QUÉBEC CITY 2001 AND THE MAKING OF TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS

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In the last two decades, the organizations which are dedicated to managing the world economy, and the social forces wanting to reform or revolutionize it, have both made global politics seem a cosmopolitan affair. Borrowing the inclusive language of city-builders, the World Bank *et al.* have invited selected NGOs and other would-be representatives of 'global civil society' to gather together, think civic thoughts and define the conditions of global civility. In tune, transnational social forces have defined themselves with reference to cosmopolitan *proxies* ('global civil society' here too, 'humanity', 'the peoples of the earth', 'the women — or the workers, or the poor — of the world') and have let themselves be drawn into a variety of scenarios (ranging from the civic schemes of the World Bank to reformist plans for a 'Tobin Tax' or a people's UN assembly, to ideas for global social contracts) that all end with the settling of global social relations.[1]

Though these scenarios may look like radical strategies for bringing transnational capital under social control — and thus seem like important breaches in the global order of things — they actually underestimate what might be born of the global meeting of social forces. Puffed up and ensconced in reverent absolutes, the peoples (or the women, or the workers, or the poor) of the world will not struggle for themselves or establish and sustain positions against transnational power. Cut off from any real social context, these cosmopolitan ghosts are fated to settle for a mollifying consensus from which might — perhaps — be found ways to humanize global capitalism, but nothing to challenge or revolutionize it. We need to reason from concrete, contingent, practices, in specific locations, at critical moments when broad political considerations — always the stuff of cosmopolitan planning — get turned into questions of strategy.[2] Rather than take cosmopolitan subjects for granted, we need to inquire into their making. Only

thus can we look beyond ways to humanize global capitalism, and think about ways to revolutionize it.

In Québec City, where this article was written, the 'Summit of the Americas' was held between 20 April and 22 April 2001. A polycentric gathering of would-be hemispheric actors — from globalizing elites intent on making a 'Free Trade Area of the Americas' (FTAA), to sundry 'Peoples of the Americas' collected in a parallel summit, to a saturnalia of protests at the periphery of both events — it was a privileged occasion on which to think critically about the political construction of transnational subjects. This essay begins with a brief survey of the places where the events related to the Summit of the Americas were held. In the second part, these places and what was made in them are related to broader processes of order and change in the world economy.

QUÉBEC CITY 2001

The Summit of the Americas

At the centre of happenings in Québec City was the 'Summit of the Americas', hosted by the 'Bureau of the Summit of the Americas', a concern of Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). After Miami (1994) and Santiago (1998), this was the third official gathering of heads of states of the hemisphere since George Bush launched the 'Enterprise for the Americas Initiative' (EAI, 1991) to 'unify the Americas from Anchorage to Tierra Del Fuego in the world's biggest free trade pact'.[3]

Housed in the *Centre des Congrès*, on René Lévesque Boulevard, near the provincial parliament, shielded behind a 3.5 kilometres long, three-metres high fence establishing a 'security perimeter' defended by a united front of municipal, provincial and federal police, the Summit was a political enigma cloaked in a security spectacle: inside, thirty-four national delegations — 9,000 delegates — worked for the first time with a complete draft of the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas; in French, Zone de Libre Échange des Amériques, or ZLEA) agreement. Yet, what would be discussed was not made public before the summit, in spite of considerable public pressure; nor was what would be discussed between them and the corporate patrons who sponsored various get-togethers (*inside* the security perimeter).

Also organized by the DFAIT's Bureau were song-and-dance celebrations of hemispheric peoples and cultures. Starting in the fall, *Voix des Amériques* concerts were held at Le Capitole, the permanent venue for *The Elvis Story* (in English on the marquise), a hyper-real revue (a 'real copy' in Umberto Eco's term, a perfect substitute for reality) that draws much of its clientele from the tourist trade and the suburbs, whose producers have spearheaded attempts to commodify *Place d'Youville*, a former market place that serves as a gathering place for youths and, sometimes, a starting point for urban riots.[4] The last concert in the *Voix* series, held days before the Summit, was the *Tropicalia* review, that promised 'all the *joie de vivre*, all the colours of Brazil ... a trip south through the samba and the bossa nova'. At the end of the Summit, DFAIT sponsored an extravaganza of 600

artists, later televised by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the official broadcaster of the Summit.

Other DFAIT-sponsored events included a Summit school (to encourage young reporters to inquire into 'the realities of the Americas'), a Youth Forum ('Emotion, authenticity and cultural diversity') that produced a 'practical, realistic, report', later circulated amongst official delegations; a picture-drawing contest; a cooking festival ('Savouring the Americas'); a 'Writers of the Americas' Summit; a film festival; and a book fair (the 'Library of the Americas'). An 'Inter-American Cooperation Beyond Free Trade' colloquium focusing on the 'wealth and complexity of interamerican cooperation' was hosted by Laval University's *Institut Québécois des Hautes Études Internationales* (a privileged partner of both DFAIT and Canada's Department of Defense).[5]

Implicating academics, representatives of government-created and sponsored NGOs as well as members of national and global governing agencies, it was a model of partnership between academia and governing institutions. It ended on Friday April 20, as the heads of states' Summit began, by making policy recommendations that were, conveniently, a faithful match for the 'Summit of the Americas Declaration and Plan of Action', released as the Summit ended on Sunday April 22.[6]

The People's Summit

Well removed from the security perimeter — in a tent in the old harbour in Lower Town, beside picturesque old Québec — was the second 'Peoples' Summit of the Americas', that had for its theme: 'Resisting. Proposing. Together.' Organized by the *Réseau Québécois d'intégration continentale* (RQIC), and Common Frontiers — respectively Québec's and Canada's link to the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) — the Peoples' summit was itself largely funded and, literally, *placed* by Canada's DFAIT's and Québec's Ministry of External Affairs.[7]

In keeping with the heads of states' summit, the People's Summit was a mix of the purposeful and the festive. From Monday through Thursday, policy forums — involving, for the most part, duly registered representatives of 'civil society' — dealt with issues outlined in the latest draft of the 'People's Hemispheric Agreement' (PHA) on 'women and globalization', 'education', 'labour', 'agriculture', 'communications', 'human rights', the 'environment', and so on. In the evening, plenary sessions were held to find ways to aggregate demands and reach a consensus that could later be incorporated in the next draft of the PHA. On Friday, teach-ins were organized.

On Saturday, the People's work was done and a People's March was held. A first group — roughly 10,000 — gathered on the Plains of Abraham (in Upper Town, near the security perimeter); another, larger, group — estimates vary from 30,000 to 50,000 — gathered in Lower Town near the People's tent. When they met — at the corner of Charest Boulevard and rue de la Couronne in Lower Town, a short walk away from the security perimeter — they formed the largest crowd ever assembled in Québec history (save for that which heard young Céline

Dion sing for Pope John-Paul II). But immediately the march split into two, very unequal, groups. Shepherded by 1,500 marshals from the *Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec*, upwards of sixty thousand marched not towards but away from the perimeter to the Parc de l'exposition, where the People were assembled in a parking lot, between a shopping centre and the Pepsi coliseum, to listen to speeches from their representatives.[8] A much smaller group — perhaps 1,000 — broke away from the People's March and walked back uptown to support direct actions against the security perimeter. When they reached the fence, the *Funk Fighting Unaccountable Naughty Korporations* tried, but failed, to organize a sit-in.

