



Motivated by our different religious traditions, we believe that attitudes, priorities, and institutions can be changed to reflect a just and democratic use of the universe's bounty; we believe in the value of work that contributes to the common good; and in the healing influence of respect for the differences as well as the commonness of human experience.

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Inside...

2...Editor's Notes

4...Remembering Philip Berrigan: A Great Peacemaker Leaves Us With A Challenge

Johann Christoph Arnold

6...The Death of a Good Philosopher

John C. Cort

8...Jews Must Seek Access Into The Anti-Globalization Movement

Ira Rifkin

Religious Socialism

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Between Hope and Contradiction: The Left in Latin America

SERGIO MOYA MENA

Throughout the Twentieth Century, the struggle for socialism in Latin America had been intrinsically related with the political and economic democratization of many Latin American societies, the reduction of inequalities caused by capitalism and imperialism, and the extension of workers' rights in the fight against dictatorships. Since their origins as democratic-revolutionary parties, as well as inheritors of the Apristan doctrine of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, of the Mexican Revolution, the American New Deal and of European socialist currents, the social democratic parties of Latin America have been at the forefront of many struggles for democracy and social justice.



With the fall of military dictatorships and the democratization of the continent, these organizations were able to convert themselves into serious political alternatives capable of achieving power; many of them went on to win elections. As governmental parties, the typical measure applied by social democrats was to construct a model or paradigm that was to see itself stimulated by the rise of Keynesian economics and the economics of development theories.

This "social democratic model" or "social democratic compromise," whose characteristics were the mixed economy + the welfare state + democratic politics, supposed that capitalism could reform and transform itself — through successive rapprochements — in a social order that maintained representative democracy. In this way, social democrats began to construct the political, economic and social structures that not only paved the way towards the modernization of the economy — but also a substantial improvement in the living conditions of the working as well as lower classes.

The social base of these projects were to be sustained fundamentally in the urban proletariat, in the progressive sectors of the middle classes and in segments of the peasantry.

cont'd on page 10

editor's notes

While the entire world is now focused on the possibility of war in Iraq, it's important to remember that over the past two years, Argentina has undergone a near total economic collapse, peasants in Ecuador have been waging a heroic battle against U.S.-motivated privatizations, and Brazil has elected a president from a mass-based socialist party whose general political tone is one that has not been seen in most of social-democratic Europe for fifty years. Moreover, the political nuances of the ongoing crisis in Venezuela should be at least as much of a matter of interest to leftists as the question of weapons inspectors in Iraq — both places involve the manipulation of human lives for the sake of oil. Despite its difficult and tumultuous history (made more so by the unsavory influence of the United States), Latin America is seen by some political observers as the place to watch for clues as to the future shape and direction of the socialist movement in the 21st century. But it is also facing much deeper economic danger should things continue to go wrong in the power centres of the Global North.

On a slow news day in the North, it's hard enough to find a well-developed story on Latin America; in the current frenzy of terror alerts and troop deployments, it's practically impossible. So this issue of *RS* is a modest attempt to make up for the oversight of the mainstream media. Our lead piece this time is an analysis of the Latin American left, from Sergio Moya Mena, the International Secretary of Costa Rica's Party of National Liberation, as well as a Vice-President of the International Union of Socialist Youth. In this article, he provides a candid assessment of the situation for leftists in Latin America from an insider's perspective.

As war looms, peace and ethical values weigh heavily on the mind. From the Bruderhof community, Johann Christoph Arnold has written a moving remembrance of one of the world's most committed peace activists, Philip Berrigan, who died in December. Berrigan's life was an example to all those who diligently seek peace in a violent world, at the expense of peace in their own personal lives. On the ethical side, John Cort has given us a commentary on the life and work of John Rawls, perhaps the primary American political philosopher of the late 20th century.

And while the anti-war movement blends together in some places with the anti-globalization movement, other issues raise their heads within the leftist rubric, one of which is particularly ugly — the subtle presence of left anti-Semitism. Ira Rifkin's article seems to suggest that Jews can best confront the problem by helping to find other ways to struggle against capitalist globalization itself, which don't involve making alliances with the more problematic elements in the anti-globalization movement, some of which seem to see Israel as an "original cause" of all the world's problems since 1948, and consider Saddam Hussein to be no more dangerous than Manuel Noriega.

