



From the Left

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God's Gift to Humanity

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"If we're an arrogant nation, they'll resent us. If we're a humble nation, ...they'll welcome us." – George W. Bush

By February 5th, the date President Bush would have Secretary of State Colin Powell enjoy his Adlai Stevenson moment before the U. N. Security Council, the United States will be in a position to launch a full-scale military invasion of Iraq. War is imminent. Yet, Saddam Hussein is not an imminent threat. A vast power surrounds him. Above him, planes fly reconnaissance. Militaries are amassed at his borders. There are weapons inspectors inside Iraq. What's the rush?

Joseph Cirincione, a specialist in defense and proliferation issues at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, recently appeared on National Public Radio, pointing to the "grand view" of Richard Perle, chairman of the De-

American Foreign Policy: Between Iraq and a Hard Place

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Americans are again hearing the "winds of war." The current target is Iraq and the omnipresent threat of Saddam Hussein. President Bush is hitting the stump toward the goal of influencing the court of public opinion. Congress is now controlled by the Republican party and everyone is playing the political game.

In one corner, there are the executive branch officials including President George Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Attorney General John Ashcroft, and a host of others. The administration is targeting Hussein as a major threat to world security.



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fense Policy Board, and Paul Wolfowitz, assistant secretary at the Defense Department. Cirincione characterized their plan as a "messianic vision" lying at the "extreme edge of foreign policy theory."

The Defense Policy Board (DPB), an "independent and informal" working group whose members are appointed by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, promulgates Pearle and Wolfowitz's schemes. Members include former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and former CIA Director Jim Woolsey. The DPB's role is to advise Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz (through former Reagan Defense Department official Douglas Feith) on secu-



Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of Defense

...rity and defense issues.

Pearle, Wolfowitz and others in their clique see themselves as entitled to a political moment comparable to 1949, when elite groups and arrangements—the National Security Council, Bretton Woods, NATO—restructured the post-WWII world. They are ordained, they believe, to shape the post-Cold War world in a similar fashion.

According to Cirincione, Iraq is the central element in their polyarchic designs. If the United States can force Iraq to become a "democratic beacon" in the region, then other Middle Eastern countries will follow, touching off a "democratic tsunami." According to *Time* magazine, "Wolfowitz believes that the spread of 'representative self-government' is inexorable and will benefit the U.S. Removing Saddam and building a democratic Iraq would have a domino effect, he thinks, giving rise to Arab democracies and defusing anti-American anger." And *The New York Times* writes, "Mr. Wolfowitz sees a 'liberated Iraq' as a vanguard of democracy, the first potential piece in a kind of reverse domino theory in which the United States could help foster the fall of authoritarian regimes in a reshaped Middle East."

This vision is not new. According to Jean Hardisty of Political Research Associates, the dream began in the first Bush White House, when Dick Cheney was Secretary of

Defense. Cheney requested versions of the Defense Planning Guidance directive from Colin Powell and Wolfowitz, then under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

Wolfowitz, always a big thinker (he played a major role in shaping Reagan's Cold War strategy), enthralled Cheney with the grandness of his plan, which reporters described at the time as "envisioning a future in which the U.S. blocked any other competitor nation from challenging its dominance as the world's single great power." Or, as *The New York Times* put it, the "early draft proposed that with the demise of the Soviet Union, American doctrine should be to assure that no new superpower arose to rival the United States' enlightened domination of the world."

Cheney and Wolfowitz believed that they were on the verge of achieving their goals and made big plans for George Herbert Walker Bush's second term. Then Clinton was elected and eight years were wasted. (Though not entirely. Clinton did make regime change in Iraq the formal policy of the United States.)

During the dark days of Clinton, Wolfowitz and others formed a think tank around their imperialist designs. They dubbed it the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) and emerged in 1997 wielding a document calling for the United States to "take its place in history as the dominant global force and achieve greatness by being bold and purposeful." Top U.S. corporate, military and political leaders endorsed the document, including Elliot Abrams (Reagan State Department), Dick Cheney, Frank Gaffney (president of the Center for Security Policy), William Kristol (Dan Quayle's chief of staff and current editor of the *Weekly Standard*), and Donald Rumsfeld.

PNAC is funded by a network of right wing foundations including the John M. Olin Foundation, (funded by munitions and chemicals interests), the Sarah Scaife Foundation (bankrolled by big oil), and The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (which funded, among other things, research on Reagan's "Star Wars" fantasy).

The judicial coup of 2000 provided the opening Wolfowitz and his circle had been waiting for: executive power and a fanatical president. The Defense Policy Board was instituted, plugging the Project for the New American Century directly into executive power. Not taking a second Bush term for granted, Wolfowitz, according to *Time*, pressed for war in Iraq just four days after 9-11.

In a memorandum to "opinion leaders," dated January 30, 2002, Gary Schmitt and Tom Donnelly of PNAC write, "At last, more than a decade after the demise of the Soviet Union, the United States has an understanding of its role in the world and a strategy for achieving its purposes."

Giving clarity to the administration's long-range goals, which were in fact first articulated by the Project for a New American Century, PNAC cites "three essential elements" from Bush's infamous "Axis of Evil" speech before Congress in January 2002. These form the "Bush doctrine."

Develop the capacity to strike in a pre-emptive manner any possible future threats. Since America's "enemies view the

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Global Marxism

“The Future of the Third World, Part II: Revolutions in the Age of Globalization”

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*This column is an attempt to take the world, especially the Third World, as the subject of Marxism: “Subject” both in the sense of what Marxism as an approach could be about, and in the sense of centering the agency of people in the Third World. I invite your feedback, either on the pieces that appear here, or **your ideas** for an essay of your own that might fit this rubric.*

In a previous “Global Marxism” column, I wrote about the April 2002 coup attempt in Venezuela and its miraculous reversal. We are now witnessing Act II of this global drama, with a debilitating oil strike and massive street demonstrations and counter-demonstrations threatening to bring down Hugo Chávez’s not altogether progressive, but democratically-elected, regime. The U.S. overplayed its hand in April, involving itself too openly in Venezuela’s affairs and alienating its erstwhile partners in the Organization of American States, and the Venezuelan opposition revealed its conservative character in a clumsy manner, leading to the coup’s reversal by a segment of the army and giving Chávez a new lease on life. The outcome of this struggle was in the balance at the time of this writing (January 2003).

The question is whether Chávez’s legitimacy as an elected leader, and the strength of his populist, semi-revolutionary appeal, could overcome such concerted internal and external opposition. In the earlier essay, I argued that “democratic revolutionaries may be harder to overthrow than in the past” and that “non-violent [revolutionary] movements in particular may find new spaces in which to maneuver.” Clearly, one of the strategies being used against Chávez is to undermine his democratic credentials by provoking his security forces and/or civilian supporters to violent acts that would create a climate of instability, hence illegitimacy. The response of the government and its supporters to these provocations, and the actions of the Latin American community of nations may once again hold the keys to his success or failure, *despite* U.S. intervention.