Protests: teach-ins, demonstrations and other carnivalesque happenings

In already tried fashion (although only a few years old, anti-summit protests have already established set ways), the Summit of the Americas also occasioned a saturnalia of protests, teach-ins, direct actions and street theatre, organized for the most part either by *Opération Québec Printemps 2001* (OQP 2001), a broad coalition of local community and student groups, or by the *Comité d'acceuil du Sommet des Amériques* (CASA) working with the *Convergence des Luttes Anti-Capitalistes* (CLAC), both anarchist groups, the former from Québec city, the latter from Montréal.[9]

Some teach-ins and conferences were held in what was termed the 'solidarity perimeter', in the Limoilou neighbourhood (further removed than even the People's Summit from the security perimeter). Drawing on militants and experts from such nodes of anti-globalization activity as the International Forum on Globalization, the Third World Network, or *L'observatoire sur la Mondialisation*, they focused on a wide variety of political issues related to globalization in general and to the FTAA in particular: the privatization of water, the clear-cutting of forests, union history, human rights, health care, art and activism, education, the Tobin tax, etc. Workshops on interacting with the media, legal rights, direct actions and ways of conducting civil disobedience were also held inside the 'solidarity perimeter'.

On Friday the 20th, a 'Carnaval anti-capitaliste' was organized by the CASA/CLAC. At 1p.m., a crowd of some 5,000 gathered at Laval University in the suburbs where people joined either a green bloc (peaceful and festive), a yellow bloc (obstructive and defensive) or a red bloc (intent on disturbance and direct actions). Greens went either to the Ilôt Fleuri (a wasteland in Lower Town underneath a highway, remade into a post-industrial happening place: think Blade Runner meets travellers' festivals), or to the Faubourg Saint-Jean Baptiste uptown where the local *Comité populaire* had organized a peaceful occupation of the neighbourhood.[10]

Yellows and reds, along with a small 'black block' assembled by the ad *hoc* Autonomous Organizing Collective of Anti-Authoritarians from the Mid-West, Northeast, Montréal and Québec, marched to the security perimeter. They arrived in the middle of the afternoon. A catapult brought from the Ottawa region by the *Deconstructionist Institute for Surreal Topology* (self-described *Lanarkists*) tried to launch stuffed toy-animals into the security perimeter, while those who

had received training in civil disobedience tried to organized a sit-in. Quickly, both were overtaken by events: a segment of the fence was brought down, police fired tear gas and the already familiar to-and-fro of anti-summit protest began.

Giving colour and context to events were theatre groups — some linked to OQP, others to the *CASA*, or from outside Québec — working to foster what the historical avant-garde (Futurists, Dada, the surrealists, etc.) would have recognized as a radically creative ambiance. The best, most derisive, action was in the Saint-Jean Baptiste neighbourhood, where a section of the fence was decorated with bras and girdles, some inscribed with slogans ('My mother is not for sale'), others with bilingual anti-FTAA/anti-*ZLÉA* slogans (English on one cup, French on the other, with more equanimity than is usually found in the politics of language in Québec).

Feeding mainstream and alternative newspapers and working to facilitate links with other events elsewhere in the hemisphere was the *Centre des Médias Alternatifs-Québec 2001* (the CMAQ), Québec's link to the IndyMedia (independent media) family. Set up in the fall of 2000 by *Alternatives* (a DFAIT-funded NGO), officially launched at parties in Québec City (on 25 January) and in Montréal (on 1 February), the CMAQ was headquartered in the Méduse art complex, on côte d'Abraham, a short walk — but more than a stone's throw — away from the security perimeter, but within range of the policemen's gas. There were also housed medics, who helped those harmed by tear gas and rubber bullets.

Matters of security

The separation between the heads of states' summit and other events was as definite and spectacular as it has ever been in the short history of counter-summit protests. To serve the needs of official delegates and protect their intimacy there were more than 6,000 policemen and women, working for all the police corps with some kind of authority in the region: the Québec City municipal police (circulation, perimeter security), the Sainte-Foy municipal police (airport security), the *Sureté du Québec* (crowd control, criminal activities) and the Royal Canadian Mounted police (internal passports, logistics, perimeter security). They were aided in their work by more than 1,200 soldiers and student volunteers from local police colleges, who were stool-pigeons among the protesters.

Giving weight and significance to the police and soldiers was a spectacle of authority that had been under construction for several months, with the help of police forces from Seattle, Prague, Washington and other sites of anti-summit protests. The first move in the construction of the spectacle of authority — a symbolic move, targeted at what police have come to associate with anti-globalization activities — was the Internet publication in August 2000 of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service's report on 'Anti-Globalization protests'. This was a perfectly banal document that revealed nothing about security arrangements but did signal CSIS's intent to monitor all forms of communication.[11]

In real life, the spectacular build-up of authority started on the first of November, when a press conference was held during which the Québec Minister

of Public Security Serge Ménard and Québec city police spokesman Gaétan Labbé, backed up by representatives of other police corps, unveiled what they called security measures 'unprecedented in Canadian history'.[12] Afterward, every detail of security arrangements (the number of hotel rooms and apartments rented by the RCMP, the kind of assault vehicles and plastic bullets the SQ might use, the breadth of the security perimeter and the depth of police infiltration of anti-globalization groups, etc.) were similarly unveiled at press conferences by a row of senior police officers. On February 4th, three CASA protesters who were distributing anti-FTAA leaflets to tourists in town for the Winter Carnival (the most media-saturated event in Québec City) were arrested at lunch-time on the most central intersection in the city. They refused to identify themselves and were later released. Two weeks later, the city of Ste-Foy declared (in a by-law later revoked) that the wearing of scarves and balaclavas would be forbidden between 1 April and 2 May, in order, as they openly put it, not to 'interfere with repressive measures' (a direct echo of what the Philadelphia police did before the Republican convention in July 2000).

THE MAKING OF TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS

Summit happenings are frequently analyzed in the narrow terms of who stood or fought with whom, did what when, won or lost which battle, or what was won or lost in it, but they also need to be related to broader and more diffused processes of order and change in the post-Bretton Woods world economy. Specifically, they can be understood to be part of the making of new transnational subjects.

Consensus and neoliberal governance

Driving attempts to redefine the terms of global order in the post-Bretton Woods period have been what Stephen Gill has termed globalizing elites, gathering 'at the apex of social hierarchies in the emerging world order', in places increasingly detached from national social formations, working with relatively coherent purpose and ideology.[13] In the immediate wake of the Bretton Woods crisis, globalizing elites either gathered in institutions inherited from the Bretton Woods period (the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) but made more relevant and autonomous by the context of crisis, or they established new forums (the Trilateral Commission, the World Economic Forum in Davos, G7 summits, etc.).

What was done in these exclusive — indeed almost clandestine — gatherings could sometimes be defined in concrete, immediate, terms. Monetarist targeting, for instance — a key neoliberal 'concept of control' and a central component of neoliberal policies in all advanced capitalist countries in the latter half of the 1970s — was born in the BIS and in still more discreet places, such as the Brunner-Meltzer conferences in Konztanz, the bi-annual Carnegie/Rochester Conferences, or the meetings of the Mont Pélerin Society.[14]

More broadly, meetings of global elites served to nurture what the OECD

called the 'collegial management of the developed world's interests' and the G7, a 'sense of common purpose and vision'.[15] Thus they were key to defining the terms of neoliberal regulation, arguably the first mode of regulation born in the world economy itself.