That brings us back to Iraq. Let's consider that most people in our movement feel that the Iraqi regime is clearly a belligerent, hostile, and dangerous presence in the world. It is one that all sane leftists would be happy to see the end of. The dilemma we face, however, is that the same can be said about the most powerful nation in the world, when it is led by a simple-minded fool whose mind is guided by the worst assemblage of American chauvinists from the worst prior administrations, and whose actions are intrinsically guided by the interests of his family's oil business. To say this openly is not anti-American: it's "pro" every American in



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DSA STATEMENT ON IRAQ

The Bush Administration is using all the influence and levers of power available to it to push the world into a military invasion of Iraq. The new national strategic doctrine of preemptive war that the Administration articulates is a dangerous escalation. Demanding that the US military police the world unilaterally—determining which regimes' transgressions shall be punished and which shall be overlooked—makes the world and the American people less safe.

The case for immediate military action in Iraq flies against reason. By the estimate of the CIA and British intelligence, Iraq is years away from acquiring nuclear weapons. There is also no evidence that the Iraqi government has any ties to the Al Qaeda network.

Therefore, DSA opposes military intervention in Iraq and will work with like-minded organizations to organize effective political opposition to this war and the new strategic and military doctrines. DSA calls upon its members to join in political action in opposition to military action against Iraq.

Adopted October 6, 2002



editor's notes

cont'd from previous page

uniform who is now in or on their way to the Persian Gulf. It's a statement in support of an America that values global cooperation instead of global bullying.

To be fair, the motives of the world's leaders are suspect all round, no matter which side one is on, and the only ones who make perfect sense these days are the mothers and fathers of those working class souls who are now being sent off to war. You can be sure that at this moment, they're not primarily concerned about oil or weapons of mass destruction. It's much simpler, much more human than that. They simply want their children to outlive them. So do we.

— Andrew Hammer



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remembering philip berrigan

a great peacemaker leaves us with a challenge

JOHANN CHRISTOPH ARNOLD

Whenever Phil Berrigan was hauled off to jail for his latest act of civil disobedience — and it happened again and again, long after others had left the Sixties behind and returned to middle-class life — admirers across the country took heart. Here, they would say, is a man who stands by his convictions.

Others, including many who supported Phil's aims (though not his methods) raised their eyebrows and sighed. Ineffective, they murmured. Idealistic. Out of touch. Phil, who was good at defending himself, always had a comeback. But he was also humble enough to admit that to most people, "my actions over the years have constituted a theater of the absurd."

It was in the fall of 1997, and I was visiting him in a prison in Maine, where he had been arrested after leading an anti-war event at a naval shipyard. He was sure to face a hefty sentence, he told me. But, he added pointedly, he would rather spend the rest of his life in prison for his beliefs, than die "on some beach." He was seventy-four at the time, yet he spoke with such vigor that he seemed far younger.

Phil and I talked about peace, and about Jonah House, the community he and his wife, Liz McAlister, founded in Baltimore in 1973. Devoted to resisting capitalism and war, its members have been performing "works of mercy" in the inner city for years, feeding the hungry, helping the homeless to find shelter, and caring for elderly shut-ins and people with AIDS.

Like members of the Bruderhof (the community I belong to), Jonah House members have abandoned the accepted path to middle-class happiness — the route of private homes and property, careers, bank accounts, and retirement funds — in order to follow Christ in the manner of the first churches. It is a life of sacrifice and self-discipline and service — not peace, as the world thinks of it. By most standards, it is completely "unrealistic."

But what is peace? Surely it can't be prosperity — a house in the suburbs, a good job, a car, and a retirement fund — when our enjoyment of those things is dependent on the exploitation of the Third World. Surely it can't be national security, which (at least in the case of the United States) has been bought by means of the largest and most destructive war-making machine in history.

And surely "reality" does not have to mean a world bristling with weapons, class hatreds, personal grievances, and general cynicism. For isn't there a greater reality, where all these powers are overcome?

Phil is gone now, but I suspect his answer would have been "Yes." And I am certain that would affirm these words of his wife, who wrote (around the time of my visit):

"Our hope is in God. And God's vision — more, God's promise — of a humane and just society is a promise on which we can bet our lives. But none of us can be content until this promise is a reality for all people and for all the earth. So we stake our lives on the vision of Isaiah, the day to come when people will beat swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks."

