for the Canadian Government to play a leading role in shaping the international system in this time of economic crisis and uncertainty toward more democratic practices. Roy Culpeper outlined the need for international institutions to recognize and to return to the principles of the Bretton Woods system that had a greater recognition of the economic sovereignty of countries. Further, Manfred Bienefeld argued that governments will be able to ensure that they can set and pursue a growth path that satisfies national goals and needs by returning to this form of international system, and that this would enable individual countries to adopt more state-led development if they desired. Both Spronk and Tony Burman echoed this notion and proposed that Canada engage in supporting varying democratic movements across the globe, helping to ensure that all countries regain some of the power that has shifted to international corporations.

Finally there was a widespread discussion about the need for increased regulatory measures in financial markets. For Bienefeld, the speculative nature of financial transactions and the ease with which short-term capital can move between markets has led to a high level of economic instability. Building on this idea, Roy Culpeper noted that the recent crisis reflected the misguided belief that unfettered markets are the key to growth and highlighted the need for both the regulation of financial transactions and the development of new forms of governance that ensure more stable markets. This matter was debated quite substantially throughout the conference and a consensus emerged among the participants that the practice of financial speculation had to be more substantially curbed and regulated. For Clarke the solution lay in implementing a financial transaction tax to discourage excessive speculation and reassert government control over economic actors. This point was further developed by Gordon Ritchie who maintained that the current recession demonstrates that the financial system has run amok and must be brought under greater government control to reign in and limit excessive profits. To this end, Ritchie maintained that governments need to move forward on adopting the tax on financial transactions proposed by Nobel Prize Laureate James Tobin.

While it is critical to address domestic imbalances, Canada has the opportunity to contribute to the solution of the current global turmoil. By restructuring the roles that international institutions and

corporations play in the international system, a focus on the empowerment of countries and local development will help address the problems of today to encourage a prosperous tomorrow.

Bringing the Conference to a close, and with the intention to share its findings and conclusions with a wider audience, the participants and the Group of 78 adopted the 12 position statements outlined on the following pages. Should readers wish to express support or constructive criticism for any of these statements, the Group of 78 would welcome feedback and participation in its future activities. We extend our heartfelt thanks again to all who attended and gave of their knowledge and experience, and we look forward to hearing from you and many others in the future.



Position Statements

The following 12 position statements were adopted by the participants of the Conference and the Group of 78, as conclusions arising from the conference proceedings, and as items requiring action in future.

1. Adopt a Social Market Economy Model

- Recognizing the wide variety of capitalisms practiced throughout the world, we need a version of capitalism that does not consider unfettered economic growth to be its overriding goal.
- We therefore call for the adoption of a new economic model that locates the pursuit of competitiveness and efficiency more firmly in the context of the socio-economic well-being of citizens.

2. Pursue Counter-Cyclical Spending Policies

- To combat the chronic economic instability that has resulted from the deregulation of markets, governments must establish a regulatory framework that permits a more balanced management of the economy.
- We call for the adoption of economic policies based on Keynesian principles to help mitigate the most negative consequences of capitalism.

3. Rebuild the Real Economy

- Increased reliance on the real economy, as opposed to the financial economy, will promote more stable and sustainable employment and growth.
- We call upon the government of Canada to rebuild our economic infrastructure and promote the development of a stronger technological and industrial foundation for our economy, using mechanisms such as the Business Development Bank of Canada among others.

4. Embed Markets Within Society

- Canada needs more democratic management of the economy.
- We call for Canada to adopt a model of social partnership that will require systematic government consultation on socio-economic policy with labour, business, and civil society organizations.

5. Reinvest in Civil Society

- Recent reductions in the funding of civil society organizations have reduced the capacity of all citizens, and youth in particular, to participate meaningfully in economic governance especially since these cuts were disproportionately aimed at critical voices.
- We call for the restoration and the expansion of public funding for the broad spectrum of civil society organizations.

6. Enhance Social Justice

- The accelerating and extreme imbalance of wealth and opportunity that has developed over

the last forty years has left the majority of Canadians with stagnating and declining real incomes.

- We call for the adoption of social and economic policies that reverse this trend.

7. Invest in Education

- We understand that it is necessary to invest in our future by supporting the educational development of our youth.
- We urge all levels of Canadian government to expand financial support for publicly funded education and to ensure that high quality education is available to all Canadians.

8. Reduce Military Spending

- The increase of military spending in recent years has reduced the capacity of governments to invest in the social and economic goals of greatest importance to Canadian citizens.
- We call for the reduction of military spending and the reorientation of the military toward defensive and peacekeeping capabilities.

