Another Road to Serfdom?

By



For Dr. Geoff Poitras
GLS 812

Western society has developed a business rhetoric that champions freedom, democracy and laissez-faire economics. These values, and the associated notion of what I shall call *self-interested individualism*, have infused our social ethos, politics and mainstream media with considerable success. Of course, who would argue *against* the idea of freedom in general, particularly when most assume that our Western society is seen by many as the primary source and defender of liberty? As the New Hampshire licence plate states: "Live Free or Die." This phrase is a likely descendant of the similar statement "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" from the American War of Independence. These assertions are serious commitments to sustain and we are proud to live up to our historical association with freedom. But embracing freedom, given the positive connotations it evokes, is also seen as a provocative opportunity to *capitalize* upon, particularly within the domain of free enterprise. "MTV is associated with the forces of freedom and democracy around the world," said Viacom CEO Sumner Redstone in 1994 (Klein, 2000, p. 129). Clearly, freedom and economics are close companions within the business world. The captains of industry have a lot of power and influence so when they associate themselves with freedom people seem to listen and believe. Yet *freedom* is an abstract concept not easy to define. How do we know we are *really* free? How does mainstream society recognize its assumed freedoms are in jeopardy? Giving in to blind acceptance of our fundamental values, places those values in danger. We as a society must remain vigilant and continue to question our assumptions. Perhaps it is time to re-visit our ideas of freedom, particularly within the context of our business rhetoric, to understand on what basis we are free *before* the masters of business rhetoric tell us what they need from society to ensure we remain free?

In addition to the founding ideas of the American state, are the failed "command structures" of the Soviet Union, totalitarian Germany or the kings of medieval Europe worthy reminders of how free we are now? Is this also the context the New Hampshire licence plate gains meaning? But is to "Live Free or Die" assuming our historical knowledge? Yet not all of us think in historical terms. In place of history, much of our business rhetoric today would have us believe government intervention into the marketplace is the closest approximation of an unwarranted command structure; it is as if regulations are a proxy for a dark totalitarian past. Those fluent in business rhetoric are skilled at portraying governments as the antithesis of freedom. But more questions must be asked. Is the modern state our only source of a command structure? Do we believe we are free only because we are told we are free? Do those who claim they have the tools to ensure freedom gain advantages? Perhaps most importantly, why is our notion of freedom so closely associated with business rhetoric?

Credit can go largely to Milton Friedman. This Nobel Prize laureate, whose *A Theory of the Consumption Function* (1957) is considered his greatest academic work, has also been extremely influential within the business community with such books as *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) and *Free to Choose* (1980). Within these books lies a fundamental economic idea that has swept across the world: "Economic freedom is an essential requisite for political freedom" (Friedman, 1980, p. 2). This is arguably the corpus of our business rhetoric today and given the considerable influence this idea has had on our society, from England to Chile, the primary aim of this paper is to provide a brief investigation into the worthiness of such a position, particularly with reference to aspects of human nature and social organization I suggest economist rarely consider.

It should be pointed out, however, the idea that economic freedom equals political freedom does not originate with Friedman but is likely a result of an evolution of ideas Friedman synthesized from the earlier work of men like Friedrick A. Hayek. Hayek wrote, "The...argument in favor of economic freedom was the outcome of a free growth of economic activity which has been the undesigned and unforeseen by-product of political freedom" (Hayek, 1944, p. 15). Of course Adam Smith, author of *An Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), known as the founding father of economic theory, clearly inspired both these men. Friedman, for example, wrote, "Adam Smith's flash of genius was his recognition that the prices that emerged from voluntary transactions between buyers and sellers — for short, in a free market — could coordinated the activity of millions of people..." (Friedman, 1980, p.13).

Yet Friedman and Hayek's concern for freedom were also a result of the overwhelming political events of their respective periods in history. Hayek in *The Road to Serfdom* is clearly concerned about "totalitarian systems" in Russia, Germany and Italy that developed in during the 1930s. Couple this with the economic uncertainty associated with North America's stock market crash and it would be fair to suggest that Hayek was fearful a misguided, knee-jerk wave of left-of-centre, or perhaps totalitarian, government intervention was heading for the United States. "For at least twenty-five years before the spectre of totalitarianism becoming a real threat, we had progressively been moving away from the basic ideas on which Western civilization has been built." (Friedman, 1980, p. 12). Friedman's Monetarist ideas, on the other hand, were not only a challenge to Keynesian economics, stagflation, and the expansion of the social safety net in North America, but perhaps the success of Sputnik (1957) as a result of the

Soviet Union's planned economy. In both cases, I suggest, that at the root of their work was the ever-present, very human emotion of fear. What they feared was a loss of control to another force in society.

The focus of this paper is equally embedded in and a response to the leading business-related ideas and political developments of the times and, perhaps, fear. Like Hayek in the 1930s and 40s, I suggest we too should be concerned about a growing "command" structure sweeping across Western civilization that is incongruent with a business rhetoric that maintains we are "free" as a result of the principles of laissez-faire economics. I argue we are living within an increasingly less free society; we are on another road to serfdom. We are largely incapable of "seeing" this growing problem because Friedman's popular core idea is a flawed belief system. As Warren Buffet wrote: "Man's natural inclination is to cling to his beliefs..." (Buffet, 2001, p. 86). I shall argue we as a society are clinging now, which, as a result, means Friedman's influential theory *is* ideology. If it were not ideology we would not need to cling to it. To prove we are "clinging" I will attempt to demonstrate how and why we are not as free as we think. Distancing ourselves from our beliefs may help us *see* ourselves better and that is its own kind of freedom.

WHERE IS FREEDOM?

Freedom is always vulnerable to some form of containment. As already discussed, the state is commonly seen as our main source of social and economic control. Although excessive state control should remain a concern, the dangers of the state are not the focus here. This is about the nature of freedom, group behaviour, and thought control relatively

independent of state control. However, as Hayek wrote, with what is now great irony, "Is there a greater tragedy imaginable than that…we should in fact unwittingly produce the very opposite of what we have been striving for?" I could not agree more.