Early in the post-Bretton Woods period, neoliberal concepts of control were impressed — by means of structural adjustment plans and monetarist regulation — on debtor countries that faced monetary or balance-of-payment crises, whether at the centre of the world economy (Britain in 1976) or at the periphery (Chile, Argentina or Peru). Echoing what *haute finance* had dreamed of in the age of the *Pax Britannica*, globalizing elites tried to 'impos[e] upon society ... the concept of the self-regulating market'.[16] The attempt to regulate the world economy authoritatively — by domination rather than hegemonic leadership, to borrow a distinction dear to contemporary political economy — has remained an integral part of neoliberal ordering. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which tried to install investors as privileged subjects in international law, was the latest and most explicit example.

Beginning in the 1980s, however, political events (IMF riots in Caracas, Warsaw, Buenos Aires, Abidjan and Libreville, the popular removal from office of neoliberal presidents in Brazil, Venezuela and Guatemala), as well as structural rigidities (Fordist mechanisms at the centre of the world economy, state planning in socialist economies, weak or nonexistent mechanisms of financial surveillance at the periphery) exposed the economic costs and political fragility of global over-determination.[17]

To increase the efficiency of adjustment and solidify the political foundations of neoliberalism, global regulatory agencies began to concern themselves with political and social processes beyond crude pressure, and to structure their relationship with NGOs and other would-be representatives of global civil society.[18]

It is this concern that defines 'global governance', the political adjunct to global neoliberalism.

'Global governance' is an attempt to invent a political interlocutor with whom globalizing elites might negotiate sustainable terms for global accumulation: a 'real copy', a perfectly fabricated and perfectly acceptable substitute for global civil society. This absolutely crucial attempt is what sets governance apart from previous modes of global regulation: 'mercantile sponsoring' in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, 'free-trade liberalism' in the nineteenth century, 'embedded liberalism' after the Second World War, 'neoliberalism' after the Bretton Woods crisis. Where these all relied for their political sustenance on a relatively exclusive coalition of globalizing elites working in association with a global patchwork of local and nationally-constituted elites (even 'embedded liberalism' was embedded not in the world economy itself, but in national social formations), 'global governance' tries to assemble a broad-based, possibly sustainable, global constituency to bolster and stabilize global order. This constituency, we can think of as a 'global growth machine': a 'broad coalition of social forces that share an apolitical, ostensibly "value-free" understanding of economic

growth', and have moved 'beyond opposition to proposition' to define a consensual path for capitalist growth.[19]

Whether it will succeed in moving global neoliberalism beyond mere domination towards something like hegemony will depend on the outcome of political struggles.

The most spectacular places to see governance's growth machine at work are, precisely, 'global summits'. These are to global governance what universal exhibits were to free-trade internationalism in the age of *Pax Britannica*: idealized representations of order. Where, as Charlotte Brontë put it, universal exhibits gathered a 'unique assemblage of all things' promised by free-trade capitalism, global conferences are gatherings of what appears as a model citizenry, ideally bound to find the best — most efficient, most portable and sustainable — solutions to global problems: of development, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio, June 1992; of human rights, in Vienna a year later; of population growth, in Cairo in September 1994; of social development, in Copenhagen in March 1995; of housing, in Istanbul in June 1996; of variformed challenges to the reform of the United Nations, at the 'We the Peoples' Millennium Forum in New York in May 2000; of the production of wealth, social reproduction and related issues at the 'World Social Forum' in Porto Alegre in January 2001.[20]

Exhibited at global conferences, governance solutions get synthesized into blueprints and forward-looking plans of action — Rio's 'Agenda 21', Cairo's 'Programme of Action', Copenhagen's 'World Social Charter', 'Istanbul's 'Habitat Agenda', New York's 'Declaration and Agenda for Action', Porto Alegre's 'Manifest'. These visible artefacts of a broad division of political labours are made elsewhere and imported into global conferences. To inquire into how and by whom they are made is to begin looking into 'governance' as an attempt to construct transnational subjects.

In the last two decades the regulatory agencies of the world economy have broadened and structured their relationship with would-be representatives of global civil society. At the World Bank, for instance, a concerted effort began in the early 1980s to involve NGOs more closely in policy-making (what is termed the 'mainstreaming' and 'upstreaming' of NGOs): new institutional points of contact were created, new funding windows and lending facilities were opened, and new operational directives were issued that defined the terms of NGO-World Bank collaboration. The proportion of projects involving NGO participation — less than 6 per cent between 1973-88 — grew to almost 50 per cent by the mid-1990s.[21]

In like manner, the OECD made 'a political virtue of the necessity to increase economic efficiency' and started in the early 1980s to mix 'good development policy [with] good politics' by folding development aid into national strategies drawn up in collaboration with representative coalitions of local NGOs and social elites.[22]

Here as well, new funding windows were opened and the relationship with NGOs, GONGOs, GOINGOs, QUANGOs and other would-be representa-

tives of global civil society was further structured.[23] At the World Trade Organization, an NGO ombudsman was put in place and a 'Citizen's Summit' was called for the Seattle Ministerial meeting, that was to serve as a background to the official launch of the *Millennium Round* of negotiations before street protests overtook planned events.[24] Even the World Economic Forum in Davos, a quintessential elite place, has opened itself up somewhat: in 2001, Lori Wallach, Director of Global Tradewatch and a key figure of Seattle protests, addressed delegates at the personal invitation of the Forum's founder Klaus Schwab, who thinks of himself as something of a radical amongst the company he keeps.[25]

At a time when governance agencies are working to 'provide security, prosperity, coherence, order and continuity to the [global] system', Québec's Summit of the Americas can be situated in relation both to the making of neoliberal concepts of control, and to efforts to assemble a global civil society acceptable to globalizing elites.[26] About the importance of the Summit of the Americas in this process little can be said for the moment, except that it was an occasion for hemispheric elites to further define the terms of the 'neo-liberal conditioning framework' in the Americas begun by the North American Free Trade Agreement.[27] In marked contrast to the WTO summit in Seattle — 'the first big negotiation on world trade for over five years' — the Québec summit was not defined in relation to any objectives that might give protesters a measure of their success.[28]

About the making of a global growth machine, it needs be said that this has been an integral part of neoliberal integration in the Americas since its inception. George Bush's 'Enterprise for the Americas' speech made explicit reference to the need to 'strengthen hemispheric democratization', a wish later operationalized by the Miami 'Plan of Action' that explicitly instructed governments to 'review the regulatory framework for non-governmental actors with a view to facilitating their operation and promoting their ability to receive funds', with a view to 'giv[ing] depth and durability to democracy'.[29]