9. Reform International Economic Governance

- We need a global economy in which all nation-states are empowered, encouraged, and assisted in their efforts to remain on a full employment growth path.
- We urge the creation of a new institutional framework for international economic governance that returns to the basic principles of the original Bretton Woods system.

10. Regulate Financial Transactions

- We believe that financial speculation imposes heavy costs on economies and societies by increasing uncertainty, misallocating resources and distorting income patterns.
- We therefore urge the Canadian government to work with the international community to develop measures to curb this practice effectively.

11. Promote State-Led Development Policies

- We need to empower developing countries to develop in a more endogenously driven manner.
- We call for the Canadian government to use the principle of subsidiarity in their development assistance so that recipient countries are better enabled to shape their futures in accordance with their own democratically determined values and priorities.

12. Support Global Democracy

- It is important to recognize that democracy can exist in multiple forms and should be respected even if it does not conform to the political values of the Canadian government of the day.
- We call for our foreign policy to be guided by a meaningful respect for international law and for the right to self-determination and urge that interventions be strictly in accordance with these principles.

The World Economy: Who's Really In Charge?

The Crisis of Global Economic Governance

Keynote Address

Tony Clarke

Executive Director, Polaris Institute

The other day, Richard Harmston was talking with me about the origins of the Group of 78. He reminded me that back in the late 1970's a group of former civil servants, journalists and NGO activists wrote a letter to then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau urging his government to give more attention to foreign policy issues. The letter signed by some 78 personalities, received a relatively positive response from Trudeau. At that point, I said it would be interesting to contemplate what would happen today if such an initiative were undertaken with the Harper government.

At the outset, I want to congratulate the Group of 78 for the theme you have chosen for your annual meeting this year. Sorting out the relationship between 'the state, markets and democracy' is no small undertaking. In fact, this may be one of the most important and pressing challenges to be tackled after more than two decades of rampant economic globalization. Clarifying the relationship, let alone finding the balance, between 'the state, markets, and democracy' will be no easy task. I wish you well in your deliberations.

One of the nagging questions lying behind this theme is 'who's really in charge' --- of the world economy today? Such a question, of course, is loaded with complexities. Some, no doubt, will answer in terms of the imperial powers of the day, principally the US and to an extent the EU and even China. Others may point to powerful international economic institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. As important and relevant as these responses may be, I will argue this evening that the major driving force behind the global economy has been and remains the transnational corporation or TNC.

When I speak about TNCs, I am first of all referring to the evolution of the modern corporation from a 'national' to a 'transnational' phenomenon. In many ways, this trend began to emerge after World War II, as leading corporations became increasingly global in their reach. Interestingly enough, this trend coincided with the build-up of the social welfare state that resulted from compromise between state and capital following the Great Depression of the 1930s. Secondly, in referring to the rise of the transnational corporation, I am not simply speaking about the TNC as an economic machine, but also very much as a political and cultural machine that has played a powerful role in redefining the state and society over the past half century.

Before you go to work on clarifying the roles and relationships between 'the state, markets, and democracy,' therefore, I propose we take a closer look at the rising power of transnational corporations as a driving force behind the global economy. So, this evening, it's my intention to share briefly some reflections on the rise of transnational corporate power over the past four decades from my perspective as a civil society activist. In doing so, I hope to lay some ground work for applying a more critical corporate consciousness in your deliberations about 'the state, markets and democracy'

in the global economy today. Please keep in mind that my comments this evening will be in the form of broad strokes, not detailed analysis.

1. Global Corporate Power: the 1970s

The role of for-profit corporations in shaping the global economy and foreign policy, of course, is not new nor did it begin in the 1970s. Back in the 1940s, big business started to play a more concerted role in international affairs through the formation of the Council on Foreign Relations. In the following decade, the Bilderberg Group was formed, composed of the major corporations and industries in Europe. But, it was not until the creation of the Trilateral Commission in the 1970s that a comprehensive strategy was developed to restructure the global economy in the interests of transnational capital.

The Trilateral Commission was initially conceived in 1973 by two influential figures: David Rockefeller who was, at that time, the president and chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank and Zbigniew Brzezinski who was a professor at Columbia and President Carter's national security advisor. Initially, the Trilateral Commission was composed of some 325 persons drawn from the economic and political elites around the world. They included mostly CEOs of the world's leading transnational corporations along with presidents, prime ministers and senior government officials from the leading economies.