This at least is one of the general lessons drawn in an edited volume I have just brought out with Zed Press, *The Future of Revolutions: Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Globalization* (see book announcement on page 15). Nineteen people contributed essays on the theme of the title, and held three conversations that appear in the book. While there is no strong consensus among us, there are

some partial areas of agreement and tentative speculation. Many of us agree that the age of revolutions will not come to an end in the current epoch of capitalist, neoliberal globalization. To the contrary, the tendency of neoliberalism to exacerbate inequality and generate economic and financial crises, coupled with the new oppositional visions emerging in such places as Chiapas, Lula’s Brazil, a variety of other locations in Latin America (among them Ecuador, El Salvador, and Uruguay), the world-wide global justice movement, and more, portend continued revolutionary struggles well into the horizon of the present century.

“the revolutions of the future will find – are already finding – some hopeful new modalities of struggle.”

But are the *forms* of revolution changing? Here, many (but still not all of us) agreed that the old, frontal assault (Gramsci’s war of maneuver) against repressive dictatorships and colonial powers has gone out of vogue with the passing of such regimes from the scene (but not completely, and for how long, it may be noted and asked, since the new democracies of the Third World are rendered unstable by the logic of globalization itself). The new social movements – national and transnational – mentioned above operate in more open, flexible, creative ways than the guerrillas and radical parties of the twentieth century (akin to Gramsci’s alternative, the war of position). Their accent on radically democratic political cultures of opposition, less hierarchical and fluid organizations, flexibility in confronting the new transnational elite and state, suggest that the revolutions of the future will find – are already finding – some hopeful new modalities of struggle.

Will these revolutionaries fare better than those of the past? A concluding discussion among the contributors registers a variety of views on this all-important question. For my own part, I am (as usual) optimistic, and for several reasons. I call this approach one of “magical realism,” relying first on a notion of “magical” political cultures that take much from the innovative practices of the Zapatistas (with historical echoes of May 68, Chile under Allende, and else-

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Revolutions in the Age of Globalization (Continued from page 3)

where). As the second Zapatista declaration of the Lacandon jungle put it in 1994: "This revolution will not end in a new class, fraction or group in power, but in a free and democratic space of political struggle." But what does this mean and how is it to be done? For Subcomandante Marcos, "This democratic space will have three fundamental premises that are already historically inseparable: the democratic right of determining the dominant social project, the freedom to subscribe to one project or another, and the requirement that all projects must point the way to justice." The dethroning of the ruling PRI, Mexico's 70 year-old "perfect dictatorship," in the July 2000 elections contains many lessons, no doubt, of which one is the success of the Zapatistas in altering the political landscape of Mexico. Though too many observers see their role in this historic event as minimal, it would be hard to imagine the collapse of authoritarianism without the insurgency in Chiapas undermining the government's legitimacy.

Meanwhile, Mexican artist and scholar Manuel De Landa may have provided the beginnings of an answer to the daunting organizational question, again from observing Zapatista practices: he uses the term "meshworks" for self-organizing, non-hierarchical and heterogeneous networks. This is a lead worth pursuing, and it has taken shape in the United States around the anti-WTO and G-8 demonstrations in Seattle and Washington, D.C. in November-December 1999 and April 2000, respectively, soon followed in the fall of 2000 in Prague and Melbourne and the summer of 2001 in Genoa (this list will grow). The combination of "having one's say" (another Zapatista practice known as "dar su palabra") and organizing meshworks has an important U.S. antecedent, the direct action movements of the 1980s that fought nuclear weapons, U.S. involvement in Central America, and the prison industrial complex, among other issues. It must be acknowledged that their tactics of nonviolence, consensus decision making and fluid leadership, so effective at the local level in the initial phases of radical mobilization, ran into complex difficulties when it came time to build a national-level movement encompassing diverse groups, and led to tensions at the local level within groups between old and new activists, producing leadership burnout and membership dropout.

These limitations must be confronted in the future, if revolutions are to succeed. Revolutionaries may be well positioned to negotiate the problem of *levels* of struggle, as they straddle the boundary between grassroots and global conflict. This raises the question of the supposedly declining significance of the nation-state in the new global conjuncture: while its powers and competencies have certainly come under strong pressure from global financial institutions and the transnationals, it yet remains one of the most likely sites for revolutionary activity, as the terrain on which political democracy, development strategies, and oppositional alliances meet and play themselves out.

The second part of magical realism refers to the "realities" of the political economic. Articulating an economic alternative to neoliberalism seems a fool's quest these days. Yet tapping the magical possibilities of a political culture of liberation might help make progress on this. One principle for such a political economy might be called, simply, the economics of "social justice." Social justice has been the foundation of the economic side of revolutionary political cultures the world over, assuming many local expressions – "Land and Liberty" in Mexico in the 1910s, "Bread, Land and Peace" in 1917 Russia, "Equality," from 1789 France to 1990s' South Africa, "Socialism with a Human Face" in 1968 Czechoslovakia, "Dignity" in Chiapas, "Fair Trade" and "Democracy" in Seattle. Thus, defining what it means must be specific to particular times and places. Inventorying these and assessing what common meanings social justice has had across cases is a project of some urgency for activists and scholars of revolution, an important task for us to pursue.

"Magical realism" then is a poetic way of referring to and relying on the immense creative potential of people the world over to construct what Perry Anderson once called a "concrete utopianism," or what David Harvey has recently named a "dialectical utopianism" and Daniel Singer a "realistic utopianism." It appears to me that only a radically deepened, participatory process can unite these several dimensions, informing magical political cultures, making visible an economics of social justice, and (just maybe) disarming the U.S. and other global interventionist forces.

We end, then, with a new set of paradoxes and challenges:

to find a language capable of uniting diverse forces and allowing their not necessarily mutually compatible desires full expression

to find organizational forms capable of nurturing this expression and debate as well as enabling decisive action when needed, both locally and across borders

to articulate an economic alternative to neoliberalism and capitalism that can sustain itself against the systemic weight of the past and the pervasive and hostile reach of the present global economic system and to make all this happen, in many places and at different levels (local, national, "global") over time, working with both the deep strengths and frailties of the experiences and emotions of human liberation

In negotiating the contradictory currents of the future, we must somehow be magical as well as realistic, finding a path marked by pleasures as well as perils. In any case, as Marx urged almost exactly 150 years ago in 1852 (another epoch in which few saw a bright future for revolutions), let us "find once more the spirit of revolution, not make its ghost walk again." As usual, Marx was at least half right: both spirits and ghosts will be needed tomorrow. ☪



WHITE TRASH CHIC

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During the holidays, I'm driving to work and hear yet another example of what is becoming increasingly familiar, a country song with dogs barking in the background to the tune of "White Trash Christmas." I think of Kid Rock's *Devil Without a Cause* CD where the alternative rock artist claims that he is "white trash on dope," a pimp, and "a regular failure...straight out the trailer." In another musical genre, the death-rap-metal band Insane Clown Posse metaphorically sprays Detroit "ghetto soda" on its audience as a regular concert ritual, and imagines to a jukebox tune slaughtering the incestuous "piggies" of white rural poverty. HBO will soon air "Trailer Park," about the colorful lives of real people who live in trailers. The best musical spectacle of White Trash Chic is multiple Platinum white rapper Eminem. Most recently, this artistic master of "telling it the way it is," with all necessary obscenity, anger, violence, and grotesqueness, was nominated for six awards, winning four of them, including Best Music Video at the 2002 MTV Music Video Awards for a song set to clucking about "two trailer park girls go(ing) round the outside, round the outside, round the outside" (which roughly translates in crack house argot as two 'chicken head' crack whores giving him oral sex). The childhood home of the trashy boy who proudly "disgusts" America recently got bids up to 11 million dollars on ebay.com.