Key here is the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), which has worked — in tune with other regional affiliates of the World Bank — to foster participatory development and to structure relationships with NGOs, 'stakeholders' and other civic partners of globalizing elites. In 'governance' fashion, there have been grand civic gatherings and new sources of funding. The first notable gatherings were IDB conferences held in September 1994 on 'Strengthening Civil Society' and 'Civic Participation and Socioeconomic Participation'.[30] Also in 1994, the IDB held an hemispheric forum on 'Women in the Americas: Participation and Development' from which was born the Oaxaca Initiative ('A Framework for Equitable and Sustainable Development in the Americas'). At the March 1998 IDB Annual Meeting in Cartageana, Executive Vice-President Nancy Birdsall and Edmundo Jarquin, of the newly-created 'State and Civil Society Division', addressed participants at the 'Social Programs, Poverty and Citizen Involvement' seminar, to tell them about the 'inevitability of citizens' involvement in sustainable development'. The two-day seminar concluded on an indisputable

'governance' note: '*[c]itizen participation, properly channeled, generates savings, mobilized additional financial and human resources, promotes equity and makes a decisive contribution to the strengthening of society and the democratic system*'.[31]

In January 1999 the IDB co-sponsored a 'Global Meeting of Generations', in Washington, DC in collaboration with the 'International Association of Students in Economics and Management', 'Youth for Development and Cooperation', the UNDP and the 'International Development Conference'. There, 'one hundred young social entrepreneurs from around the world' sat with 'global, national and grassroots development organizations', to 'discuss key issues and opportunities facing humanity in the 21st century', and to draw up civic blueprints.

Beyond summitry, the IDB has also worked to broaden and structure its relationship with would-be representatives of civil society. Before 'governance', only the 'Small Project Program' (1979) provided a structured, sustained, link between NGOs and the IDB. Back then, representatives of civil society were only involved with the IDB in exceptional circumstances — and then only in a service-delivery capacity.[32] In the last decade, however, the IDB has conducted what Nancy Birdsall called a 'diagnostic survey of the present status of civil society in the region' and, as a result, it set up a variety of outreach and consultation programs for NGOs.[33]

As well, new funding windows and 'social investment funds' were opened to encourage and structure NGO participation: in 1987, a 'Social Investment Fund' was established that was explicitly demand-driven and aimed at fostering the active involvement of community organizations and NGOs in all stages of the project cycle. In 1991, the Indigenous Peoples Fund (IPF) was set up. To 'promote the long-term and sustainable development of the native peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean', the IPF encouraged consultations of all sorts — from information-sharing to decision-making in project-identification and design — between native leaderships and the IDB. In the same spirit, the Multilateral Investment Fund (1992) has concerned itself with building partnerships between NGOs and private voluntary organizations, particularly those representing people usually left out of the economic mainstream. The three investment 'windows' of the MIF — the 'Technical Cooperation Facility', the 'Human Resources Facility' and the 'Small Enterprise Development Facility' — all provide services to build knowledge, encourage economic empowerment and involve women and youth in the 'enterprise economy'.

The IDB has also worked to 'mainstream' and 'upstream' representatives of hemispheric civil society, and to further participatory development, 'defined in broad terms as the process through which people with a legitimate interest (stakeholders) influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them'. In true 'governance' spirit, the IDB has sought efficiency, both political and economic: '*[p]articipation improves project design by reducing the cost of obtaining accurate and site-specific data on environmental, social and cultural factors as well as stakeholders' felt needs and priorities. Also, project managers can get input from all groups, including people often marginalized in the development process*'.[34]

As the political contours of regional integration were taking shape in the early 1990s the IDB set up a 'State and Civil Society Division' and a 'Social Programs and Sustainable Development Department'.[35] As well, a Women in Development (WID) unit was created in 1994 that begat a 'Fund for Women's Leadership and Representation' to direct funds to organizations that promote women's participation and leadership at national, regional, and local levels, in the economic, political and social spheres.[36]

Until very recently, the Organization of American States had played a minor role in the construction of a hemispheric growth machine (though sometimes it did act as a secretariat for hemispheric integration — as it did in Lima in June 1997, when OAS Ministers of Foreign relations set the agenda for the Santiago Summit of the Americas).[37] After Santiago, however, a 'Unit for the Promotion of Democracy' was created that has worked, modestly, through state institutions, 'to consolidate both civic practices and mechanisms of participation in the political process'.[38] In June 1999 a 'Committee on Civil Society Participation' was created 'to establish clear, transparent, modern procedures for interaction between civil society and the political organs of the OAS'.[39] These procedures allowed the Committee to consult with more than 900 organizations and to assemble a stock of policy proposals. At the 'Hemispheric Meeting' (Miami, 18-20 January 2001), these proposals were synthesized into the 'Final Document: Recommendations by Civil Society Organizations' that will, in all likelihood, have been part of what was discussed in Québec City.[40]

As well as the IDB and the OAS, other governing agencies have also worked to define efficient and sustainable terms of hemispheric social relations by hosting meetings with designated representatives of civil society. At their fourth meeting in San José (Costa Rica) in March 1998, trade ministers established the 'Committee of Government representatives on the Participation of Civil Society'. In November, this Committee issued an 'Open Invitation to Civil Society' that detailed both its desire to work with civil society representatives and the terms of collaboration. The Committee met twice in the summer of 1999. On November 4, 1999, during the fifth meeting of the trade ministers of the Americas in Toronto, the Committee's report was made public.[41]

In the spring of 2000 a second 'Open Invitation to Civil Society' was extended, in preparation for Québec's Summit of the Americas, arguably the most important gathering yet of the hemispheric growth machine, both quantitatively and in terms of policy-readiness: never did so many gather with such defined purpose or with, in the background, such a decorous, 'colourful tapestry of cultures, values and traditions'.[42]

Standing at the apex of another transnational hierarchy that has taken shape in the last decade, the People's Summit was the other part of the hemispheric growth machine that met in Québec City. For a decade between the mid-eighties and mid-nineties social forces opposed to neoliberal integration in the Americas organized summits, gatherings and *encuentros*. In North America, the FTA and NAFTA negotiations occasioned a veritable explosion of trans-border summits

between the Action Canada Network (ACN), the American Fair Trade Campaign (FTC) and the *Red Mexicana de Acción Frente Libre Comercio* (RMAFLC).[43]

Amongst notable summits were: the ACN-RMLAC *Encuentro* (Mexico, October 1990), the ACN-RMAFLC-FTC summit (Mexico, April 1991), the San Ygnacio *encuentro* of environmental groups (April 1991), the Zacatenas meeting (October 1991), the Trinational Working Women's conference (Valle de Bravo, February 1992) and the tri-national cross-border meeting between representatives of the ACN, the RMAFLC, the CTC and the American Alliance for Responsible Trade (Niagara Falls, October 1993). This was the last tri-national summit before the NAFTA came into effect on January 1994. After NAFTA, two *Encuentros por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo* were organized in Mexico by the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación National* (EZLN): the first took place in Chiapas in July-August 1996, the second in *Belem do Para*, 6 to 11 December 1999.