In brief, the Trilateralist goals were two-fold: [1] to restructure the global economy to better serve the interests of transnational corporations for worldwide market expansion; and [2] to dismantle the social welfare state [or what they called the Keynesian welfare state] and redefine the role of national governments in the global economy. The basic Trilateralist rationale for these structural changes was largely spelled out in its initial report called "the Crisis of Democracy." According to this seminal report, the global and national economies were plagued by "a deficit in governability" and "an excess of democracy." In other words, national governments were consulting too much with civil society groups, paying too much attention to protecting workers, and listening too much to critics in universities.

For the Trilateralists, the time had come for some radical surgery to reverse these trends. At the national level, major changes were required in the model of democratic governance. What was needed, they argued, was stronger governance within a weaker democratic framework. In order to facilitate more and more transnational investment, for example, authority had to become much more centralized in models of governance. In so doing, governments had to consult and collaborate a great deal more with big business, instead of working with diverse civil society organizations.

In terms of restructuring the global economy, the Trilateralist agenda in the 1970s called for the liberalization of trade, investment, and finance worldwide. They proposed that the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs [GATT] be overhauled, establishing rules for free trade in order to open up markets for the sale of goods and services worldwide, which would require a more centralized structure of authority. Similarly, the Trilateralists required international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund use their debt loans to compel governments in developing countries to restructure their economies to provide open markets for transnational corporations.

To advance their agenda, the Trilateralists realized that big business coalitions had to be formed at least in the major industrialized countries. Accordingly, the US Business Round Table was established composed of the 200 largest corporations in the USA. In Europe, the European Round table of industrialists was organized which laid the foundation stones for the European Union. In Japan, the leading transnational corporations formed the Keidanren with close ties to the national government. And, here in Canada, the Business Council on National Issues [BCNI] composed of the country's 150 largest corporations was convened in 1978, later becoming the Canadian Council of Chief Executives.

2. Global Corporate Power: the 1980s

While the 1970s set the stage for the Trilateralist agenda, the 1980s was the period in which this agenda was rolled out in terms of restructuring the global economy. Let's remember this was the Reagan era in the White House in Washington DC. The Soviet Union, which was beginning to show signs of disintegration, soon became a target for break-up. Dismantling the Soviet bloc would be a huge leap forward in establishing the hegemony of capitalism worldwide and the consolidation of TNCs. The other major targets were Third World economies.

It was in this decade that the so-called Washington Consensus took on shape and form. In many ways, the Washington Consensus was crafted as a more palatable version of the Trilateralist agenda. While it included several elements, the prime goal of the Washington Consensus was to restructure the global economy so that capital, goods and services could move freely across borders unfettered by government intervention or regulation. In other words, create a political and economic climate worldwide that is favourable to transnational corporate investment and competition.

During the 1980s, the international financial institutions, namely, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund played an increasingly important role in advancing the Trilateralist agenda. The fact that these Bretton Woods institutions, the World Bank and the IMF, had become delinked from the governing structure of the United Nations, was a plus for the Trilateralists. It allowed them to be used as instruments for the restructuring of the global economy in favour of TNCs, without collective governmental interference via the UN.

It was, of course, the SAPs --- 'structural adjustment programs'--- of the World Bank and IMF that became the main instruments for restructuring the economies primarily of Third World countries. Under the SAPs, the renewal of loans to developing countries was subject to a series of conditionalities. In exchange for loans, governments were compelled to restructure their domestic economies to become export-oriented, open markets for TNCs, and reduce spending for social programs such as education, healthcare and social assistance. In many countries, World Bank and IMF officials became involved in rewriting sections of developing country constitutions to ensure that this restructuring remained permanent.

At the same time, restructuring the global trade system became a focal point for the Trilateralist agenda and the Washington Consensus. To facilitate the free flow of capital, goods and services across borders, new trade rules and regimes were needed. Moreover, these new trade rules and regimes would have to be designed to provide favourable treatment to the operations of

transnational corporations and promote the opening up of markets in economies throughout the world.

In many ways, the prototype of this new trade regime and rules was the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement [CUSFTA]. Negotiated by the Mulroney and Reagan administrations during the second half of the '80s, CUSFTA was the first comprehensive free trade agreement in the world. Not only did CUSFTA go beyond changes in import and export duties through dramatic reduction and elimination of tariff barriers, but it included sectors of the economy that had hitherto not been subject to international trade rules such as energy and services. Moreover, it was a legally enforceable trade deal vigorously promoted by a big business alliance, namely, the American Coalition for Trade Expansion with Canada that included 600 US corporations led by American Express, plus its counterpart, the Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities, organized by the BCNI.