Therefore, I argue we *are* returning to a command-like structure, but in a different way than Friedman and Hayek envisioned. A fundamental problem with their vision was that they were guided by what Warren Buffett calls the "rear view mirror" syndrome. These two economists, and the business rhetoric that has resulted from their ideas, have us believing not only that we are free as a result of our free markets but also our free markets help us avoid government command structures. But what if command structures are a fundamental part of human nature? What if command structures arise outside of governments?

This is why Western civilization's perpetual reference to its *freedom* relative to command structures of old demands a somewhat closer examination.

The first problem is that freedom is hard to define or find and command structures are hard to avoid or limit. This is not to say that Western civilization does not enjoy a certain kind of freedom people in other countries or other times have not. However, it is important not to rest on our success to the point where our rhetoric replaces reality.

Freedom is an abstract concept. I suggest we all have a need for freedom but also a need for control and this inherent tension manifests itself in various political and economic ways. We like the idea and the feeling of freedom when we sense we have it, but where exactly is it? A full investigation into freedom would go beyond the scope of this paper but it is necessary to at least soften the ground Friedman has paved. Thus, one can reasonably state that there are no absolutes and freedom must exist somewhere between absolute anarchy,

which limits personal freedom, and absolute control, which also limits personal freedom. Friedman does not clearly define *freedom* and is therefore hoping for blind acceptance at the outset. He assumes freedom is anything not connected to governments. I argue blind acceptance is a necessary precondition for ideology.

WHAT OF INDIVIDUALISM?

Individualism is also an elusive concept and there is more than one way to consider an individual. Within the business community, however, favouring the individual usually means avoiding a government-led regulatory command structure. Yet, a true individualist would have no need for others and would be most happy alone on an island surviving by subsistence. But human beings generally do not like isolation and prefer groups. Economies need groups of people as well. From a capitalist point of view, a profit-making firm would obviously need people to sell to and people to work at the company. One cannot become a millionaire on an empty island. Even with great individual initiative, it is almost impossible to get anything done without the existence and cooperation of others. Therefore, our businessmen who love the idea of the individual in reality have to concede they need others for their own success. This is where pro-business politicians like Margaret Thatcher, who was heavily influenced by Friedman, expose their flawed logic with statements like, "There is no such thing as society." Like it or not as long as there are people there will be some kind of *society*.

Therefore, despite this being the culture of the individual, I suggest we are still social beings. We naturally collect into groups. While there is a considerable amount of literature on group behaviour and dynamics that, again, would go beyond the scope of this inquiry, the main

point here is that small, large, organized, commanded or spontaneous groups are a part of human life. If Friedman and Hayek are going to make reference to "command structures" then some observations of command structures needs to be discussed outside of their vague references to totalitarian or feudal systems of old. Sometimes we form more egalitarian groups and sometimes we form more hierarchical structures that can exert power in the same way as an intrusive modern government. There seems to be a tension between command and more passive groups systems and this has occurred throughout history. Friedman and Hayek do not properly take this phenomenon into account and therefore write more within the realm of mythology than reality.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SOME PROMINENT COMMAND STRUCTURES

It is widely known early human beings were hunter-gatherers. We collected in cooperative, egalitarian groups in order to ensure survival when faced with a harsh environment with only rudimentary tools. A modern equivalent of this behaviour would be inner city disenfranchised youth forming street gangs for security. Competition between street gangs over "turf" is an expression of our tribal instincts given competition over limited resources. Politicians also are commonly associated with certain groups with certain interests in order to gain power. The point here is human most often deal with external challenges through groups.

With the advent of agriculture came surplus food, property, diversified labour and hierarchies. Pyramid-shaped command structures became particularly valuable because they likely helped people organize themselves toward a defined goal other than mere survival. This is how armies in battle and ships at sea found success. Even businesses today pride

themselves on their ability to work in groups under a command structure to achieve a company objective.

From the point of view of an individual, one could also argue hierarchies satisfy our innate desires for recognition and status, which may be rooted in the human characteristic of pride. Even Plato noticed this tendency in *The Republic* when he wrote men who have made a fortune are "those who are twice as fond of their possessions as other people" (Plato, 1941, p. 6). This aspect of human nature may explain how a pyramidal structure forms with a few but powerful people sitting atop a large number of poor and powerless. Ironically, Plato did not believe a democratic system was the solution to this problem. He argued for a command structure governed by a philosopher king. Perhaps Plato was more realistic than Friedman is, because history supports the resilience of hierarchies. The pervasiveness of hierarchies suggests that they are one of our natural human methods of organization.

The Gnostic Christians (100-200 AD) learned of the resilience of command structures. They were a relatively small non-hierarchical, egalitarian sect of people who believed God was found through self-knowledge and self-study. The Gnostics believed men and women were equal. They did not believe there was a need for a formal church system. Anyone could lead a service anywhere. The orthodox Roman Church viewed the Gnostic Christians as a threat. Clement, a spokesman for the Roman Church, wrote that the orthodox leader's authority "must be feared, respected and obeyed…He is the judge who lays down the law, punishing rebels and rewarding the obedient." (Pagels, 1979, p. 34). In the end the Gnostic Christians disappeared into the Ancient Roman command structure that was taken over by the Orthodox Roman Church.

The Medieval Cathars, from 13th Century Southern France, met the same end as the Gnostic Christians. As explained in *The Perfect Heresy*, the Cathars were also egalitarian and disapproved of the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy. The Cathars were peaceful, women had equal status and they rejected all sacraments. This non-hierarchical group was well established within Southern France among the city-states outside any king or bishop's domain. Despite their passivity, the Cathars growing popularity was seen as a growing threat to the Church structured system and they were brutally destroyed in what is known as the Albigensian Crusade.

If you also include how the egalitarian First Nations people of North America were dominated by European power structures, we seem to have a long history of hierarchies that find a way to dominate a society. I am suggesting this is a fundamental aspect of the human condition independent of place and time. Would Fredrick Hayek and Milton Friedman's theories have been different if they acknowledged this phenomenon? Can an economic theory be formulated without considering human nature and the nature of how command structures form?