At Halloween I run across buycostumes.com's 2002 "Trailer Park King" costume ranking 12th most popular on the top 100, priced at \$40.99 plus shipping and handling for knit jumpsuit, ribbed tank accessory, and prosthetic beer belly. Belching, beer-swilling men are also found on Comedy Central's *The Man Show*. Here men play Drunken Darts, watch television, dress (and in some cases, undress) women as they please, and at the end of each show, watch Juggies in bikinis bounce gleefully before them on a trampoline.

The recently ousted Stone Cold Steve Austin, one of the most popular professional wrestlers of all time, included the regular ritual after matches of downing a few beers and giving the finger to an audience of exhilarated men and boys. As ultimate bully, in the ring (and off), he beat his wife. His character also defied authority, humiliated his boss, and otherwise appealed to fans because he apparently didn't care about anything and did anything he wanted to. This defiant masculine spirit resonates of the lyrics to the Platinum-selling band Slipknot's song, "Surfacing":

F--- it all
F--- this world
F--- everything that you stand for
Don't belong
Don't exist
Don't give a shit
Don't ever judge me!

The masked characters of Slipknot have numbers rather than names, wear industrial coveralls, and are explicitly marketed as a bunch of "blood-sucking freaks" and "alienated nobodies" from Des Moines, Iowa.

The multi-billion dollar, corporate-sponsored white trash man depicted in popular culture today is the epitome of what grates against white middle class "civilized" society. He is a super-human muscle man, trailer park kid, pimp, alienated rural nobody, or inner city gangster who bullies, fights, swears, drinks beer, belches, takes illegal drugs, and watches television. He sexually objectifies women, beats them, orders and prostitutes them, and otherwise controls women who are at his sexual service. Eminem even goes to the lyrical extremes of raping, killing, and burying his mother whom he depicts as a drug-addicted trailer trash whore. In a word, the white trash man for sale today in popular culture is the epitome of unrepressed passion, if measured by middle class standards.

All of this is, and should be, of concern to feminists. What makes the white trash man sell so well in popular culture is that it becomes a socially permissible, and even mainstream, (reactionary) time-out from all the hard-won cultural demands for women's respect, equality, independence, and protection from harm. Stated simply, it is corporate-sponsored backlash that caters to and further promotes the backlash spirit of men who feel, as Susan Faludi would put it, "stiffed" in contemporary society. No Bob Dole Viagra for white trash chic consumers. There are simply too many more exciting alternatives: free punches in the mosh pit; going "titty hunting" (a common concert ritual akin to Mardi Gras "parade stripping"); seeing exotic dancers at Kid Rock concerts; watching busty women strip and bark in the wrestling ring to the angry and unrelenting commands of World Wrestling Entertainment corporation (WWE) co-founder and chairman Vince McMahon; chanting about "fat bitches" and "juggahos" at ICP concerts; singing along to Eminem's lyrics about beating, raping, killing, and being sexually serviced by women, including his



White Trash Chic (Continued from page 5)

mother, wife, and high school teachers; or just sitting around enjoying the pleasures of drinking beer, belching, and controlling the television, all the while beautiful, compliant chesty women are at your sexual service. Did I fail to mention Howard Stern, whose book *Private Parts* has the distinction of being the best-selling book on the *New York Times* list ever?

For any feminist who might be looking, like Andrea Dworkin might, all of this could very well produce fear. It is a triumph for patriarchy when the pornographic threat of violence against women is at the very center of popular culture. Of course, the spectators and fans of *White Trash Chic* can claim distance: "It's not me. It's *only* playful recreation."

The recreational pleasures offered via the white trash man are also a concern for Marxists. Such a caricature is exploited as an efficient resource for forbidden pleasures. As so many stereotypical commodities, he is wild, raw, and uninhibited. His savage honesty of word, emotion, and body shows what the middle class man desires (and is repulsed by too) but can only commit to for an hour, for the length of a CD, or for a night out. As one moderately intoxicated GWAR fan told me, when asked what he was doing "tomorrow," the day after a night of rape, war, pillaging, and bloody violence: "Whadyah think? Going to work like everyone else."

All of this cannot fail to remind of the attraction-repulsion dynamic of blackface, drag, or playing Indian. Yet

somehow the "Class Savage" of consumer society today, and the recreational exploitation of class stigma, remains largely hidden from political consciousness—both mainstream and academic. For fans, it is simply a freeing and playful time out from daily life, and consumer glimpse of authenticity and inspiration for individuality. Whatever one thinks of Stern, Stone Cold, or Eminem, fans declare and defend repeatedly, they "know who they are" and they "tell it the way it is." For those in academe, class savage consumption is often obfuscated, subsumed under, and valorized as eclectic and egalitarian lifestyle shopping or lifestyle consumption, where the traditional stratification systems of race, class, or gender supposedly can no longer be distinguished through consumer habits.

What may be more insidious about *White Trash Chic* is that its central consumers are youth, the traditional harbingers of social justice, whom Marxist writer Steven Spitzer describes as potential "social dynamite." Convenient for social order and the increasingly conservative status quo, that all that youthful energy is assimilated into carnivalesque spectacles of inequality.

Finally, and more basically, there is something extremely and disturbingly audacious about just having the ability to spend discretionary dollars on the recreational "pleasures" of class inequality. Co-joining sexism and classism, *White Trash Chic* is one of the more egregious contemporary decadences and social psychological oppressions of consumer capitalism. ☞

God's Gift to Humanity (Continued from page 2)

entire world as a battlefield," the United States is compelled to "pursue them wherever they are." This strategy requires an immense military capacity. The justification for the doctrine of pre-emption, advocated by Wolfowitz in 1990, was set forth in *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released by the White House in September 2002.

Actively pursue regime change. Countries targeted for intervention include "rogue states" that are "arming to threaten the peace of the world." (The doctrine of regime change stands 180 degrees from where Bush stood during the campaign. In the second presidential debates at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he said, "I don't think our troops ought to be used for what's called nation building. I think our troops ought to be used to fight and win war. I'm not sure the role of the United States is to go around the world and say, 'This this is the way it's got to be.' I think one way for us to end up being viewed as the ugly American is for us to go around the world saying, 'We do it this way, so should you.'")

Promoting liberal democratic principles around the world. In his 2002 State of the Union address, Bush said, "No nation owns [the] aspirations [of freedom], and no nation is exempt from them...." PNAC explains: "Because the United States has a 'greater objective'—a greater purpose—in the

world, Bush sees in the war not just danger but an opportunity to spread American political principles, especially into the Muslim world." *The National Security Strategy* document described "a distinctly American internationalism," willing to use military force to "open and free" parts of the world now in shadow, especially "the Muslim world."