By January 1989, CUSFTA had come into effect as the new model of a free trade regime. But, the year 1989 is, of course, best known for another milestone, the collapse of the Berlin Wall, which symbolized the breakup of the Soviet Union and its economic empire. With this event, the bi-polar global economy came to an end. Capitalism had triumphed over Communism as the dominant economic and political model for the world. And, in many ways, the biggest beneficiaries were the transnational corporations who could now go fully global, gaining access to markets all over the world.

Indeed, with the falling of the Berlin Wall as its symbol, the triumph of capitalism was seen as the "end of history." TINA, declared Maggie Thatcher, "There Is No Alternative." Capitalism alone is the only prevailing economic model. With that clarion call, TNCs spread their wings. One of their main targets became the public sector of national economies, which had been identified by the Trilateralist Commission as one of the major vestiges of the social welfare state to be dismantled. Turning the public sector economy into private markets through privatization became the name of the game.

3. Global Corporate Power: the 1990s

The new decade of the '90s would be marked by the consolidation of the Washington Consensus. More steps would be taken to remove the remaining barriers to the free movement of capital, goods and services via TNCs across borders, unhindered by government regulation or intervention. A uni-polar global economy emerged, centered around the US itself and the realities of the American empire. In this context, the era of neo-liberalism or economic globalization flourished as the global reach of transnational corporations expanded throughout the planet. Indeed, there were signs that corporate sovereignty would even supersede national sovereignty.

With CUSFTA as the model of a new, more comprehensive free trade regime, hundreds of bilateral negotiations were initiated on trade and investment during the early '90s. By 1994, CUSFTA was morphed into an expanded North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA] between Canada, the US and Mexico that included new sets of free trade rules on intellectual property rights, public monopolies, and an investor-state dispute settlement mechanism allowing corporations to sue governments directly for alleged violation of the agreement's trade rules. Elsewhere, in Europe,

'economic partnership agreements' were established which often included trade and investment provisions between European countries and developing countries.

Meanwhile, the Uruguay Round of the GATT finally came to an end with a rather dramatic conclusion. In 1995, the 50 year old GATT regime was to be succeeded and replaced by the World Trade Organization [WTO]. The GATT Agreements were grandfathered into new WTO. However, the WTO was armed with a great deal more centralized power, reinforced with binding and enforceable trade rules. In effect, the WTO would have much more clout in implementing the Trilateralist agenda re: opening up markets for transnational corporations than the GATT had.

Yet, the consolidation of corporate power in the 1990's would have been greatly advanced had the efforts to develop and implement the Multilateral Agreement on Investment [MAI] been successful. Negotiated behind closed doors at the OECD in the mid '90s, the MAI was designed to codify the rights of investment and transnational corporations into international law. In effect, the MAI would have consolidated the sovereignty of corporations over that of nation states. In the minds of civil society opponents, the MAI was a 'corporate rule treaty.'

Indeed, the MAI gave rise to what became known as the anti-corporate globalization movement. With the draft of the secret MAI document in hand, activists in the OECD member countries organized resistance, applying intense pressure on their own governments to reject it. As the member countries exempted one domestic law or regulation after another, the MAI negotiations eventually imploded from within. By the spring of 1998, the deal was dead in the water. But, the anti-corporate globalization was just beginning to spring to life.

Then came the infamous 'Battle of Seattle' --- in the last month, in the final year of the decade and the century. The WTO ministerial in 1999 was designed to launch a whole new round of global trade negotiations leading to a deal that would, in effect, open markets for TNCs around the world. However, the mass mobilization that resulted in 50,000 people taking to the streets of Seattle in protest against the WTO eventually shut down the proceedings. The subsequent collapse of the WTO talks at the Seattle ministerial was a 'high water mark' for the burgeoning movement against corporate globalization.

4. Global Corporate Power: 2000 – 2001

Immediately following Seattle, the resistance against corporate driven globalization grew and intensified. The targets included regional trade summits like APEC and the FTAA; meetings of the World Bank, the IMF, and regional development banks; plus gatherings of the G-7 leaders. Major protests were organized in Washington DC, Bologna, Prague, Genoa, Bangkok and Melbourne. As we all know, here in Quebec City, 65,000 marched in opposition to the negotiations to expand the NAFTA to the Latin American hemisphere by creating a Free Trade Area of the Americas in April, 2001.

All of this, however, came to an abrupt end on September 11, 2001. The airborne attacks of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington DC proved to be a dramatic game changer. Suddenly, security trumped trade and all affairs of state. The US Congress rallied to pass Patriot Acts I and II. Canada, the European Union and many other countries followed with their own anti terrorism legislation [some of which was already in the works before 9/11].