In the same period, trans-border summits were also being organized nearer Brazil, another pole of transnational integration. The Sao Paulo Forum was founded in 1990 by Brazil's *Partido Dos Trabalhadores* (PT) and representatives from left organizations and movements, including the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of EL Salvador, the Broad Front of Uruguay, Bolivia's Free Bolivar Movement, Peru's United Left and the Cuban Communist Party.[44]

The second meeting of the Sao Paulo Forum was held in Mexico City in June 1991; the third in Managua in July 1992, the fourth in Havana in July 1993 and the last in Montevideo in 1995. A gathering of more than two hundred left movements, parties and organizations, it was hailed by Libya's Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi as the embryo of a 'Popular World Front'.[45]

But fronts born of popular summitry did not hold up. Less than four years after Niagara Falls and two after Montevideo, popular summits were already being folded into the process of hemispheric governance. In 1997, the *Nossa América* popular forum was held in Belo Horizonte, alongside the 'Third Summit Meeting of Ministers for Commerce' and the 'Third Business Forum of the Americas'. In true 'governance' fashion, it both gave birth to a new transnational subject (the 'Hemispheric Social Alliance') and, on its behalf, produced a syncretic, reformist, agenda accepting of what Michel Chossudovsky has called the 'dominant counter-discourse', which presses for the inclusion of environmental, labour and human rights clauses within trade agreements, and pushes for poverty alleviation schemes and institutional reforms.[46]

In April 1998, the First Peoples' Summit, convened by the Hemispheric Social Alliance, was held in Santiago, alongside the second Summit of the Americas.[47] 'Two thousand delegates met in twelve sectoral forums, workshopping ideas for an alternative social and economic model in the hemisphere.' Then was drafted the first People's Hemispheric Agreement' (PHA), entitled 'Alternatives for the Americas'. Key to it was the People's acceptance of free trade and foreign invest-

ments as privileged 'instruments for achieving just and sustainable development'.[48] The HSA campaign continued in March 1999 in Costa Rica, where a Coordinating Group was chosen — that included Common Frontiers and the RQIC — to pilot the PHA push for inclusion and reform. A further draft of the PHA was prepared at a 'civil society meeting' in Rio in June 1999 (held in parallel with the meeting of heads of states from the European Union, Latin Americas and the Caribbean). And during the 'citizens' forum' held prior to the fourth summit of Trade Ministers of the Hemisphere (Toronto, November 1999) the PHA draft was prepared that was discussed and updated when 'hemispheric civil society' reconvened for the Second People's Summit in Québec city.

Thus was being constructed a 'hemispheric growth machine' that operates mainly as a problem-solving body working to define terms for sustainable accumulation. The heads of states' Summits and the People's Summits, of course, are not reducible to one another. In terms of their political origins, as well as in feeling and intent, they are relatively distinct entities. And if there was nothing more to neoliberalism than concepts of control coercively imposed — what global neoliberalism was before the mid-eighties — then the People's Summit would be a radical event indeed. But in the age of governance, when global regulatory agencies are trying to move neoliberal regulation beyond coercion towards consensus, the attempt to create a responsible hemispheric civil society and the People's' move from 'Resisting' to 'Proposing' should be seen as twinned enterprises, both parts of the making of a 'hemispheric growth machine'.

Protest and resistance

The political dynamics of the post-Bretton Woods period opened room not only for transnational concepts of control and governance-defined civility, but also for forms of oppositional politics. To describe it, some have written of 'new left internationalism', others of 'global contention', of 'global social movements', or of 'global resistance'.[49] By many accounts, what is most distinctive about this new kind of global politics — in relation both to the inherited ways of left internationalism and to 'governance' — is how it creates, at the point of contact with global power (where strategic courses meet) what Michel Foucault would have recognized as 'communities of resistance'.[50]

Lately, the best places to observe transnational communities of resistance in action have been protests against gatherings of globalizing elites. Most famously, fifty thousand met in Seattle on 30 November 1999 to force the closing of the second ministerial conference of the World Trade Organization. On 16 April 2000, eight thousand protested the annual meeting of World Bank and IMF in Washington. In September, fifteen thousand were in Prague to protest the 55th annual WB/IMF summit — the first such event to be held in a former East-block country.[51] A few months later, a few hundred were in Davos to protest the opening of the 31st World Economic Summit.[52] Brought together by organizations with an acute sense of the marvellous and the sensational (the Ruckus Society, the Direct Action Network, Reclaim the Streets, Mobilization for

Global Justice, etc.), often coloured wondrously (in Prague, yellows were 'ecolos', pinks reds of all sorts, blues anarchists and anti-fascists), fused by tactical preoccupations readily dramatized by journalistic accounts, their carnivalesque aesthetics and sense of happening contrasting markedly with 'governance's' dutiful greys and decorous fêtes (this year at Davos, Youssou N'Dour sang and danced for the globalizing elites), summit protesters are certainly most spectacular communities of resistance.

Less sensational, but more significant, are the transnational communities of resistance being born in countless campaigns against the ways and consequences of globalization: union busting and gender exploitation in export zones (in Saipan, Mexico's *maquilladoras*, Guatemala, etc.), brand-name exploitation (by GAP, General Electric, Guess, Mitsubishi, Nike, Reebok, Suzuki and others), sexual tourism (in South-East Asia and Europe), the ecological impact of structural reforms, the imprisonment of notable labour leaders or social activists (Ken Saro-Wiwa, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Wei Jingsheng, Wariebi K. Agamene, A. Aidelomon, Frank O. Kokori and others), undemocratic transnational policies (the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, for instance). Organized by a diffused *'nébuleuse'* of relatively new international organizations, documentation and research centres, these campaigns have brought social forces directly onto the terrain of the world economy, not as a severed and regimented lot of problem-solvers, nor as the obligatory agents of cosmopolitan *proxies*, but as rooted and indefinite communities of struggle. Elsewhere, I have called this the radical, ordinary, new internationalism of social movements:

> not radical because it represents a leap of consciousness, because it proclaims ex cathedra its anti-capitalism, or because it invents new and broader solidarities, but because it is an increasingly ordinary, everyday expression of the deep fellowship of the moved and the shaken of the world economy [and] because it expresses a shared marginalization that is more deeply rooted materially than that projected by cosmopolitan projects of the 19th century or desired by Internationals. This is not the crystalline internationalism of those who share a similar position in the mathematical equations explaining the capitalist accumulation process, but the cloudy internationalism of those who live in a capitalist world economy, and who resist global capitalism as an historically specific and contingent mode of social organization.[53]

Transnational campaigns tend to be tied to particular issues, and are dismissed for their 'economic-corporatist' consciousness and their inability to tell us 'what they are fighting for' and what 'they care about.' Although less political than strategic, and certainly lacking in programmatic coherence, they may nonetheless be having a structuring impact on the world economy as a place of politics.[54] Dragging context and politics with them to the world economy, at once global and radically grounded, transnational communities of resistance may be transforming the world economy into a place where ideas and modes of organizations

as well as ways of life and struggle become relatively autonomous from individual agency. Charged by contextualized struggles, the world economy may be becoming a conductor, or even a catalyst. This we may take as a guiding hypothesis, as we turn our attention back to Québec's Summit of the Americas.