PNAC recently published an open letter to George Bush in which its members "endorse the bold new course" the administration "has charted for American national security strategy." "Yet," the think tank warns, "a great risk remains: a continuing lack of military means. For the fact is this: Our current level of defense spending is inadequate to meet the demands of the Bush Doctrine."

PNAC counsels that "a multitude of threats elsewhere call into question our ability now, and in the future, to defend adequately our interests and our principles around the globe." One of these interests is Bush's "strategic vision for the Middle East," in which eliminating "Saddam is but the first step." "Other rogue states" await their thrashing and "there is an increasingly dangerous gap between our strategic ends and our military means, and the Bush Doctrine cannot be carried out effectively without a larger military force."

Bush has responded to the call of PNAC, saying that his administration is "relentless" and "absolutely determined [to defeat the evildoers] because we love freedom, and we

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Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire* After 150 Years

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Last year's celebration of the 150th anniversary of Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire* of Louis Bonaparte was very timely. Marx first published this pamphlet in 1852, in the aftermath of the December 2, 1851 Bonapartist coup in France that had brought to an end the whole period of ferment that had begun with the 1848 revolutions.

In France, it ushered in nearly two decades of authoritarian rule, as the Bonapartist state became a precursor of twentieth century fascism, setting up the first modern police state. All the while, the regime also claimed to oppose slavery and to be acting in the name of the masses against the various monarchies of Europe. Among Bonaparte's most reactionary adventures was the attempt to install a puppet ruler, Maximilian, in Mexico.

Reorganization in the Face of Retrogression

The 1851 coup came suddenly, like a "bolt from the blue," Marx wrote (MECW 11, p. 107 – I am referencing the version in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, but here and elsewhere, the translation has been sometimes altered in consultation with the German original and the newer translation by Terrell Carver in the 1996 Cambridge edition of Marx, *Later Political Writings*).

One small indication of the defensive posture that revolutionaries across Europe had been forced into was shown in how the *Eighteenth Brumaire* was published. No European publisher was able to print it and the pamphlet came out in the U.S. in a very small printing, under the auspices of the German immigrant Marxist and future Civil War officer Joseph Weydemeyer. In this work, Marx predicted correctly that a long wave of reaction would now blanket Europe. The *Eighteenth Brumaire* was one of those places where Marx developed his theory of the state, something he had planned to complete in a major work that was to follow *Capital*.

In the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, Marx showed how the road to the Bonapartist coup of December 1851 had been paved by the deep contradictions that had emerged in 1848 between, on the one hand, the liberal democrats and the working class, and on the other, among the liberal democrats themselves. The result was a deeply retrogressive situation, wherein, he wrote, "it seems that the state only returned to

its oldest form, to the shamelessly simple domination of the sword and the cross" (MECW 11, p. 106). However, Marx insisted, this was not a return to the premodern era, but a form of dictatorship that was very new. Up through 1852, Marx noted, "all revolutions perfected the state machine instead of breaking it," helping to create a "huge state edifice" (MECW 11, p. 186). He also dealt with the class basis of the new state – its roots in parts of the disunited French peasantry and its connection to the army.

At the same time, he wished to disabuse the working class and all those in the revolutionary camp of the notion that any immediate turnabout lay on the horizon. There were simply too many objective obstacles: "Human beings make their own history," he wrote, acknowledging the power of human subject. "But," he warned, "they do not make it just as they please, in circumstances chosen by themselves, but under present circumstances, given and inherited from the past" (MECW 11, p. 103).

At the same time, Marx sketched the positive movement that he saw in the trajectory of the working class movement, even in defeat. Despite the tremendous setbacks, there had been a lot of learning and the growth of working class self-consciousness. In language that evoked Hegel's "labor, patience, and suffering of the negative" (in the Preface to the *Phenomenology of Spirit*), Marx wrote of how, as against bourgeois ones and their strengthening of the state, proletarian revolutions "engage in perpetual self-criticism" and "deride with savage brutality the inadequacies, weak points, and pitiful aspects of their first attempts" (MECW 11, p. 106). [Obviously, he was unaware of how his own ideas would be disfigured into ideologies that legitimated totalitarian rule in the twentieth century.]

This self-critical attitude was not due to weakness, Marx wrote, but to the "prodigious" scope of their aims, which, as he was to write later, include not just the overthrow of a particular ruler or system, but the "abolition" of "class-rule itself" (in 1871 in *The Civil War in France*). However, to get there, constant self-critique and self-reorganization on the part of the revolutionary movement was an absolute necessity.

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Popular education resources for scholar activists in the classroom & community

Toolkits on *Today's Globalization*, *The Prison-Industrial Complex* & *The Zapatistas*

Toolkits are self-contained popular education modules with everything you need to teach in the classroom &/or facilitate community workshops. Toolkits contain overview essays, glossaries of terms, detailed social history timelines – economic history, political history & popular movement history, critical questions, selected books & video resources, and additional interactive tools for classroom & community teaching.

Today's Globalization \$19

D. Horowitz de Garcia, W. Katz-Fishman, C. Ketchum & J. Scott. 2002. Project South: Atlanta, GA.

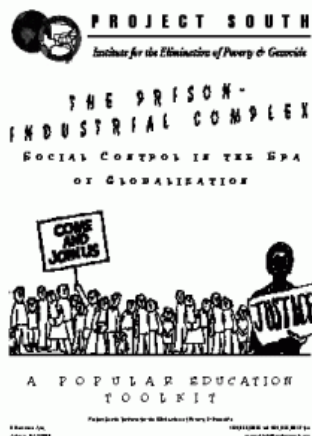
In the wake of international uprisings against corporate globalization, activists around the U.S. are struggling to understand the "new" global economic system and how it affects their communities. This toolkit examines the historical development of globalization and its current form. It helps participants to identify the domestic impact of globalization and offers perspectives from other parts of the world - includes glossary, timeline, globalization jeopardy & gong show & more.



The Prison-Industrial Complex: Social Control in the Era of Globalization (\$19).

D. Horowitz, W. Katz-Fishman, ... & editors. 2001. Project South: Atlanta, GA.

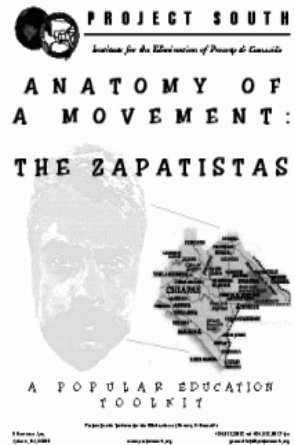
The prison-industrial complex (PIC) is a topic that prison, globalization & other domestic or international scholars and community activists will find interesting and linked to their work. The curriculum makes the connection between the PIC, the growing police state and advancing corporate globalization. With a broad definition of the PIC and a comprehensive analysis, this is a resource you will come back to time and again.