Embedded within this new wave of anti-terrorism legislation in the wake of 9/11 were measures which created conditions for the criminalization of dissent. More than ever before, to engage in acts of protest and resistance against the dominant economic and political institutions, nationally or globally, ran the risk of being charged for committing a criminal act. Needless to say, this sent a powerful chill effect that contributed to the weakening of the resistance movement against corporate-driven globalization during this past decade.

Moreover, national security interests became the main ingredients for developing a new paradigm for reshaping the global economy and its governance. Increasingly, the economy, finance, energy, trade and other affairs of states were reviewed and redefined in terms of national security priorities. At the same time, military spending soared in the US, Canada and many other countries, especially those involved in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, which escalated throughout this decade.

Given these new realities of 'security trumping trade,' corporate leaders were compelled to come up with new strategies. Here, in Canada, the Business Council on National Issues, comprising the CEOs of the country's largest corporations, moved quickly with the Canadian government to propose a Smart Border Plan with the US. Subsequently, the BCNI changed its name to become the Canadian Council of Chief Executives [CCCE] and promptly took the lead in advancing a plan for revamping NAFTA which they called the North American Security and Prosperity Initiative [NASPI]. The underlying objective for both initiatives was to ensure trade security for corporations and investors.

Meanwhile, the ongoing default in US payments to the UN opened the door for corporate contributions, thereby compromising the independence of the global governance body. Led by wealthy entrepreneurs like Ted Turner, corporate donations to the UN multiplied during this and the previous decade, largely in exchange for increased influence within the UN. The Global Compact, for example, initiated under Kofi Anan's tenure as UN Secretary General in the year 2000, created new opportunities for private-public partnerships within the UN, thereby augmenting the influence and power of TNCs in global governance.

Towards the end of the decade, when the financial meltdown struck in 2008, it became clear that the banks and finance capital, which had provoked the crisis in the first place, would come out on top in the end. Once again, the preoccupation of the governing economic and political elites was to save the capitalist system. The big bailouts by the US government to Lehman Bros., Goldman Sachs and many other banking and investment firms demonstrated the power wielded by finance capital.

At the very same time, a major shift was taking place in the structures of global economic governance. The G8 was being sidelined in favour of the G20. Not only had the G8 lost much of its political legitimacy in governing the global economy. But, more importantly, the G8 countries no longer had the foreign exchange reserve capacity to withstand the financial meltdown. On the contrary, it was the emerging economic powers like China, and to a lesser extent India and Brazil, that held the lion's share of foreign exchange reserves. In short, replacing the G8 with the G20 was imperative for saving the global economy from collapse.

Yet, the creation of the G20 has not resolved the crisis of global economic governance. This became amply clear when, in 2009, the UN General Assembly aided by the Stiglitz Commission, attempted to assert greater control over the global economy affairs on behalf of all 192 member states. Moreover,

the failure of the G20 to adequately manage the continuing global financial meltdown let alone its links to the multiple crises of the economy, climate change, food security and the widening gap between rich and poor is likely to intensify the critical problems of global economic governance.

Conclusions:

So, what do these brief reflections on the past four decades tell us about the evolution of corporate power and the global economy? And, what do these observations have to say about the main topic of the Group of 78's conference this year, namely, the future of liberal democracy.

Well, it should be clear that more than half of the major economies in the world are not nation states but transnational corporations. By 1995, some 16 years ago, 52 of the top 100 economies in the world were TNCs. For the most part, these for-profit corporations are able to operate with impunity, outside the purview of democratically elected governments, not only as economic but political and cultural machines as well. Moreover, today the concentration of wealth in the world today has reached a stage where not only corporations but wealthy individuals or oligarchs dominate national economies. Besides the better known billionaires like Bill Gates and Warren Buffet, there are the Koch brothers in the US and the Tata family in India. Indeed, the richest man in the world today, according to Forbes Magazine, is Carlos Slim of Mexico who accumulated \$76 billion in 2010 and is now ranked 54th of the top 100 economies.

More importantly, this rising power of transnational corporations and wealthy oligarchs has had a profound impact on the nation state and economic governance. As capital became fully global, so TNCs were able to trump both national governments and domestic businesses. Through this process, we have seen the gradual dismantling of the 'social welfare state' and the emergence of what I call the 'corporate security state' in this country and may others throughout the world, North and South. The prime goal of the corporate security state is to reorganize the economy for efficient transnational investment and competition. Whereas the social welfare state aimed to provide greater security for people, the corporate security state is more focused on ensuring security for corporations and investors. It is now estimated, for example, that the \$4.1 trillion doled out recently for bank bailouts in the US and EU amounts to 40 times the amount spent on addressing the crises of expanding poverty and climate change.