Friedman and Hayek may argue, thanks to Rene Descartes, that we *have* broken down an inequitable command structure: the medieval feudal system. Medieval feudalism was characterized by deference to authority. Peasants had contracts of "homage" and "fealty," which meant they were faithful servants to a small number of powerful people. According to medieval law, peasants did not even belong to themselves (*Feudal Life*, p.1). One's position in the hierarchy was inherited. For most, the concept of being a free individual was beyond comprehension.

It took Rene Descartes' ideas to break us away from the static structure that depended on passive servitude by arguing there was no difference between nobility and the rest of the population. "I compare myself to certain persons, devoid of sense, whose cerebella are so troubled and clouded by the violent vapours of black bile, that they constantly assure us that they think they are kings when they are really quite poor..." (Descartes, p. 145). Descartes is arguing nobles were only perceived to be different. Descartes encourage people to think differently about themselves, as individuals, provide them with a sense of independence from the hierarchy.

Indeed, combine Descartes' work with that of Locke and Newton and an entirely different world-view resulted. In addition to building the foundations of the "individual" and of science, these thinkers also contributed to social "atomization through the rationalist idea that the universe is made of various bodies moving in a mechanical relationship," (Korten, 1999, p. 11). Therefore, a foundation for the belief that human beings were not social in any way and that we are mere atoms bouncing off of each other, and are therefore "free" was established. With this, our social nature was ideologically wiped out like the Cathars of France.

FEUDALISM TODAY

As a result of atomization, our Western idea of freedom is in essence based on two fundamental achievements initiated by Descartes: a breakdown of the feudal inherited pyramidal power structure and a fundamental shift in the way we were encouraged to think about ourselves: "I think therefore I am."

A more careful examination of our current power structures, however, will reveal

another command structure may be on its way back in a similar form of which I shall call *corporate feudalism*. The evidence provided to support this claim will not only show we are not as free as Friedman and his disciples would have us believe, it will further underline how the corpus of business rhetoric is more ideological than factual.

First, although we may enjoy a certain amount of individual autonomy relative to a feudal peasant, and it is indeed possible to start out in life with little wealth or power and achieve a great deal, I suggest much of our perceived economic and personal freedom is illusory.

One of the reasons why it is hard for our society to see evidence of our latest incarnation of a command structure is because our business rhetoric has us convinced that we must fear state intervention above all else. The state is portrayed as the only danger to our freedom. "Economic freedom is the extent to which one can pursue economic activity without interference from Government," states a document from the pro-Friedman Fraser Institute website (www.fraserinstitute.ca). The problem is every time we believe a victory against state control has been achieved, corporations reap the benefits. This situation becomes particularly acute when the state itself cannot see the damage of excessive corporate control. "The believe that private corporations like Enron would be the engines of efficiency was so fervent that not a single state legislator voted against giving them control over electricity when the deregulation law was approved in 1996." (Court, 2003, p. 73). Now some may argue that corporations can be efficient profit generating machines, which is their objective. The question is, as their size and power increases, are they beneficial for the society as a whole?

Figure 1 below is the first of several graphics that illustrate the extent to which a power

shift has occurred over the past several decades in favour of transnational corporations.