Anatomy of a Movement: The Zapatistas \$19

D. Horowitz de Garcia, W. Katz-Fishman, J. Scott... (editors). 2002. Project South: Atlanta, GA.

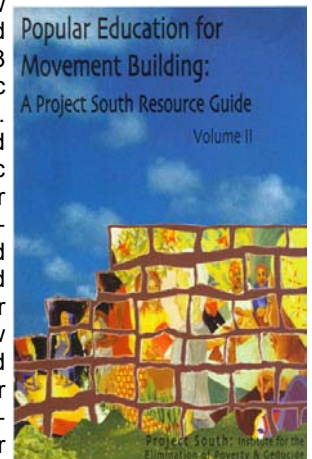
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Report from COMPA
Convergence of Movements of the Peoples of the Americas
General Assembly, Havana, Cuba, Nov. 20-23, 2002
& an invitation to the COMPA USA National Assembly, March 2003

Jerome Scott & Walda Katz-Fishman
Project South delegates

“International solidarity is not an act of charity. It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible.”

Samora Machel (1933-1986), leader of FRELIMO & 1st President of Mozambique

Today we live in a global capitalist system dominated by transnational corporations and the military. To challenge their power requires a huge popular bottom-up movement that is grounded within our communities, our country and the hemisphere. Increasingly we see stirrings of this bottom-up movement in the emerging leadership, relationships and networks we are building locally, nationally and across borders. COMPA – Convergence of Movements of the Peoples of the Americas – offers an example of such cross border movement building.

For these reasons and others Project South made a strategic decision to join COMPA and to participate as a delegate organization in the Continental/General Assembly in Havana, Cuba from Nov. 20-23, 2002. Our decision was rooted in the reality of the need to build a global bottom-up movement in response to capitalist-corporate globalization, and the opportunity this hemispheric network offers to begin that process with our closest neighbors. COMPA is a 3-year old network of over 100 organizations and networks in the Americas and the Caribbean, including 16 from the USA. The work of the Third General Assembly continued the work of the Second South-North Exchange in Chiapas, Mexico, Oct. 9-12, 2000 and the First South-South Exchange initiated in Washington, D.C., USA on September 22-23, 1999. COMPA's goal or strategic objective is “to achieve the demise of the capitalist system in the Americas (especially in its neoliberal form) by building an alternative, popular model which is inclusive, non-sexist, non-racist, capable of achieving a self-sustaining development process and respectful of the environment as humanity's collective legacy.” COMPA is defined by “its anti-systemic character, as opposed to simply attempting to give a ‘human face’ to neoliberalism” (from COMPA Core Document, August 2002 – www.compasite.org).

COMPA held its third General Assembly in Havana, Cuba, Nov. 20-23, 2002. Over 70 organizations and net-

works sent 100+ delegates from 15 countries in the Americas and the Caribbean, including 17 delegates from 9 USA organizations. We spoke Spanish, English, French, Creole and Portuguese and had incredible simultaneous translation in the large assembly, though smaller group work required more one-on-one translation. While COMPA is a multi-sectoral network, we affirmed our commitment to at least 50% of member organizations being grassroots/low-income and at least 50% of leadership at the national, regional and continental levels being women.

We reorganized the regions of COMPA into 5: North America (NA) – Canada, USA and Mexico;

Central America; the Caribbean; the Andean Region of South America; and the rest of South America. Each region elects 2 representatives to the Continental Coordination – the COCO – and is responsible for organizing itself and holding a Regional Assembly as well as supporting National Assemblies for each of the countries within its region. The COCO coordinates the overall work of COMPA between Continental General Assemblies, which are held every 2 years, and hires the necessary staff to carry out its work. The 2004 General Assembly will be in Columbia, SA.

We discussed our new Action Plan around the six strategic issues identified in 2000: “1) support for alternative integration and defeat of the FTAA; 2) for sovereignty and for cancellation of the foreign debt; 3) for peace and against Plan Colombia and militarization in the Americas; 4) promotion of women's rights and empowerment; 5) promotion of indigenous rights and biodiversity; and 6) for holistic and sustainable rural development.” Details will be included in the official report forthcoming from COMPA.

The North American Region elected Teresa Margarita-Zepeda Torres from Alianza Civica in Chiapas, Mexico as a NA Regional Representative and Tara Colon from Kensington Welfare Rights Union in Philadelphia, PA as an interim NA Regional Representative. Ruben Solis from the Southwest Union in San Antonio, TX and Jorge Pineda from Low Income Families Together (LIFT) in Toronto, Canada are the NA regional alternate representatives. We also divided the USA into 5 zones – Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, Midwest and Northwest. We will elect one or more coordinators for each zone to organize the zone as part of

(Continued on page 10)



Report from Compa (Continued from page 9)

the national coordination of the COMPA USA network.

COMPA USA's major task is to build and consolidate our national network. This task offers great promise and much work. The 1st piece of work is our report back to you and mobilizing for the National Assembly planned for March 8-9, 2003 or March 15-16, 2003 in San Antonio, TX and hosted by the Southwest Union in San Antonio, TX - Ruben Solis, contact person.

We hope to see you and your organization there! Let us know if you are interested in participating in the National Assembly and/or joining COMPA. Be sure to indicate which dates you prefer.

Contact Jerome at jerome@projectsouth.org or call (404) 622-0602 or Walda at wkatzfishman@igc.org or call (301) 320-4034.

For more information about COMPA visit their website www.compasite.org

From COMPA Core Document (www.compasite.org August 2002)

"COMPA defines itself as an Americas-wide movement of broad coordination which is autonomous, pluralistic and democratic, in which women and men from different organized sectors struggle to build alternatives to neoliberalism in search of a new society. COMPA is strongly anchored in popular movements and grassroots organizations, and in addition to its hemispheric and multi-sector character, COMPA has made a clear option in favor of an anti-

hegemonic and anti-neoliberal struggle to build an alternative and grassroots model which, though still incipient, is expanding its presence throughout the Americas."

COMPA's objectives are "1) to analyze in a comprehensive way the impact of neo-liberal policies in the Continent, integrating an analysis of gender and the perspectives of indigenous peoples and peasant farmers; 2) to exchange experiences of struggle and resistance in the face of globalization under the neo-liberal model; 3) to put forward a plan of action which joins our wills and strengths in order to slow and defeat the capitalist system which, in its present stage in our Continent, is manifested in the neo-liberal form, and 4) to build alternative models based on ethical, participatory, inclusive, non-sexist, non-racist and ecologically sustainable principles."

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Marx's 18th Brumaire (Continued from page 7)

Alleged Dismissal of the Peasantry

Some critics of Marx have seen the *Eighteenth Brumaire* as a flawed work because of a supposedly elitist dismissal of the peasantry. They hang their argument on the passages where Marx wrote that, in a way, the Bonapartist regime represented the French peasantry, a class that he considered to be an unformed mass, "much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes." He added that "they do not form a class" and since "they cannot represent themselves, they need to be represented," and in this case that vacuum had been unfortunately filled by Bonaparte (MECW 11, p. 187).

If in fact Marx dismissed the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, here or more generally, that would indeed constitute a serious flaw in his thinking, especially given the history of twentieth century revolutionary movements, from China to the Zapatistas.

Instead, however, what Marx was saying was that at that particular juncture, 1851-52, the French peasantry lacked cohesion and therefore fell into the trap of Bonapartism, as had the liberal democrats as well. What Marx was talking

about was the emergence of different tendencies among the French peasants, based on their specific class position and the uneven development of their revolutionary consciousness:

"But let there be no misunderstanding. The Bonaparte dynasty represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant; not the peasant that strikes out beyond the condition of his social existence, the smallholding, but rather the peasant who wants to consolidate this holding; not the country folk who, linked up with the towns, want to overthrow the old order through their own energies in conjunction with the towns.... It represents not the enlightenment, but the superstition of the peasant; not his judgment, but his prejudice; not his future, but his past..." (MECW 11, p. 188).