QUÉBEC CITY AND THE MAKING OF TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS

The protests in Québec City, of course, neither rose in the sky like the sun at an appointed time, nor were they simply induced by some kind of global ambience (or by what Edward Said has called a 'global oppositional mood'[55]). They were made not by cosmopolitan ghosts but by actually-existing groups. Between June 2000 (when SalAMI's first training camp was held in Val Cartier) and the beginning of the Summit, some fifty *formations* (training courses, from prepared kits) were given near and around the city by *formateurs* and *formatrices*, to a medley of groups (union locals, community groups, nuns, students and women's groups), on a variety of issues related to neoliberal globalization (and, in the case of CMAQ's *Ateliers de formations,* on the manufacturing and dissemination of dissenting news).[56]

In that period there were also teach-ins and *formations* in Montréal, two CLAC/CASA *consultas* in Québec City (the first, in February, brought together between three and four hundred anarchist sympathizers; the second, in March, was open only to group representatives but still gathered about one hundred people); several meetings of the *Université populaire* and *Alternative*-linked radio shows (on CKIA, *Radio Basse-ville*); truly innumerable conferences on globalization-related issues (organized by such diverse groups as the *Table de concertation contre la pauvreté de Sainte Foy-Sillery*, the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, *Droit de Parole*, *Communication Basse-ville,* the Shakti women of colour collective, the Immigrant Workers' Centre, etc.); at least one workshop on legal rights (organized by the *Ligue des Droits et Libertés*); as well as numerous anti-capitalist activities and spectacles (in Québec city anti-capitalist music may be becoming a genre of its own). Between mid-January and March, a CASA caravan also reached two dozen cities in the Canadian Maritimes and in the North-East United States. During the protests OQP and CASA committees, in collaboration with others, organized food, housing (the equivalent of 300 hotels were set up in a couple weeks, with volunteer labour, no money, while dealing with police harassment) as well as medical assistance and legal aid for those who were injured or arrested (at the time of writing, OQP and the CASA were working with the *Travailleurs Canadiens de l'Automobile* and others to set up a *Comité Légal de soutien* for prisoners).[57]

The protests in Québec City were also made internationally, sometimes by the very groups and people that had organized counter-summit protests elsewhere. Reasoning like a policeman, looking for a confederacy of anti-globalization forces, we could follow trails of personal and political contacts, some open and institutional, others clandestine, both in 'real' life and on-line. Connecting dots,

we could show that, indeed, the making of protests in Québec City was linked to like happenings elsewhere, by specific people and organizations who shape the aesthetics of anti-summit protests (anti-capitalist carnivals too are made, by such groups as the Ruckus Society or Reclaim the Streets), give them their language, tactics (lock-downs, street parties, property destruction, affinity groups, civil disobedience, etc.) and a measure of political coherence.

But beyond what was constructed in the most voluntarist sense of the term, the protests in Québec City were also charged by a more abstract — but no less determining — sense of context. Were references to the works of Louis Althusser not so out of fashion as to have become nearly indecipherable we could write of the making of the protests in Québec as having been 'overdetermined' by the global level.[58] Short of that, we can more modestly suggest that protests were more than what could have been made in a vacuum, and, perhaps, more politically significant than what a policeman could see.

A good measure of the significance of a global sense of place to the making of protests in Québec City is how groups and people involved were 'practically conscious' (to borrow Anthony Giddens' term) of happenings elsewhere on the terrain of the world economy, and how their politics were being defined not just locally, but also in answer to what was done elsewhere, in other circumstances.[59] Especially revealing here is how issues inherited from the very short history of summit protests became structuring concerns in preparation for Québec's Summit of the Americas.[60]

Early summit protests were events unto themselves. Sure of their contrapuntal unity, radically defiant of political intent and instrumental thinking, participants subsumed political differences under strategic concerns: 'how to climb trees, block roads, lock down on doors, eat and shit in extreme situations, scale buildings, deal with cops, minister to the injured, show solidarity and survive in jail', how to 'hold … the space, wait …, [and] make … the point that we have a right to be here.'[61] When the 'Peoples' Global Action Against Free Trade and the World Trade Organisation' (PGA) held what was arguably the first contemporary anti-summit protest in Geneva in May 1998, diversity of politics and tactics reigned, with radically little concern for common programs: '*the people came with the banners of all kinds of struggles against some aspect of globalization: local unions fighting privatizations or austerity, groups of solidarity with the south, squatters, plus many personal banners, musicians, and the caravan tractors towing a huge sound system'*.[62]

A year later in Prague, a simple colour scheme sufficed to articulate different positions, and 'despite tactical and strategic differences between protesters, most agreed that their action had been effective in ... shutting down the summit and bringing the destructive policies of the World Bank and IMF to the attention of the world'.[63] But in Seattle — the first significant anti-globalization protest held in the United States and a crucial moment in many respects — the nature of protest changed. Though there were moments of broad collaboration ('Teamsters and Turtles Together at Last'), the Seattle protests are most remembered — and most significantly by militants involved in making the protests in Québec — for

a sharp division between street protests and the orderly politics of trade unions wanting to get 'labour a seat at the table' to make globalization work for workers.[64] Tellingly, twenty city blocks separated union workers gathered in a football stadium at the foot of the Space Needle to hear speeches and wave banners 'under the indulgent eyes of the Seattle constabulary', and the convention centre where 'protesters on the front line were taking their stand'. When the divide could have been closed (as the union crowd left the stadium), 'the marshals for the union march steered the big crowds away from the action'.[65]

In that context, the subjective sense of totality that had prevailed earlier disintegrated into the political settling of scores: *in situ* no more, protests became objectivized and politicized. In what must be one of the more curious moments of anti-summit protest, Medea Benjamin and her colleagues from the San Francisco-based Global Exchange, which had waged a four year campaign against Nike, stood on the steps of Nike Town and other sweatshop outlets in downtown Seattle to defend them against anarchists and other trouble-makers, calling on the police to identify and arrest them.[66]

After Seattle, anti-summit protests became remarkably less about themselves, more reflexive and politically deliberate, and more divided. This was evident, for instance, on 16 April 2000, when eight thousand demonstrators met in Washington for the annual meeting of World Bank and IMF (unsupported by organized labour), and in Nice in December when thousands of activists gathered against the summit of European Union heads of state. In both cases, anti-summit protesters were cut off from local political issues and there were sharp conflicts between political affiliations and tendencies.[67]

More explicitly political than Geneva's PGA or Prague's Initiative Against Economic Globalization (INPERG), Québec's OQP was, from the beginning, a more intent host. While the former groups were lithe organizations that functioned as technical links between movements, rather than centres of political power (more like corresponding societies than the Comintern), the OQP made itself into something that resembled an executive committee and it spent almost the whole year preceding the Summit of the Americas wading through broad ideological debates: are 'we' to define ourselves as 'citizens', 'the people' or 'the proletariat'? Are 'we' against 'capitalism', 'neoliberalism', 'globalization' or 'capital'? Are 'we' for 'reform' or 'revolution'? It also tried to settle on a correct plan of action to match its political aims and to draw up an 'invincible, credible, legitimate' political programme that would be 'understandable by all and absolutely realist.'[68]

Not before its *Manifeste* was finally drawn up in February 2001 did OQP put aside political differences with the CASA/CLAC to coordinate housing and food distribution initiatives.[69] Three weeks before the Summit, the immense task of finding housing for out-of-city militants had barely begun, teach-ins and demonstrations to take place in the 'solidarity perimeter' had not yet been planned, and medical and legal assistance services were still divided along broad political lines. The CMAQ — arguably the most politically committed of all

IndyMedia outfits — was still working on ways to reconcile the IndyMedia 'open publishing' tradition with its desire for relevant, properly contextualized and informed reporting.