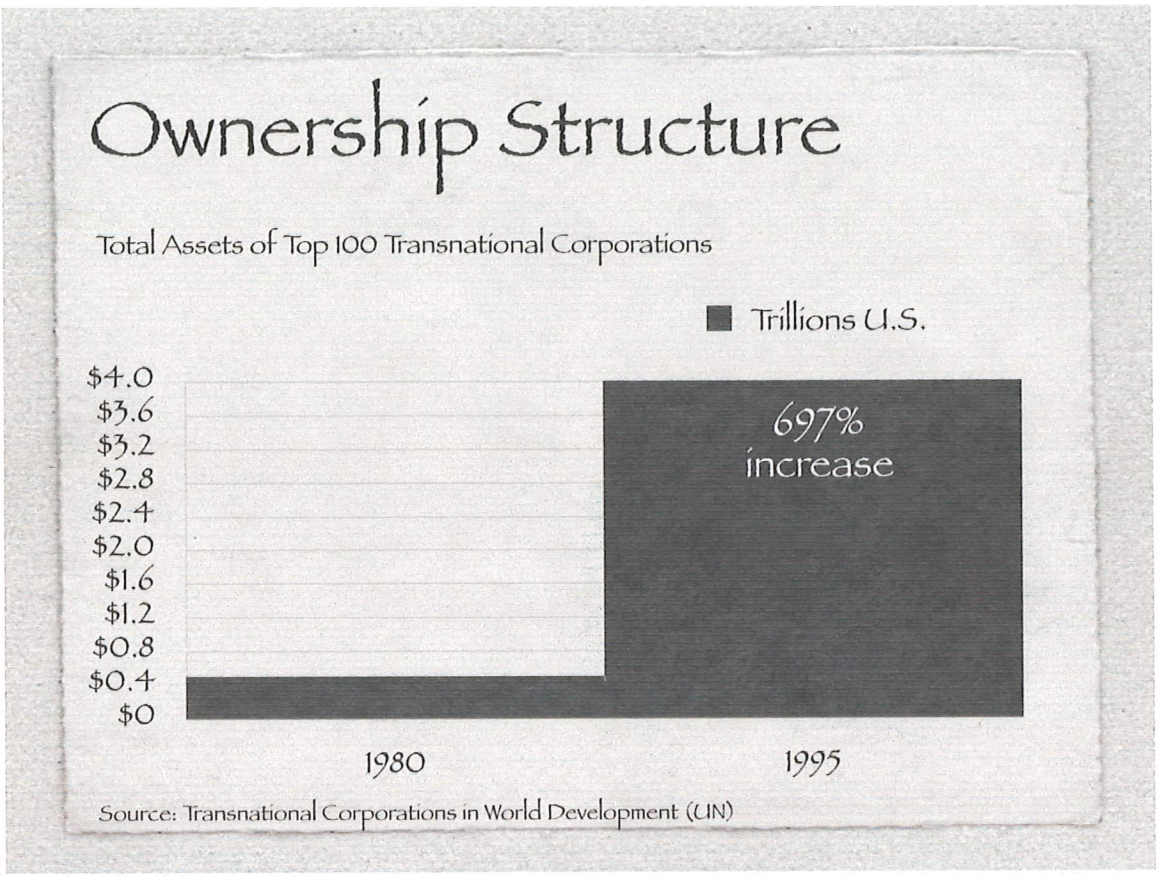


Figure 1

The two graphs in Figure 2 below illustrate how North America's tax burden has shifted much more towards the individual and away from corporations. It should be noted that economic growth during the 1950s and 1960s in North America, as Warren Buffett illustrates in Investor's Guide 2002 (Buffet, 2001, p. 86), was very strong overall so higher corporate taxes were not a burden on economic growth.

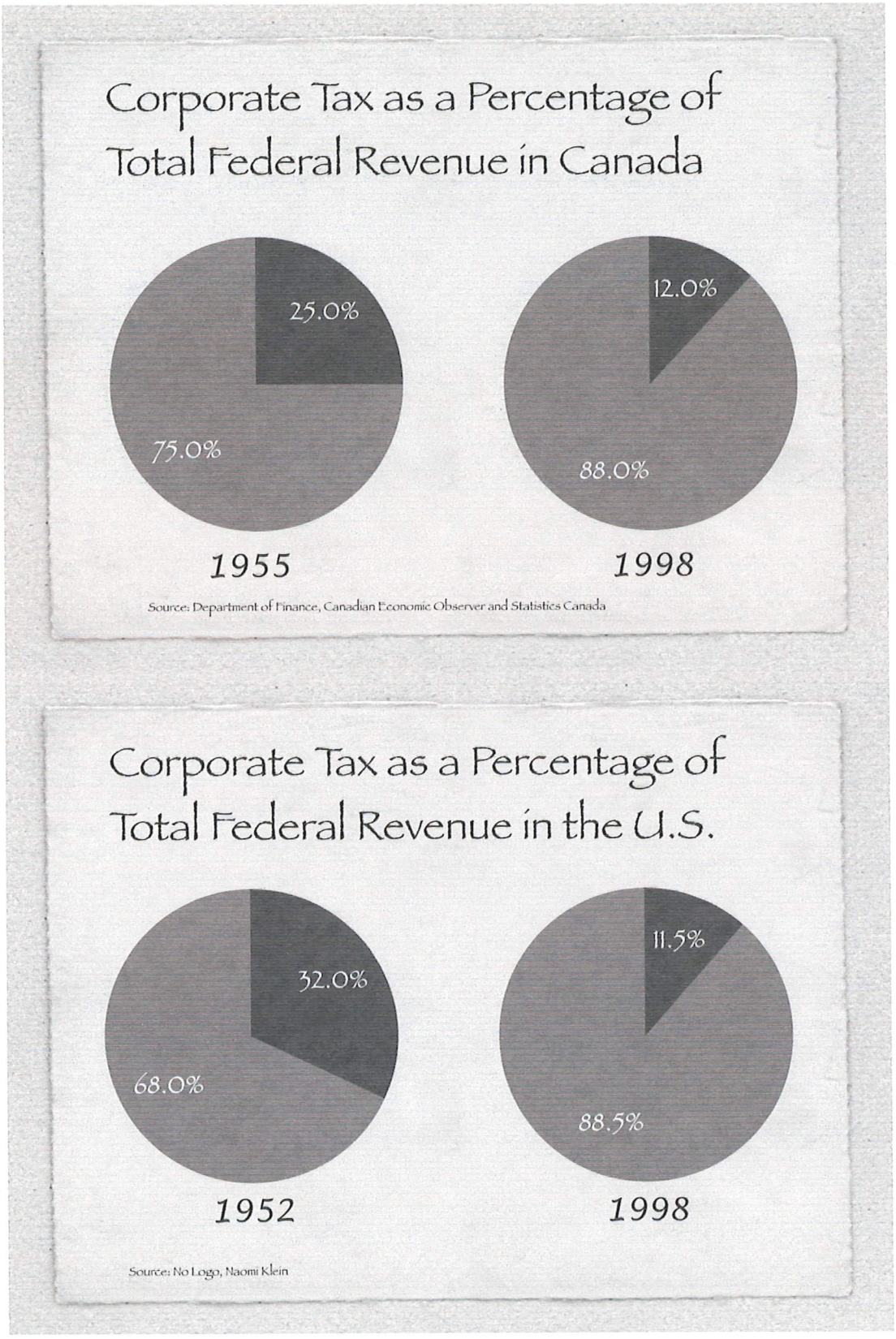
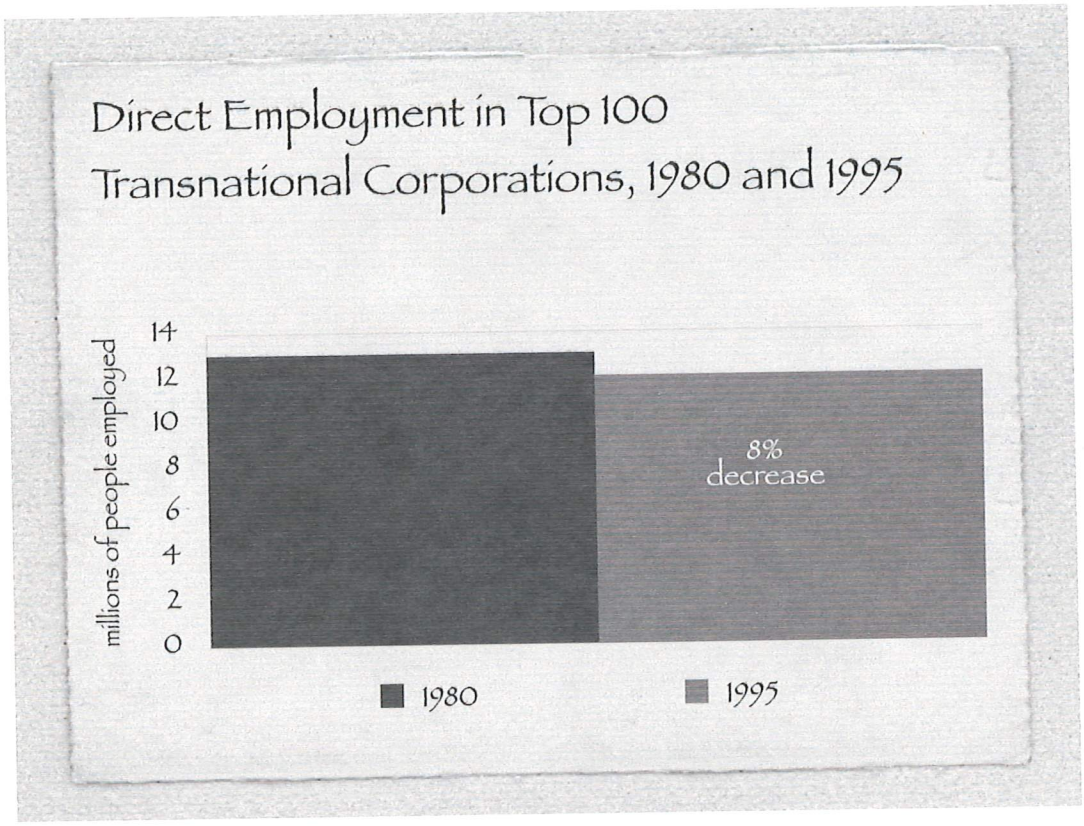