As you probe further into the future of liberal democracy in your deliberations during this conference, I urge you to focus more attention on where the real power is that is driving economic governance, both domestically and globally. The increasing consolidation of corporate power, sovereignty and rule over these past four decades and more, must not be ignored. Unless effective ways can be found for reining in corporate power and sovereignty, both nationally and globally, the future of liberal democracy is doomed in my view. Finally, I think it would be instructive to review the work of a great Canadian political scientist, CB Macpherson, whose 1965 Massy lectures on 'The Real World of Democracy' and 1977 book on 'The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy' contain useful insights. Although Macpherson lived and wrote in another era, his critical reflections on liberal democracy help us to think about what it means to create forms of democratic governance that are more equitable, sustainable, and participatory.

Speakers

Tony Clarke

Executive Director, Polaris Institute

“The World Economy: Who’s Really in Charge? The Crisis of Global Economic Governance”



Tony Clarke is the founder and director of the Polaris Institute in Ottawa which works with community groups and social movements on international economic and trade justice issues. One of the Institute’s main priorities has been research and analysis of the role of transnational corporations in public policy making. Tony is the author or co-author of several books including *Silent Coup: The Big Business Takeover of Canada* [1997]; three books on the MAI [the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment, 1997-8]; *Global Showdown: How the New Activists are Challenging Global Corporate Rule* [2001]; and *Blue Gold: The Corporate Theft of the World’s Water* [2002]. He was a founding member of GATT-Fly, an inter-church coalition in international trade and investment issues in the 1970s and 80’s; national chair of the Action Canada Network, the coalition of civil society organizations which mobilized public opposition to CUSTA and NAFTA, between 1987 and 1993; and a founder of the Our World Is Not For Sale network which has spearheaded international civil society work on trade justice in relation to the WTO since the infamous ‘battle of Seattle’ in 1999. Tony has been a speaker at numerous international events, including the World Social Forum, and has helped build new north/south alliances on water and climate justice issues. He holds a master’s and doctoral degree in social ethics from the University of Chicago and was the national co-director of social justice for the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops between 1975 and 1994. In 2005, he was awarded Sweden’s Right Livelihood Award [better known as the Alternative Nobel prize] for his contribution to international water and trade justice issues.

Tony Burman

Former managing editor and head of strategy for the Americas, Al Jazeera English, Velma Rogers Graham Research Chair in News Media and Technology, Ryerson University School of Journalism.

“The Economic Roots of the Arab Spring: What Does the Future Hold?”



Tony Burman was managing director of Al Jazeera English from 2008-2010 head of strategy for the Americas from 2010 - 2011.

During his time as the channel’s head based in Qatar, Tony guided AJE's growth in North America, including its launch in Washington, D.C., and on every major cable and satellite platform in Canada. AJE is now available in more than 100 countries, and its worldwide audience reach more than doubled during his time as managing director.

Based in Washington and Toronto, Tony's role as Head of Strategy for the Americas was to oversee AJE’s efforts to expand its reach and reputation in the U.S. and Canada as the world’s leading global news provider. Under his leadership, AJE has been widely recognized for its groundbreaking reporting from the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas. While Tony

was serving as managing director, the channel received international acclaim for its news and programming, including awards and nominations from the International Emmys, the Monte Carlo Film Festival, and the Royal Television Society.

Before coming to AJE, Tony was editor-in-chief and executive director of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC News) for nearly eight years. During his career with CBC (which spanned more than three decades), Tony was an award-winning news and documentary producer with field experience in more than 30 countries, including the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the U.S., and Latin America. In September, Tony was appointed Velma Rogers Graham Research Chair in News Media and Technology at Ryerson University's School of Journalism.

Panel 1: “Can Democracy Survive the New Capitalism?”

Gordon Ritchie

Former Deputy Minister & Ambassador, Author and Corporate Director



Gordon is principal advisor to Hill & Knowlton Canada, and served from 1999 to 2009 as chairman of the public affairs practice. As ambassador for trade negotiations, Gordon was one of the principal architects of the Canada-U.S. free-trade agreement. He is the author of *Wrestling with the Elephant: the inside story of the Canada-US trade negotiations*. Other senior posts during his 22-year career of public service have included associate deputy minister of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion and deputy secretary of the Ministry of State for Economic Development. In recent years, Gordon advised the Government of Canada on a number of controversial issues; chaired the Advisory Committee on direct-to-home satellite television broadcasting; and served as senior advisor to the Government of Canada in negotiations with the U.S. over trade in softwood lumber. He is a member of the Panel of Senior Advisors to the Auditor General for Canada. He is a frequent commentator in the English and French media. Gordon founded his own consulting company, Strategic Inc., in 1988 and has served on the boards of leading Canadian corporations in the communications, transportation, mining, banking, insurance and food processing industries. He and his wife Marg have two children, four grandchildren and a dog. He is a sea kayaker and a competitive chessplayer.