In the weeks, days and hours before the Summit, amazing energy was expended and protests did emerge from having been nearly buried in globally-reflexive politics. Protesters were fed and housed (some at Laval University or in local colleges, others in private homes), an indisputable sense of place and event was created and, again *in situ*, protesters did create a radical presence that challenged both the will-to-order of the heads of states summit and the apolitical reformism of the People's Summit. But still, so animated were protests by global reflexivity (and by the anticipation of tourists, in the majority everywhere, including among the police) that the patient politics of civil disobedience and the fragile ambience of anti-summit protests were rapidly overtaken by more animated and confrontational ways of politics, especially near the security perimeter. In spite of considerable efforts invested in civil disobedience (by one estimate, a third of the people who participated in Friday's CASA/CLAC march had received some form of legal or political training), protests did not shape up at all as planned (or as they did in the student occupation movement of May 1968 in Paris — the first global anti-systemic movement, a generation ago, before global reflexivity).[70]

Reacting to events from Seattle and elsewhere, dynamized by a globally-inflated sense of predetermination, all those involved were looking for a more definite and quicker resolution than they would have otherwise. Thus did cosmopolitan ghosts come back into the picture, carried by global reflexivity: spectres confronting spectres, everyone in Québec acted with more abandon, fighting what the *Economist* had called — before Seattle — the 'fight for globalization'.[71]

In the end, the police ran out of tear-gas and took to using rubber bullets more offensively than they had planned.[72] Carnivalesque happenings — the most fragile indicators of a sense of place and event — were swept away: the *Funk Fighting Unaccountable Naughty Korporations* were gassed out of their efforts to reclaim the streets, the *Lanarkists* were not given much time to catapult stuffed toy-animals into the security perimeter, the Ilôt Fleuri was charged by police and the Saint-Jean Baptiste neighbourhood — a green zone no more, as of Saturday — was inundated with tear-gas. The only puppets seen were on the People's march as it walked away from the security perimeter.

Also significant were local links made in the process of what was, in essence, a globally-situated event. Some years ago, writing about anti-NAFTA campaigns in Canada, Mexico and the United States, I suggested that transnational activism did not just transcend locality but was also constitutive of it.[73] This was seen in the *Red Mexicana de Acción Frente Libre Comercio* socializing the politics of opposition to the PRI; and in the role played by the Action Canada Network in the broadening of what was then being celebrated as 'coalition politics' (a part of which has since moved, gingerly, toward a 'structured movement, something

transitional that is more than a coalition and less than a party', intent on 'changing how we think about politics, extending the range of what's possible, and considering a fundamental challenge to capitalism').[74]

In Québec, opposition to free trade with the United States and Mexico in the 1980s did not have a similar impact, largely because of the hegemony of neoliberal nationalism, that defined Free Trade as an opportunity for Québec's bourgeoisie. But popular opposition to the Summit of the Americas did encourage new links between local social movements. In the year that preceded the Summit, two corporatist student bodies (the *Fédération des étudiants(es) Universitaire du Québec* and the *Fédération des étudiants(es) des CEGEPS du Québec*), were openly challenged by the new *Association solidaire pour un syndicalisme étudiant,* remarkably more militant, and intimately involved in anti-Summit politics. In like manner, the regrouping of community and alternative media — under the *Altermédia* banner — was closely linked to the creation of the CMAQ (born at the *Colloque des médias alternatifs québécois* in November 2000 in Drummondville). In the Mercier riding in Montréal — held continuously by the *Parti Québécois* since the radical poet Gérald Godin defeated Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa in 1976 — a provincial by-election was held on 9 April contested by the first united left candidate in Québec history.[75]

All this entered into the politics of opposition to the Summit of the Americas.

Four hundred and sixty people were arrested in Québec city during the Summit of the Americas and charged with the habitual menu of offences against the State: assault against a policeman, unlawful assembly, causing a disturbance, riot. Crimes of presence, they signal the limits of neoliberal civility. A dozen protesters were kept in jail in the week that followed. Most notable was the CLAC's Jaggi Singh, who was, for seventeen days, Québec's Mumia Abu-Jamal. To support him and others the OQP and the CASA (now the *Comité d'adieu au Sommet des Amériques*) organized demonstrations at the Orsainville penitentiary in Charlesbourg and at the Palais de Justice in Lower Town, a short walk from the now-empty site of the People's Summit. On 1 May the CASA organized a support march for political prisoners that started at the Parc de l'Amérique française, near where the security perimeter had been, and ended at the Palais de Justice.

Thus was a community of resistance made in Québec City in the months that preceded the Summit of the Americas. Determinedly about itself, radically unbound by the exigencies of problem-solving politics, entirely *in situ*, evanescent where global civility tends to immanence, this community was markedly different from the twinned summits of the hemispheric growth machine. Were terms of this kind not so out of date, we would raise the hypothesis of a 'revolutionary rupture' with existing forms of power.[76]

CONCLUSION

For three days in April, Québec city was part of what Saskia Sassen calls the 'world-wide grid of strategic places'.[77] Like other places in that grid, it was a contested terrain.

To raise critical awareness of the kind of politics being made in the post-Bretton Woods world economy, I have emphasized differences between two relatively coherent ensembles: i) a hemispheric growth machine gathered to settle social relations in conformity with neoliberal values and perspectives, and ii) a community of resistance charging the world economy with politics.

What actually happened, of course, did not entirely conform to this distinction. Some groups involved in Summit politics — *Alternatives* and *OQP*, for example — did cross the divide between ghosts and resistants; the People's tent was more open to protestors that had originally been planned, though for a fee, and only after organizers realized that fewer delegates had shown up than had registered; some unionists did join the CASA/CLAC march on Friday; and a few who started Saturday's march away from the security perimeter did double back towards it, to support direct action (in spite of the remarkably police-like efforts of FTQ's marshals). Some attended the People's Summit from Monday to Thursday and then went to the solidarity perimeter, to the Ilôt Fleurit, or to protests near the security perimeter on Friday and Saturday. After the Summit, the *Travailleurs Canadiens de l'Automobil*e, the Québec branch of the Canadian Auto Workers, did help organize legal support for political prisoners, and some of the People's representatives, most notably Françoise David of the *Fédération des femmes du Québec*, did express sympathy for political prisoners, though all the media, including the CBC, had only run human-interest stories on Jaggi Singh. At the level of tactics, there was not, as Thomas Walkom put it, 'a straightforward fissure between young anarchists who advocate so-called direct action — a phrase that covers everything from sit-ins to rock throwing — and those committed to peaceful protest'.[78]

At the level of discourse and in political programmes, those who gathered in the People's summit and those who occupied places near the security perimeter still had more in common with one another than they did with the globalizing elites on whose part no significant divide-crossing was recorded — though we all saw Summit delegates take their tags off, not to join the protests, but to walk about unfenced parts of the old city.