Corporate Tax as a Percentage of Total Federal Revenue in Canada
25.0%
75.0%
1955
12.0%
88.0%
1998
Source: Department of Finance, Canadian Economic Observer and Statistics Canada
Corporate Tax as a Percentage of Total Federal Revenue in the U.S.
32.0%
68.0%
1952
11.5%
88.5%
1998
Source: No Logo, Naomi Klein

Figure 2

One could argue, however, that while corporations may be increasing their wealth, they may also be adding proportionally more people to their payrolls, providing a social benefit. Yet the graphs in Figure 3 below do not support this position.



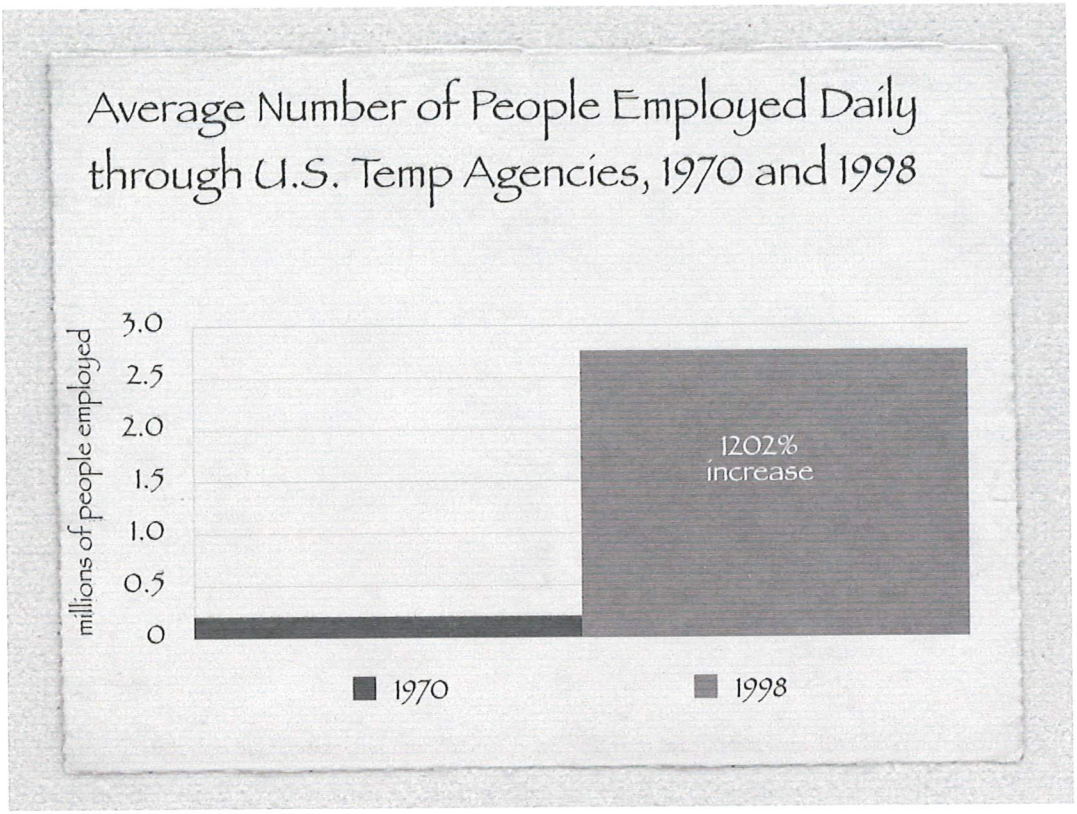


Figure 3 (Naomi Klein, p. 264 and 285)

Moreover, the graphs in Figure 4 below further solidify the corporate-controlled pyramid command structure that is sweeping across North America including British Columbia.