The above passage is in keeping with numerous other statements by Marx, where he vehemently opposed those who argued that the working class alone was revolutionary, such as the *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875), where he polemicized against the Lassallean view of the backwardness of the peasantry. Marx expressed this point more affirmatively in his letter to Engels of April 11, 1856, where he wrote of the dialectical relationship between the peasant and

(Continued on page 16)



On the Modern Division of Labor: Connecting Bill, Cathy, and Sociology

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"In communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic."

Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*

A few years ago, I worked as a part-time security assistant at nights in one of the University of Wisconsin-Madison libraries to help support myself as a graduate student in sociology. I shared the library late shift with custodial workers who routinely passed by me quietly picking up trash, sweeping and vacuuming.

One night, one of the custodial workers, a white man in his fifties I will call Bill, did what I had never seen him do before, but what students routinely do in a library: Bill picked up a book. This alone would not be so memorable a moment to me if it were not for the way Bill handled the book. He did not read it so much as *look* at it. With one hand in his jeans' front pocket, Bill held the book with his other hand almost too far to read it. He did not open the book. He looked at its exterior, turning it around, looking at its front and back and title side for a few seconds, then he put the book back where it lay and returned to work.

One of the consequences of the division of labor in modern capitalist economies is that while most people graduate from secondary school with the ability to read (presumably including Bill), only some get comfortable with reading. But this is just the tip of the iceberg. The division of labor is arguably the most powerful social force in modern capitalist societies because its effects reach so far and deep and because it is so taken for granted, even among sociologists, who are perhaps best trained to problematize it. The division of labor structures not only our work, but as a result, our leisure, our selves, indeed our whole lives. It defines not only Bill's job, but his very relation to books.

Modern people are, as political philosopher Michael Sandel succinctly remarked, paradoxically "more entangled, but less attached, than ever before" (Sandel 1984: 94). Bill and I regularly crossed paths in the UW library, entangled as we were in our specialized jobs as part of a larger division of labor, but we were polite, unattached strangers to each other. This common social condition is in reality driven less directly by the ideological hegemony of philosophical liberalism than by the vast capitalist division of labor. Quite con-

trary to Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity (Durkheim 1984), the modern division of labor works powerfully to extend and deepen entangled detachment through economic interdependence and social-spatial segregation across the world. It structures not only the where's, what's, how's, who's and why's of work, but where we live and move outside of work, with whom we connect, how we interact, what we consume, and why we think the way we do. It is – more than ownership of capital – the force that most directly defines class.

The two perhaps least questioned but most pernicious assumptions underlying this division are that: (a) each person specializes their labor, rather than shares in specialized labor, and that (b) this particular form of labor division is the natural result of unequal human endowments and, as Adam Smith argued, of the economic drive for efficiency (Smith 1937). Accordingly, to adapt Marx's famed quote above, Bill does not read in the morning, fish in the afternoon, then clean the UW library at night because to do so would be inefficient for society, and because he lacks the native ambition or intelligence to do something other than clean libraries. So the pernicious assumptions go.

I recently proposed a different division of labor to Cathy, my friend and my boss in a catering company. I argued that the same ethic of sharing in chores which so many now take for granted in the household, should carry forward into the larger labor market. Just as in the household, there is usually work in the larger economy nobody *wants* to do – harvesting produce, collecting trash, cleaning libraries, and more – that nonetheless must be done. Would it not be fairer if these undesirable tasks were socialized rather than made the occupation of some, I asked Cathy? Cathy firmly rejected the idea. Not only are some people too stupid to do anything other than stupid work, but it's a waste of bright people's time to have them do stupid work, she said. Besides, Cathy paid her dues, she did her share of stupid work when she was younger. Now, because she is smarter, she deserves better work. Also, she added, if people do not like their work, they can always change jobs. So goes the ideological opposition.

There is no lack of sociology that indicates that the capitalist division of labor embodies as much if not more an exercise of power as a natural distribution of human endowments in the drive for profitable efficiency (see, for instance, Rueschemeyer 1986, Sabel 1982). But the gap that exists between the understandings of sociologists and those of laypeople like Cathy is, ironically, an illustration of the perva-



On the Modern Division of Labor (Continued from page 11)

sive, taken-for-granted power of the capitalist division of labor.

Most sociologists, even critical and Marxist sociologists, assume the basic institutionalized imperatives which constrain our occupation. From graduate school onward, we are trained to engage far less with laypeople like Cathy, let alone Bill, than with fellow specialists. Moreover, most sociologists accept the limited options for public engagement universities make institutionally available: teaching undergraduates, (increasingly) service learning, and to a more limited and unsystematic extent, communicating with interested publics and policymakers. The imperative to “publish (for fellow specialists in academic journals almost nobody else reads) or perish” leads most sociologists sooner or later to internalize and assume, or ambivalently accept such circumscribed engagement.

There are two basic problems with such widely accepted academic forms of public engagement. First, they largely fail to reach the great mass of people for whom the division of labor only serves to make sociology a foreign language. Second, they typically assume and reinforce the specialist-client relationship that the division of labor engenders.

All this brings these brief stories about Bill, Cathy, the modern division of labor, and sociology to a point. I believe sociology can be a long-term engine for radical change in the modern division of labor, change which can alter our everyday lives as sociologists just as much as Cathy’s convictions and Bill’s relation to books. The first step may be to free ourselves institutionally as sociologists

from the current academic division of labor. The goal would be to encourage sociologists – and all other university academics for that matter – to gain tenure and status as much by connecting successfully with larger publics as by publishing and teaching for small circles.

The vehicle toward that goal may be a national movement of radical academics. That movement would aim not only to make connecting with larger publics a requirement for tenure, but would seek to nurture real, politically more potent public intellectuals (i.e., academics who thin the dividing lines between academia and larger publics), and mobilize radical academics toward these ends. Marxist sociologists can become the catalysts for such a movement to the extent that we are willing to publicly problematize the division of labor, and to organize like hell the way Marx would expect us to.

To adapt Marx’s saying, we as academics have nothing to lose but our comfortable chains.

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God’s Gift to Humanity (Continued from page 6)

owe it to our children to be relentless and determined. And that’s why I asked the Congress to pass a defense bill that’s the largest increase in defense spending since Ronald Reagan was the President.”

A few months ago, in an article that appeared in this publication (“A Shriek Cry for War”), I wrote that Bush “needs to keep the rhetoric of war alive to distract the public from the problems of the country and to keep his poll numbers high. His term in office is one step away from looking like a repeat of his father’s: war, recession, and defeat.”

Arguably, a good bit of that argument is still true. Bush’s poll numbers, remarkable by historical standards, and buoyed by his State of the Union speech, are dropping precipitously from where they stood only a few months ago. The President is especially hurt by economic circumstances. A “jobless recovery” is weighing him down. He needs a distraction.