Roy Culpeper

Distinguished Research Fellow, The North South Institute; Senior Fellow, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa, Adjunct Professor, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University



From 1995 until 2010 Roy Culpeper was President and Chief Executive Officer of The North-South Institute, Ottawa. Prior to being appointed President he served as the Institute’s Vice-President, Research, and Program Director, international finance and debt. Earlier in his career he was an official at the World Bank, the federal Department of Finance, and the Department of External Affairs, and the provincial Planning Secretariat in the Government of Manitoba. From January until May 2011 he was Fulbright Canada Visiting

Research Chair at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. He is currently a Distinguished Research fellow of The North-South Institute, Senior Fellow of the University of Ottawa's School of International Development and Global Studies, and Adjunct Professor at the School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University.

Roy Culpeper was born in Karachi, Pakistan and has lived in Canada since 1959. He was educated at the University of Toronto where he earned a Ph.D. in Economics. He has several publications in the field of international finance and development. He is an avid jogger and swimmer and a lover of opera.

Manfred Bienefeld

Professor, School of Public Policy and Administration and the Institute of Political Economy, Carleton University



Manfred Bienefeld has been a full professor at Carleton University since 1986, where he is cross-appointed to the School of Public Policy and Administration and the Institute of Political Economy, and has been an elected member of Board of Governors and Senate. He has had a lengthy academic career as economist, teacher, author and consultant on national and international issues, having worked for many leading international organizations as well as for national governments and civil society organizations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. His main research focus has been the tension between deeper

international integration and democratic national policy making, with special reference to the issues raised by the deregulation of trade and finance, the impact of financial instability and the changing need and scope for industrial policy.

His list of publications includes three books, chapters in 31 others and scores of published papers. He taught at the London School of Economics, the University of Dar es Salaam and the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex, England before coming to Carleton. During his recent sabbatical he was invited to teach and to deliver a series of lectures on the current transformation of the international development debate at L.S.E., the University of Aalborg and the Autonomous University of Zacatecas. He has also addressed the Group of 78 on several previous occasions, and is currently serving on the Group of 78 Board of Directors.

Panel 2: “Sustaining Democracy (in a Globalized World): A Renewed Role For Canada?”

Bruce Campbell

Executive Director Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives



Bruce Campbell has been the Executive Director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives since 1994. Beyond his administrative responsibilities, he is the author of many articles and reports on national and international public policy issues, and is a frequent media commentator and conference presenter. He has appeared regularly as a witness before Commons and Senate committees, and before the U.S. Congress.

For many years Bruce coordinated the Centre's flagship Alternative Federal

Budget. He is co-author or editor of five books including: *Straight Through the Heart: How the Liberals Abandoned the Just Society* (with Maude Barlow); *Living with Uncle: Canada-US Relations in an Age of Empire* (with Ed Finn); and, *Medicare: Facts, Myths, Problems & Promise* (with Greg Marchildon). Before coming to the CCPA Bruce's career path took a number of twists and turns: as a researcher with the North South Institute; as a trade policy analyst and legislative assistant with the federal NDP caucus; and as a senior economist with the Canadian Labour Congress. He holds an MA from the Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University.

Susan Spronk

Assistant Professor, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa



Susan Spronk is assistant professor in the School of International Development and Global Studies. Her research focuses on the experience of development in Latin America, more specifically the impact of neoliberalism on the transformation of the state and the rise of anti-privatization movements in the Andean region. Her latest research project examined the role of public sector unions and social movements in promoting the democratic reform of public water utilities in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. She obtained her PhD in Political Science from York University. Prior to joining the University of Ottawa faculty, she completed a post-doctoral fellowship at Cornell University. She is also a research associate with the Municipal Service Project (2008-2013), an IDRC-funded research project that focuses on policy alternatives in municipal service delivery in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Her SSHRC-sponsored research project (2011-2014) focuses on local democracy and water service delivery in Bolivia and Venezuela.

Michel Chossudovsky

Professor Emeritus, Economics Department, University of Ottawa; Founder and Director of the Centre for Research in Globalization



Michel Chossudovsky is an award-winning author, Professor of Economics (Emeritus) at the University of Ottawa. He is the Founder and Director of the Centre for Research on Globalization (CRG), Montreal and Editor of the globalresearch.ca website.