Solidifying the pyramid

Distribution of U.S. wealth as of 1998,





Between 1983 and 1998, households in the bottom 20 percent of the population saw their net worths decline from -$3,200 to -$8,900 in 1998 dollars (Economic Policy Institute, The State of Working America 2002 - 03, p. 281)

The Canadian Pyramid

Changes in median net worth, by net worth decile

	1984	1999	% Change
Bottom	-1,800	-5,700	.....
Second	700	100	-85.0
Third	6,700	5,900	-12.2
Ninth	222,900	299,400	34.3
Top	464,400	628,100	35.3

Sources: Assets and Debts Survey; Survey of Financial Security

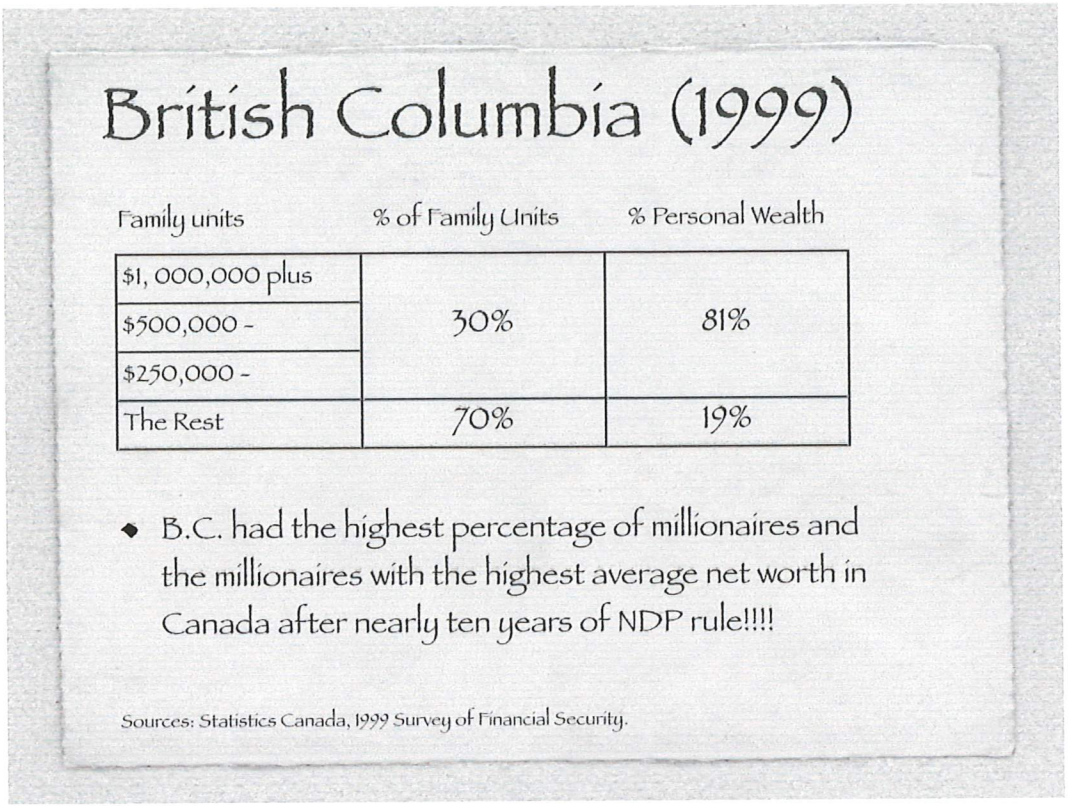


Figure 4

Thus far, the evidence provided lends support to the idea that structurally Friedman's ideas have not helped us maintain much distance from our feudal past. Feudalism is returning in a different form.

A final challenge to Friedman's notion that free enterprise equals free societies will be through exploring the effort that has gone into ensuring that our Western minds are not as free thinking as we believe. Much can be learned about human nature when one examines the historical role advertising has played in shaping our mental state within modern consumer culture.

Ironically, around the same time that Hayek was writing "only if we recognize the danger

in time, can we hope to avert it" (Hayek, 1944, p.2) out of fear the totalitarian developments in Germany and Eastern Europe, Walter Dill Scott and others were planning their own methods to command the masses in the United States.

"The man with the proper imagination is able to conceive of any commodity in such away that it becomes an object of emotion to him and to those to whom he imparts his picture, and hence creates desire rather than a mere feeling of ought." (Scott, 1911, p. 133).

Men like Walter Dill Scott believed modern advertising must be seen as a direct response to the need of mass industrialism: The goal was to mobilize our instincts through leaders "who possessed the ability to develop and direct men's desires and demands in a way to furnish the organized mass sales required for the mass production made possible by the massed dollars." (Ewen, 1976, p. 31).

This early 20th Century effort was necessary to change the social system to accommodate mass production. North American working classes were historically seen as infused with "self-suffiency, communitarian localized popular culture, thrift and subjective social bonds." (Ewen, 1976, p. 58) These values were rooted in traditional family structures associated with agricultural life styles and old world immigrants. The goal was to create a corporate monopolization of culture.