Yet, I was naive. Bush’s words and deeds go beyond re-election strategy. Too many soldiers are amassed at

Iraq’s borders—war is nigh. Bush and the whiz kids are on a mission from God.

War with Iraq has nothing to do with weapons of mass destruction or human rights records and probably very little to do with presidential popularity. Finally in a position to test their madcap theories, a small gang of intellectuals play recklessly with the most vast of global structures in an attempt to achieve a fantastic and terrible result: a peaceful world of liberal capitalism won through the devastation of permanent war.

“The liberty we prize is not America’s gift to the world, it is God’s gift to humanity.” – George W. Bush ☞

FACTOID



Lockheed-Martin, the largest defense contractor, received over 15 billion dollars of defense contracts in 2001. (govexec.com) In 2002, it made 1.9 million dollars in federal campaign contributions (55% to Republicans and 45% to Democrats. (opensecrets.org)



OUTRAGES AND THEIR ELIMINATION

Robley E. George

Center for the Study of Democratic Societies

Outrages visit us daily, assaulting and numbing our senses and sensibilities. However, the lengthy litany of specific outrages, unnecessary miseries, horrific obscenities, and flagrant injustices, liberally sprinkled throughout the world, will not be repeated here. Presumably, the litany is well known.

Mention will only be made of a few of the dimensions down which specific outrages regularly occur. For example, there are the not infrequent outrages and obscenities (and occasional illegalities) committed in and emanating from the arenas of politics, business, labor, charity, economics, finance, religion, government, international affairs, geopolitical/military policies and actions, commerce, the sciences, history, literature, the arts, sports, and seemingly everything else that deals, one way or another, with money.

Meanwhile, most of the people of the planet appear to be lying prostrate with paralyzing pain and anguish, well knowing "This is all wrong and should not be!" but also knowing of nothing to do about it except pick out a few particular problems and start pounding away at them, one at a time -- at least if the outraged person has the time, energy, and opportunity to do so. Mankind, bereft of worthwhile new ideas as any Marxist, whimpers, denies, and suffers obediently, or lashes out stupidly, destined to be crushed, which may be good, necessary, undesirable, whatever, but doesn't solve the problem. These daily editions of outrages, dutifully delivered by TV and the newspapers, are enormously expensive, in their creation, their communication, and their observation, in terms of human life, human suffering, human despair, human anguish, and general life-supporting environmental degradation and wasteful limited resource utilization, not to mention money.

Clearly, outrages ought to be eliminated. They need not be tolerated, and the potential for positive change that is always optimistically growing, if realized, could easily bring about fundamental improvement around the globe. It could even turn out to be a near trivial task. What are some possibilities?

Consider the two major thrusts of progressive activity throughout the multidimensionally "globalizing" world. These are the ubiquitous thrust for more and more meaningful democracy and the equally ubiquitous search for a more sustainable and just socioeconomic system that resolves rather than perpetuates the present productive cornucopia of serious, unnecessary, and costly societal problems. Combining these two active and lively thrusts produces, or certainly suggests, Socioeconomic Democracy.

Socioeconomic Democracy (SeD) is a theoretical model socioeconomic system wherein there exist both some

form of Universal Guaranteed Personal Income and some form of Maximum Allowable Personal Wealth, with both the lower bound on personal material poverty and the upper bound on personal material wealth set and adjusted democratically by all participants of society.

Amusingly enough, the essence of Socioeconomic Democracy may be traced back to, among numerous others, Tom Paine (who gave the USA its name and the inspiration to perform the new experiment) and Tom Jefferson (another writer of note). Also, Socioeconomic Democracy conforms nicely with one's own general sense of a reasonable democratic society, and it is in fact almost intuitively obvious, given a society declared to be democratic, just, and compassionate.

Employing the standard neoclassical economic assumptions of rationality, self-interest, and insatiability, Socioeconomic Democracy creates strong economic incentive to reduce the litany of Outrages of, by, and against Humanity. More specifically, it may be seen that SeD can democratically reduce or essentially resolve, simultaneously, many of the already acknowledged problems presently confronting society and humanity. This includes reducing the economic incentive that presently promotes, produces, and preserves war, as well as providing strong economic incentive to eliminate war -- one of the many Outrages of Humanity.

As alluded to earlier, there is a long tradition concerned with each of the two economic bounds of SeD. Application of the most elemental result of Public Choice theory, as developed by Arrow, Black, Sen and others, namely, the democratically desired value is the median value of the societal participant preference distribution, allows society to democratically determine the magnitudes of these two popular and important personal economic bounds.

It has been shown that these simple, intuitive, and democratic politicosocioeconomic arrangements are justified and recommended from at least anthropological, philosophical, psychological, religious, and human rights perspectives. As can be imagined, numerous implementable variations and practical political approximations to the ideal theoretical model are possible. The similarities have been explored between SeD and Zakat, one of the five pillars of Islam, which is basically a tax on large amounts of personal wealth to promote the general welfare of society. Preliminary benefit and cost analyses have proved promising.

Everything considered, it would appear Socioeconomic Democracy is able to reduce or eliminate numerous Outrages of Humanity simultaneously. ☺

Robley E. George is the Founder and Director of the Center for the Study of Democratic Societies at <http://www.centersds.com>. His latest book, Socioeconomic Democracy: An Advanced Socioeconomic System, was published by Praeger/Greenwood in



Between Iraq and a Hard Place (Continued from page 1)

Meanwhile, Osama Bin Laden and the search for justice following 9/11/01 remains unfulfilled in a climate of terrorism within the United States. President Bush continually delivers the mantra that national security is at stake, should we ignore "threats" from Hussein and like dictators. Former Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge is now in charge of a Homeland Security Department. There is a persistent political message that the time to act is now and any dissenters are guilty of treason and constitute a non-patriotic element within American society.

Democratic, and even some Republican spokespersons, express mixed feelings that a real threat against American safety exists. In fact, several pronged arguments are presented in this regard. In one case, posited arguments state that the U.S. is not equipped to fight a major incursion following the expanse of time and monies spent in a fruitless campaign against Afghanistan. Osama Bin Laden is still at large and the world is not in greater peril for the situation.

Amid the military call-up and significant Federal expenditures, other critics are concerned with the state of the U.S. economy and the impact of corporate greed. Well-documented scandals surrounding Enron, Worldcom, Global Crossing, Martha Stewart, and their counterparts, along with Arthur Andersen and leading accounting firms, served to deplete billions of dollars in 401K retirement savings and focus attention on political malfeasance within the executive branch of the Federal government. President Bush, Vice President Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and other administration officials have been subject to public scrutiny for their actions while working within the private sector.

Real questions do remain regarding the current rush toward war with Iraq and actual motivation for a substantive shift in foreign policy favoring combat. First, President Bush's public confidence level has dropped below 60% for the first time. The economic situation continually reflects an increased unemployment rate and stagnation in housing starts, automobile sales, and other leading economic indicators. The current solution proposed by the Bush Administration constitutes permanent tax cuts and incentives including a one-time \$3000 payment for retraining program participation. On the other hand, Democrats seem more preoccupied over the inequitable redistribution of Federal monies into the hands of upper class individuals.