Down through the centuries, countless men and women have longed for this day, and so do millions in our time. In fact, I believe every human does. Call it what you like — harmony, serenity, wholeness, soundness of mind — the yearning for it exists somewhere in every soul. According to the Old Testament, creation itself groans for it.

Obviously, peace cannot just be had or bought. It is rare enough in public and political life, and even in personal life, backbiting, hypocrisy, jealousy and divisiveness often prevent it from taking root. And these powers cannot just be ignored or avoided. They must be battled head on.

But this should not frighten us. If Christ's life serves as example (and it should, for those of us who claim to follow him), his peace is not so much the result of detachment or meditation or prayer than the fruit of hard struggle and agonized striving. For him, peace cost a terrible conflict, followed by voluntary submission to the most harrowing act of self-sacrifice imaginable: death on a cross.

Many of us who call ourselves Christians today have forgotten this, if not willfully blinded ourselves to it. Yes, we want peace, but we want it on our own terms. Phil was one who did not. And he not only accepted the suffering that came his way in life (which is already more than many people do), but embraced it. He knew the truth of Jesus' words, "Whoever wants to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for me will save it."

WE MUST DO MORE THAN
REFLECT ON THE MAN.
WE MUST ALLOW HIS CONVICTIONS
TO REKINDLE OUR OWN.

A few weeks after I visited Phil, he was sentenced to two years in prison. Shortly after, Liz sent him the following letter:

"...It isn't fair — that at seventy-three you are looking for the umpteenth time at a jail sentence for justice's sake and for peace. And that you face it without even a hearing in the court. But what else can we expect when millions are in prisons around our world, so many of them under torture, starving, disappeared, their loved ones bereft?

"It isn't fair — we can't enjoy the home we built together; admire, as they bloom, the roses we transplanted; eat the fruits we've nurtured; take pride in the children we've raised. But what else can we expect when millions are homeless, millions more are refugees of war, famine, repression - their souls too dazed by weariness and fear to see the beauty around them; their hopes and hearts so broken by the daily dying of their children...?

"It isn't fair — we can't celebrate Frida's and Jerry's college graduations together. They long for you to be with them and partake in their pride, accomplishments, new beginnings. They long for your wisdom, your heart, your presence in this new phase in their lives. But what else can we expect when for the vast majority of

kids a college education, a loving family, a caring community isn't even the stuff of dreams, victims as they are of the decrepit institutions that pass for public education, victims too of the futurelessness that is the great society's legacy to them?

"It isn't fair — we can't guide Kate together as she looks to high school graduation and beyond, as she becomes a young woman...

"It isn't fair — the community you've worked all these years to build and rebuild is without you, the prayer and work and dreaming and laughter devoid of your gifts and vision and grace. But what else can we expect when community of any sort is suspect, a threat, an aberration, when the silence is almost complete, when people are cowed, bought off, distracted, participants in their own extinction...?"

This separation was not the first, nor would it be the last. All in all, Phil spent eleven years behind bars. They were long, hard, lonely years. But, as Liz's letter makes clear, the couple saw them as a necessary sacrifice on the road to true and lasting peace — a goal best described here by Phil himself:

"It is that peace where domination is no more, where injustice is undone, where violence is a relic of the past, where swords have disappeared and plowshares are abundant. It is the peace where all people are treated as sisters and brothers, with respect and dignity, where each life is sacred, and where there is a future for the children. It is such a world that God calls us all to help make a reality.

"In our country this can mean going to jail, risking reputation, job, or income, and even being disowned by family or friends. Yet, in a state which daily prepares for nuclear holocaust, it also means freedom, a sense of self and vocation, and a whole new community of friends and family. In fact, it means resurrection."

Today, as the world again rushes toward war, Phil's name is being mentioned mostly in connection with his death. In some quarters his passing has been spoken of as the end of an era. But why should that be so? The struggle for justice and peace to which Phil gave his life will go on, regardless. And thus we must do more than reflect on the man. We must allow his convictions to rekindle our own. ▀

Johann Christoph Arnold is an author and a senior minister with the Bruderhof movement. Read more of his articles at <http://www.bruderhof.com>

THE DEATH OF A GOOD PHILOSOPHER

The following tribute and critique comes to us from an as yet unpublished manuscript by John C. Cort on the history of justice and the real right to work.