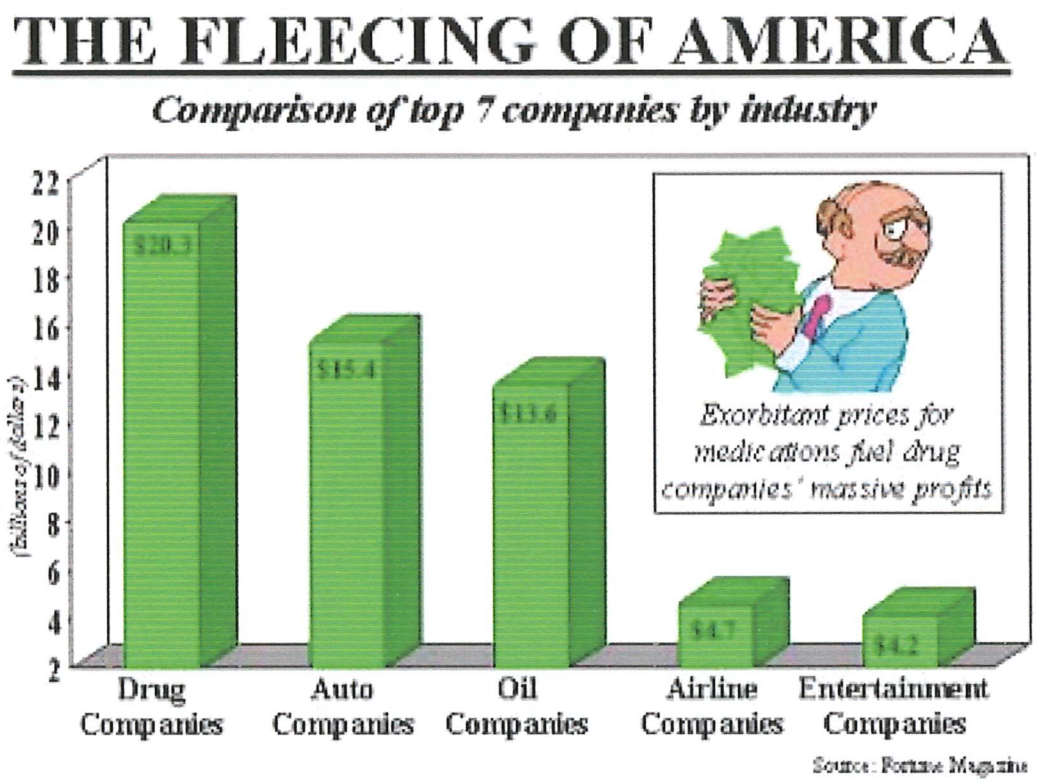
The process of merging industrialization with social control during the 1920s and 1930s did not go unnoticed. Max Horkheimer, a social critic from the Frankfurt School, noted how industrial commodification of North American life despite a historical resistance had become "a new and naked form of command and obedience" (Ewen, 1976, p. 59). Note this was a German academic who had an understanding of totalitarian Nazi Germany.

A quick scan of Walter Dill Scott's 1931 book *The Psychology of Advertising* reveals the building blocks of not only modern advertising but also a different kind of command structure based on mental manipulation. Again, it appears as if command structures of some kind may be a fundamental aspect of human nature. In terms of influencing thought, Scott wrote, "Every normal individual is subject to the influence of suggestion... and every thought of an action which enters our minds is likely to result in that action" (Scott, 1931, p. 181). He also stated:

> "The most perfect working of suggestion is to be seen under hypnosis and in crowds" (p. 181).
>
> "We reason rarely, but act under suggestion constantly" (p. 182).
>
> "Although we do obey commands, we are unwilling to admit it" (p. 192).
>
> "We act from habit, imitation, insufficient reason, or because the idea of the action has been suggested" (p. 192).

What has the work of men like Walter Dill Scott resulted in today? "When cola companies adopt schools and a student is suspended for wearing a Pepsi T-shirt on class picture day at a Coke school, what are children being taught of the value of the individual" (Court, 2003, p. 8). Another example illustrates advertising at the peak of its influence: "I wake up every morning, jump in the shower, look down at the symbol, and that pumps me up for the day. It's to remind me every day what I have to do, which is, 'Just Do it'" (Klein, 2000, p. 52). This is no longer about advertising but branding of a product that goes beyond even what the product "Just Do It" is supposed to represent. We are moving from selling shoes to transcendence. Has Nike replaced the Christian cross? What does this level of influence say about our level of independent thought from the corporate command structure? Has Rene Descartes been circumvented?

Pharmaceutical companies are particularly profitable and powerful international entities that further underline how susceptible humans are to command structures independent of governments. The two graphs in Figure 5 below help establish how much wealth drug companies have relative to other international industries.



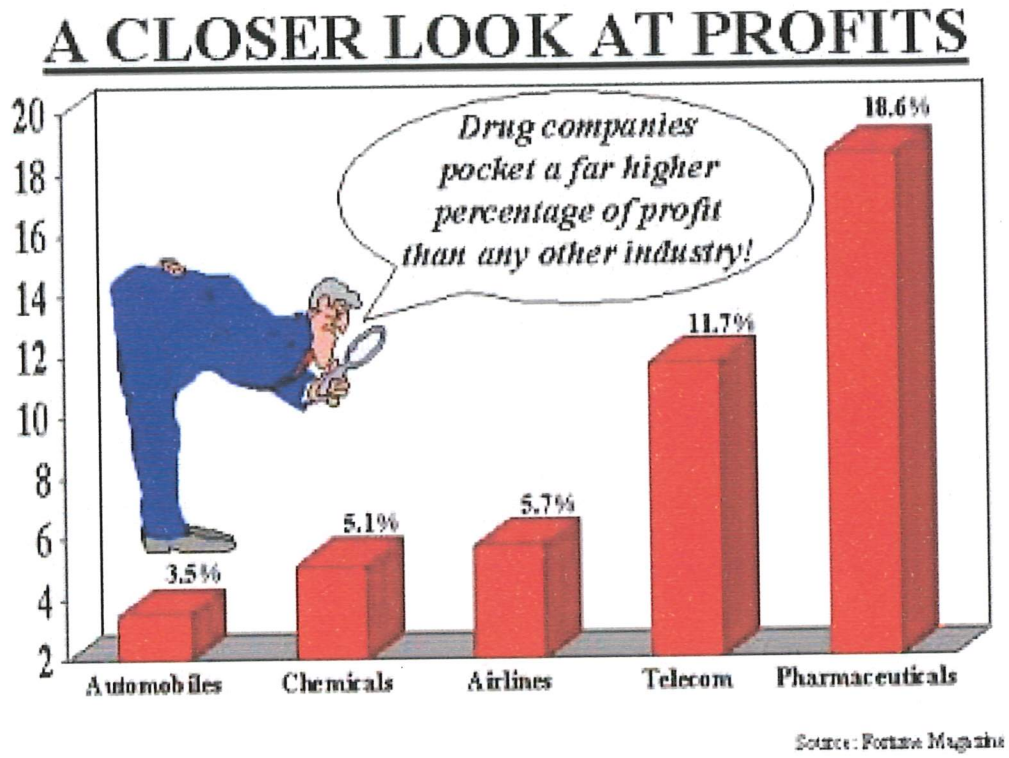


Figure 5

(from US Congressman Bernie Sanders website: http://bernie.house.gov/prescriptions/profits.asp)