The Bush Administration has a vested interest in shifting public attention away from the economic situation. The mantra that terrorism is an everyday reality alternated focus with the intractable economic picture. The disintegration of the Columbia Space Shuttle and its impact is a factor that will temporarily refocus the next news cycle from the war and the economy. Nevertheless, the demonization of Saddam Hussein continues with U.S. Government preoccupation linking Iraq and its supposed pos-

session of weapons of mass destruction. Secretary of State Colin Powell continues in his lobbying efforts designed to enlist allied support from leaders of other countries. British Prime Minister Tony Blair carries forth the same efforts in a parallel campaign. The hard sell is making an impact on some countries but the final allied alignment is still unpredictable.

Inevitably, Iraq and Afghanistan are the first steps in a protracted war on terrorist governments. The war on terrorism is clearly reminiscent of a decades long assault against communist or socialist directed governments. The "war that never ends" can potentially refocus attention onto a modern Crusade that will continue through future generations. The impact of this crusade will eventually undermine the economic and political structure of United States governmental operations. The late President Lyndon Johnson found out the hard way that "guns and butter" (or war and domestic economic issues) results in budget deficits and a weakened economic system. President Bush is particularly faced with Johnson's situation as his tax plan attempts to stimulate the demand side economic base. But massive economic deficits will particularly deepen further, the longer that combat decisions siphon budgetary appropriations.



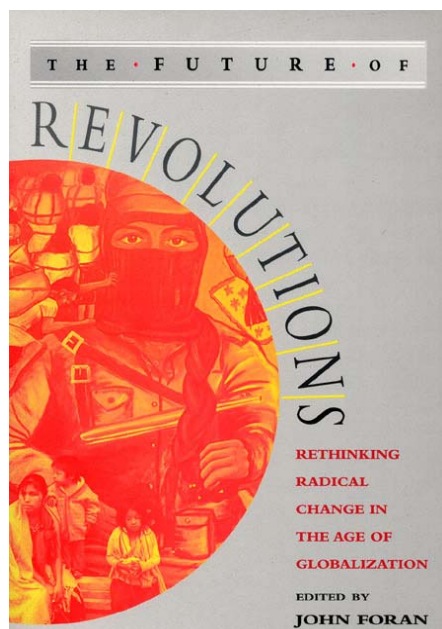
Photo Courtesy of the White House (Photo by David Bohrer)

Vice President Dick Cheney under an F-16
Al-Udeid Airbase, Qatar

What is the final answer in our analysis of this dilemma? War with Iraq and other "terrorist" countries will produce consequences within our economic infrastructure. Mounting wartime casualties will stimulate diminished citizen support for the combat efforts. The credibility of the American Government is on the line-particularly if the Iraq battle is a unilateral effort. Congressional realization of these factors and the revitalization of the Democratic party as we head toward the 2004 Presidential and Congressional elections are definite possibilities. But in the short term, we are truly between Iraq and a hard place. *CS*



New Book Announcements



The Future of Revolutions: Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Global Revolutions, Edited by John Foran Zed Books. ISBN 1-84277-033-0

The 20th Century was pre-eminently an age of revolutions, in Mexico, China, Cuba and numerous other countries—which fundamentally transformed the nature of political and social arrangements. As we enter a new century, has it become harder for revolutions to occur in a world of far flung corporations and commodity chains, global cultural forms, instantaneous communication, and a new unipolar system of power?

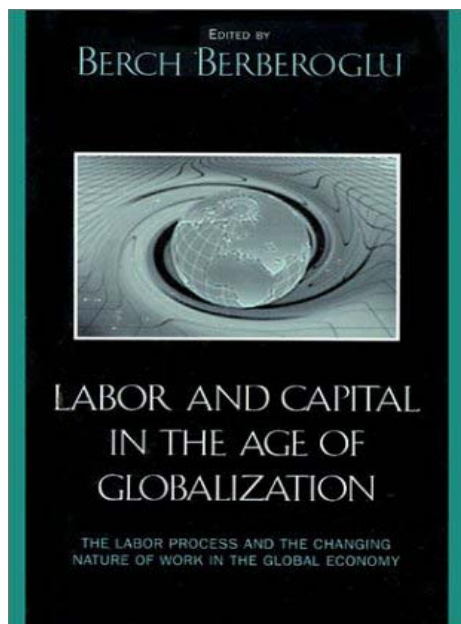
In this volume, a number of eminent historians, sociologists, and political scientists who have spent their lives studying revolutionary processes reflect on and debate this question.

Their reflections constitute a state of the art assessment of the conditioning of factors shaping the likely incidence and possible new forms of political change in the era of globalization.

“Challenged to reflect on the future of revolutions, John Foran’s knowledgeable collaborators went beyond their assignments. None of them thinks that the replicas of the French or Russian revolutions will appear in the foreseeable future. Without abandoning their knowledge of historical experience, nevertheless, the contributors thought about new forms of social transformation, other paths to human betterment, and modes of resistance to oppression that may be possible in the 21st century. Against the idea that globalization has rendered collective action on behalf of exploited people futile, *The Future of Revolutions* sounds surprising notes of optimism” Charles Tilly, Joseph L. Buttweiser Professor of Social Science, Columbia University

“The book is a long, fascinating conversation about whether revolution is still a relevant concept with which to analyze the contemporary world, and if it is, under what conditions revolutions might occur. It is a cogent, intelligent, urgent conversation, which will inform our analyses and our practice.” Immanuel Wallerstein, Yale University

John Foran, the Editor, is Professor of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara



Berch Berberoglu, *LABOR AND CAPITAL IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION: The Labor Process and the Changing Nature of Work in the Global Economy* (Boulder, Colo.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).

This book offers a timely analysis of work and labor processes and how they are rapidly changing under globalization. The contributors explore traditional sectors of the U.S. and world economies - from auto to steel to agriculture - as well as work under new production arrangements, such as third world export processing zones. Many chapters analyze changing dynamics of gender, nationality, and class. The contributors explain why more intensified forms of control by the state and by capital interests are emerging under globalization. Yet they also emphasize new possibilities for labor, including new forms of organizing and power sharing in a rapidly changing economy.

Forthcoming in June 2003:

THE GLOBALIZATION OF CAPITAL AND THE NATION STATE: Imperialism, Class Struggle and the State in the Age of Global Capitalism (Boulder, Colo.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003)

Berch Berberoglu is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Institute for International Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno.

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Marx's 18th Brumaire (Continued from page 10)

working class struggles, going back to the sixteenth century peasant uprising in Germany on which Engels had written one of his best books, *The Peasant War in Germany*, published only two years before the *Eighteenth Brumaire*: "The whole thing in Germany will depend upon the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid..."

The *Eighteenth Brumaire* has relevance today for many reasons. One them lies in how, as against Marx's anarchist critics, it shows his opposition to (and preoccupation with) not only capital, but also the modern state. It gives us some of the flavor of the never-written book on the state that was to have followed the never-completed *Capital*. A second point to ponder for today is how the Bonapartist coup of 1851, while not an exact parallel to what happened after 9.11, showed the drive for total domination by the modern state, one that reached its fullest development in the twentieth century with fascist and Stalinist totalitarianism. Today, that is a danger that continues to lurk under the surface of liberal democracy.

From the Left Seeks Submissions

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