On the whole, though, groups and popular movements opposed to the ways of neoliberal integration in the Americas were configured as argued above — parties to the hemispheric growth machine on one side, resistants on another — not showing what they had in common and amounting to less than they could have. This, undoubtedly, was a political failure. Had the People's tent been more open from the beginning, then something more political than yet another collection of near-parliamentary briefs could have come out of the People's Summit; had 60,000 people walked to the security perimeter on Saturday, a more meaningful occupation of the place could have been organized; or, alternatively, had direct action resisters marched with the People they would have had a less insignificant afternoon.

Looking toward the future, this raises the crucial question of the articulation between parts of what could be, but is not yet, a global movement against neolib-

eralism. In their optimism, slogans heard in Québec City during the Summit of the Americas — '*L'Union fait la force*', '*À qui la rue? À nous*', '*Pueblo unido, jamas sera vencido*' — gave a misleading sense of the ease with which joint actions can be organized by disparate groups.[79]

But, as Althusser suggested in one of his rare political interventions, only in concrete actions can social movements be fused into more than they are individually, to take advantage of moments of revolutionary rupture.[80] In the present context, gatherings of globalizing elites provide excellent occasions for such concrete actions. Properly constructed, organized protests can then provide, as John Berger wrote of mass demonstrations, necessary 'rehearsals of revolutionary awareness'.[81]

The next Summit of the Americas will be held in Buenos Aires.

NOTES

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1 André C. Drainville, 'Of Social Spaces, Citizenship, and the Nature of Power in the World Economy', *Alternatives*, 20, Spring 1995; André C. Drainville, 'The Fetishism of Global Civil Society: Global Governance, Transnational Urbanism and Sustainable Capitalism in the World Economy', *Comparative Urban and Community Research*, no. 6, 1999 (1998). On scenarios for settling social relations, see for instance: William P. Kreml and Charles W. Kegley Jr., 'A Global Political Party: The Next Step', *Alternatives*, January-March 1996; Daniele Archibugi and David Held, eds., *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order*, London: Polity Press, 1995; Richard Falk, *On Humane Governance: Towards a New Global Politics*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press/ World Order Models Project, 1995; and Ricardo Petrella, *Écueils de la mondialisation: Urgence d'un nouveau contrat social*, Montréal: Fides, 1997.

2 Robert W. Cox, *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

3 For the complete text of the EAI announcement, see *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, George Bush: January 1 to June 30, 1990*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1991, pp. 873-7.

4 Umberto Eco, 'Travels in Hyperreality', in *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986, pp. 3-58. Between 1996 and 1997, *Place d'Youville* was the starting point of riots on *St-Jean Baptiste* day, Québec's national holiday.

5 Details of DFAIT events can be found at http://www.holaquebec.ca.

6 In the spirit of inter-agency collaboration the *Institut* also served as a DFAIT

temp agency, recruiting *agents et agentes de liaison* and other support staff for the Summit of the Americas, and it was host to several Summit officials, including, thrice, Marc Lortie, the Prime Minister's sherpa. A press release detailing the Conclusions of the colloqium can be found at the Institut's web site: http://www.ulaval.ca/scom/Communiques.de.presse/2001/avril/IQHEIzlea.

7 Founded in 1994, the RQIC is under the hegemonic guidance of Québec's main union confederations (the *Confédération des Syndicat Nationaux*, the *Centrale des enseignants du Québec* and the *Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec*). Its membership also includes another, much smaller, union confederation (the *Centrale des syndicats du Québec*,), union-made or union-funded NGOs (most notably the *Centre international de solidarité ouvrière* and *Solidarité populaire Québec*), a professional appendage of the union movement (the *Association canadienne des avocats du mouvement syndical*), two state-funded NGO's (the *Association québécoise des organismes de coopération internationale* and the *Fédération des femmes du Québec*) and two research centres based in Montréal universities that are also close to unions (McGill's *Centre d'études sur les régions en développement* and UQUAM's RQIC).

8 On 'protest pits' and anti-summit movements, see Alexander Cockburn, Jeffrey St.Clair, and Allan Sekula, *5 Days that Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond*, London: Verso, 2000, p. 19.

9 Members of OQP included one neighbourhood committee (the *Comité populaire Saint-Jean Baptiste*), several student associations (the *Comité de mobilisation de l'Association étudiante du CEGEP de F-X Garneau* , the *Comité de mobilisation de l'Association étudiante du CEGEP de Saint-Foy*, the *Coalition de l'Université Laval sur le libre-échange dans les Amériques,*), left parties and NGOs (the *Parti pour la Démocratie Socialiste*, *ATTAC*, the Rassemblement pour une Alternative Populaire, the *Parti Communiste du Québec*, *Alternatives*), locally-based unions (the *Syndicat des Employés de la Fonction Publique*, the *Syndicats des professeurs du CEGEP de Sainte-Foy*) as well as solidarity NGOs (*Carrefour Tiers-Monde*, *Casa latino Americaine de Québec*, *Plan Nagua*).

10 N.d., 'Sommet des Amériques: ne nous laissons pas intimider. Occupons notre quartier', *L'Info-bourg*, 1, 2001.

11 Canadian Security Intelligence Service, 'Anti-Globalization — A Spreading Phenomenon', Ottawa: CSIS, 2000.

12 CIEPAC, 'Seattle: The World Mobilization of the Century Against Globalization', Chiapas: Centro de Investigaciones Economicas y politicas de Accion Comunitaria, 1999; Claudette Samson, 'Il faudra 3.8 kms de clôture', *Le Soleil*, 2 November 2000, A-3; Claudette Samson, 'Un sommet de sécurité', *Le Soleil*, 2 November 2000, A-1, A-2.

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University Press, 1987, pp. 250-65.

14 On the neoliberal concept of control, see Peter Burnham, 'Neo-Gramscian Hegemony and International Order', *Capital and Class*, 45, Fall 1991; Henk Overbeek, *Global Capitalism and National Decline*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1990. About the global construction of monetarism, see André C. Drainville, 'Monetarism in Canada and the World Economy', *Studies in Political Economy* , no. 46, Spring 1995.

15 Peter Hajnal, *The Seven Powers Summit: Documents from the Summits of Industrialized Countries*, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1989. OECD, *Facing the Future: Mastering the Probable and Managing the Unpredictable*, Paris: OECD, 1979, p. 78.

16 Karl Polanyi's *Great Transformation*, cited in Robert W. Cox, 'Structural Issues of Global Governance: Implications for Europe', in Stephen Gill, ed., *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 261.

17 Rutherford M. Poats, ed., *Twenty-Five Years of Development Co-operation: A Review*, Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Development Assistance Committee), 1985. On IMF riots and early resistance to neoliberal regulation, see also Didier Bigo, 'Contestations populaires et émeutes urbaines; les jeux du politique et de la transnationalité', *Cultures et contacts* numéro spécial sur les émeutes urbaines, 1992; John Walton, 'Urban Protests and the Global Political Economy: The IMF Riots', in Michael Peter Smith and Joe R. Feagin, eds., *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics*, Basil Blackwell, 1987.

18 See Peter B. Kenen, 'The Use of IMF Credit', in Catherine Gwin *et al.*, eds., *The International Monetary Fund in a Multipolar World: Pulling Together*, Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1989, p. 69. On the changing relationship between the World Bank and developing countries and on the Social Dimensions of Adjustment program, administered by the World Bank in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program, see *Making Adjustment Work for the Poor*, Washington: World Bank, 1990.

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