Are such profit margins the result of a growing need for drug therapy? Are we increasingly unhealthy? It is not hard to find evidence to the contrary. For example, an article in the September 20, 2003 Globe and Mail titled "High Anxiety" investigates the "rocketing sales" of drug treatments for "anxiety disorders" (McIlroy, 2003, p. F1). It points out how twenty years ago social anxiety was "a new and rare mental illness" while today it is being "billed as the third-largest mental-health problem in the world, and one of half-a-dozen anxiety disorders that are probably the most diagnosed mental illnesses on the planet." Yet an argument could be made that marketing has played a role in our perceived increase in levels of anxiety. "Ad campaigns have focused on symptoms that, taken in isolation, are relatively common: Feeling

shy, tense, worried? Having difficulty sleeping? The solution, they suggest is a pill." The lack of context is important. For most people an anxious reaction to a difficult situation is normal. Modern urban life can be stressful and the resulting tension may be a normal reaction to a busy, demanding lifestyle. As the article's expert commentator says: "At what point does an understandable response to distressing life events become an indication for drug treatment — and a marketing opportunity." A Paxil antidepressant website, for example, allows people to take a test to determine if they need a drug intervention, and it appears that no matter how one responds they are told they need a pill. Perhaps Descartes was wrong: "I think therefore I am...vulnerable."

Corporations understand we are vulnerable. Since the mid-1990s U.S. corporations have spent more than $1 trillion annually on marketing (Court, 2003, p. 12). The United Nations reported in 1998 that global advertising growth outpaced global economic growth by more than one-third. If corporations have this much wealth and influence, which includes the ability to fund neo-conservative think tanks like the Fraser Institute that espouse Friedman's business rhetoric about the value of free markets, one must question what freedom they are referring to. If their goal is to persuade, then that is an attempt to limit our freedom.

Some may argue their goal is to provide freedom to choose which products we wish to purchase. This may not be as true as business rhetoric would have us believe. Mac McDonald of McDonald's hamburger fame said: "If you give people a choice, there would be chaos" (Klein, 2000, p. 114). Another interesting comment from Theodore Leitt, a Harvard business professor, points out a global corporation "...sells the same things in the same way everywhere.... Ancient differences in national tastes or modes of doing business disappear"

(Klein, 2000, p. 116).

In summary, I have attempted to challenge a core notion of modern business rhetoric made popular primarily by the Chicago-based academic Milton Friedman that postulates a free market place equals a free society. With a little analysis the meaning behind this almost ubiquitous phrase begins to move from an assumed truth to a dubious ideological refrain. Freedom is not easy to find or define. Individualism as an absolute is not really a natural state of human existence and therefore the "atomization" of society becomes problematic in real-world situations where we tend to prefer groups in one form or other. Command structures tend to appear in various forms throughout history and impose power in ways other than the common government-imposed regulations designed to limit unfettered capitalism. Corporations, for example, are power structures that tend to exhibit similar methods of command common to our basic understandings of medieval feudalism. They are contributing to what has become a more hierarchical society with a small number of wealthy people at the top of a pyramid of more and more poor at the bottom. These feudal corporations make great efforts through advertising and marketing to influence how people think in such a way as to limit one's sense of individuality. This is contrary to what Descartes originally intended. He wanted to change how people think in order to break them away from the power structure of the day. After decades of Friedman's influence, these real-world examples contradict the idea the "free markets are necessary for a free society" and therefore suggest this freedom-laden notion is more a believe system, an ideology, than a grounded, practical method of structuring a society.

Finally, one may ask, if not Friedman's economic ideas then whose? Well, obviously

there are no easy answers but a potential starting point may be the work of Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel who postulate an interesting theory in their book *The Political Economy of Participatory Economics* around the following argument:

> "While...economic freedom is a crucial valuative criterion and inextricably linked with political and cultural freedom, we do not accept the equation of economic freedom with freedom of enterprise or that private enterprise is compatible with economic freedom." Rather, "economic freedom is best defined as decision making input in proportion to the degree one is affected by the outcome of an economic choice" (Albert, Hahnel, p. 18).

Perhaps this is a reasonable starting point around which a more freedom-based economic system can be organized where our tendency towards hierarchy can be limited through more direct participation in the workings of the economy.

Bibliography

Albert, Michael and Hahnel, Robin. The Political Economy of Participatory Economics. Princeton, New Jersey, 1991.

Annenberg/CPB Learner.org Feudal Life, (www.learner.org/exhibits/middleages/feudal.html)

Buffet, Warren. "Warren Buffet on the Stock Market," *Fortune Investors Guide 2002*, December 10, 2001.

Court, Jamie. Corporateering, Penguin Press, New York, 2003.

Descartes, Rene. The Philosophical Works of Descartes (1641), translated by Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross. Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Ewen, Stuart, Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1976.

The Fraser Institute website: www.fraserinstitute.ca, 2003.

Friedman, Milton and Friedman, Rose. Capitalism and Freedom, University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Friedman, Milton, Free to Choose: A Personal Statement. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, c1980.

Hayek. Fredrick, The Road to Serfdom, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

Klein, Naomi. No Logo. Vintage Canada Edition, Toronto, 2000.

Korten, David C., The Post-Corporate World: Life After Capitalism, Kumarian Press, Inc. and Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., San Francisco, 1999.

McIlroy, Anne. "High Anxiety." *Globe and Mail*, September 20, 2003.

O'Shea, Stephen. The Perfect Heresy, Douglas & McIntyre, Vancouver/Toronto, 2000.

Pagels, Elaine. The Gnostic Gospels, Vintage Books, New York, 1979.

Plato (428/7 – 348/7 BC) The Republic, translated by F. M. Cornford, Oxford University Press, 1941.

Sanders, Bernie. US Congressman website: http://bernie.house.gov/prescriptions/profits.asp

Scott, Walter Dill, Howard, Delton T. Influencing Men in Business: The Psychology of Argument and Suggestion, New York, 1911.

——— The Psychology of Advertising, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1931.

Smith, Adam. An Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), Knopf, New York, c1991.