He is the author of *The Globalization of Poverty and The New World Order* (2003), *America's "War on Terrorism"* (2005), *The Global Economic Crisis, The Great Depression of the 21st Century*, (Editor, 2010), *Towards a World War Three Scenario, The Dangers of Nuclear War* (2011). He is also a contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. His writings have been published in more than twenty languages.

Program

Group of 78 Annual Policy Conference

The Growing Struggle between Democracy and Global Economic Liberalization

September 23 – 25, 2011

Brittany Salon, Cartier Place Suite Hotel, 180 Cooper St., Ottawa

Friday, Sept. 23

- 6:00 p.m. Registration and Reception (cash bar)
6:30 p.m. Dinner
7:30 p.m. Keynote Address: **“The World Economy: Who’s Really in Charge? The Crisis of Global Economic Governance”**
Tony Clarke, Executive Director, Polaris Institute

Saturday, Sept. 24

- 8:00 a.m. Registration and Continental Breakfast
9:00 a.m. Welcome – **Richard Harmston**, Chair, Group of 78

Panel 1, *Can Democracy Survive the New Capitalism?* Chair: Peggy Mason

Panellists: **Gordon Ritchie**, Former Deputy Minister & Ambassador, Author and Corporate Director
Roy Culpeper, Distinguished Research Fellow, The North South Institute; Senior Fellow, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa; Adjunct Professor, School of Public Policy and Administration, Carleton University
Manfred Bienefeld, School of Public Policy and Administration and the Institute of Political Economy, Carleton University

- 10:30 a.m. Break
11:00 a.m. Dialogue with participants and among the panellists

- 12:30 p.m. Lunch
1:30 p.m. Luncheon address: **“The Economic Roots of the Arab Spring: What Does the Future Hold?”**
Tony Burman, formerly Managing Director, Head of Strategy for the Americas, Al Jazeera English, now Velma Rogers Graham Research Chair in News Media and Technology, Ryerson University School of Journalism.

Panel 2, *Sustaining Democracy (in a Globalized World): A Renewed Role for Canada?* Chair: Gerald Ohlsen

Panellists: **Susan Spronk**, Assistant Professor, School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa
Michel Chossudovsky, Department of Economics, University of Ottawa; editor, Centre for Research on Globalization
Bruce Campbell, Executive Director, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

- 4:45 p.m. Wrap up of Day

Sunday, Sept. 25

- 8:00 a.m. Continental Breakfast
9:00 a.m. Plenary Session: **Conclusions, Recommendations and Actions.** Rapporteur: **Daniel V. Preece**
11:00 a.m. Conference Closing Remarks – **Richard Harmston**
12:00 noon Group of 78 Annual General Meeting

Conference Participants

Alton, Doug
Alton, Janis
Andres, Danielle
Baros, Joel
Beattie, Aaron
Bienefeld, Manfred
Bienefeld, Marylou
Blais, Jonathan
Breedyk, Gordon
Broughton, Joan
Bue, Lynn
Burman, Tony
Campbell, Bruce
Caron, Micheline
Chossudovsky, Michel
Clarke, Tony
Court, Eryl
Culpeper, Roy
Cumming, Lawrence
Dagher, Ruby
Darling (Estevez), Betsy
Darling, Barbara
Del Barco, Roberto
Desroches, Janet
Dixon, Fred
Dorn, Walter
Dupuis, Albert
Edwards, Christopher
Edwards, Mark
Edwards, Mary
Espinoza, Zumel
Foster, John W.
Francis, Ardath
Francis, Ross
Fulford, Barbara
Ganhem, Qais
Harmston, Gretel
Harmston, Richard
Hyslop, Caroline
Imrie, Elizabeth
Jacoby, George
Kasim, Hussein
Kellett, Elizabeth
Kessel, Maddie
Kim, Sujin
Krawchenko, Tamara
MacKenzie, Alex
MacKenzie, Arch
MacKenzie, Brigid
MacKenzie, Isobel
Mason, Peggy
McLeod, Colin
McWhinnie, Leslie
Meincke, Peter
Montazer Hojat, Somayyeh
Moyston-Cumming, Margaret
Ohlsen, Gerry
Olexiuk, Eilen
Owens, Brian
Parry, Janet
Poon, Daniel
Preece, Daniel
Ritchie, Gordon
Ritchie, Margaret
Sanger, Clyde
Sanger, Penny
Scanlan, Todd
Schioler, John
Sells, Bruce
Shenstone, Barbara
Shenstone, Michael
Shenstone, Susan
Spronk, Susan
Staples, Steve
Tanner, Susan
Tok, Evren
Varughese, Anil
Wright, George