JOHN C. CORT

Rarely has an author dropped so far and so fast as does John Rawls (1921-2002) in a review of his book, *Political Liberalism*, that appeared in the *New York Times* on May 16, 1993. The reviewer was John Gray, an Oxford fellow, who opens with this tribute:

Nothing has done more to shape recent political philosophy than John Rawls' book *A Theory of Justice*. For many its publication just over 20 years ago marked the rebirth of the subject itself. By any standards the book must be ranked as one of the classics of political philosophy in English...

The new book, *Political Liberalism*, does little more than bring *A Theory of Justice* up to date and respond to critics with minor amendments and clarifications, but by the end of his review Gray has consigned Rawls to "complete political irrelevance" and "utter political emptiness". He further charges that Rawls "has nothing to say to our contemporaries in Ankara, in Delhi, in St. Petersburg or in Shanghai."

Is this trashing of our good Harvard professor justified? No. Decidedly not. Gray attempts to disparage Rawls by comparing him unfavorably with Hobbes, the absolute monarchist, an attempt that reveals only that Gray has forgotten what Hobbes actually wrote, and probably what Rawls wrote in *A Theory of Justice* as well.

Has Rawls in fact "nothing to say to our contemporaries"? No. Decidedly not. True, he doesn't mention Ankara, Delhi, St. Petersburg or Shanghai. But if the political philosophers, practitioners and journalists in those cities were to read his books, including this latest one, they would be learning some important things about justice, about liberty and about democracy, all of which would be most helpful to them and to their chances of creating effective governments and decent societies in their countries. More than that you cannot ask of a political philosopher.

Not that Rawls is above criticism. He is verbose though lucid, and does not have a sprightly or graceful style, tends to belabor the obvious and explore the not-so-obvious further than necessary, wearing down his sharper points until they are dull. And he ends up with a piece of disappointing fudge. With all that, he may have done more than any other secular philosopher of modern times to develop a systematic, natural-right theory of justice that incorporates, implicitly if not explicitly, the Golden and Silver Rules.

By doing so he has gone far toward replacing, or at least challenging, the reigning philosophy of Utilitarianism (Social Good Theory) that we inherited from Bentham, Mill, James *et al*, not to mention the Positive Law theories of Socrates' adversary, Thrasymachus, as well as the aforesaid Hobbes, Hegel, Bentham again, Spinoza and Supreme Court Justice Holmes. He stands in the classical tradition represented by Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Kant, Jefferson and such Christian thinkers as Augustine, Aquinas and Jacques Maritain, a tradition that needs always to be rediscovered, dusted off and repolished. He has done that, even though in the dusting and polishing he may have knocked off a few useful parts of the building and neglected a few others. He is a handy book-end for the long shelf of writings on justice that go back to the Middle Kingdom of Egypt and the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, the first known expression of the Golden Rule: "Do to the doer so as to cause him to do."

In the shortest expression of Rawls' theory of justice you can see quite clearly, almost 4000 years later, the reflection of that simple rule: Each citizen wants everyone (including himself) to act from principles to which all would agree in an initial situation of equality.

This "initial situation" is more frequently called "the original position," around which is hung "the veil of ignorance." What this means is that you must imagine a situation in which everyone is equal in looks, brains, power, wealth and income, and everyone is ignorant, not only of the advantages or disadvantages of the others, which are presumably the same as their own, but also of the past and the future as these may affect anyone's chances of success or failure in the game of life.

That situation, or position, now being clearly and vividly kept in mind, you have a good chance of figuring out what is just, what is fair, to all parties, including yourself. Human nature being what it is, especially yourself. "Justice as fairness" — that is Rawls' short, short version of the theory. Here we get an echo not

only of the Eloquent Peasant, but of Confucius, who you may recall reduced the Rule to a single word, "Reciprocity," and of Jefferson, who used three words, "Reciprocation of right."

"Reciprocity" turns up early in *Political Liberalism* and reappears several times. One example:

... The idea of reciprocity lies between the idea of impartiality, which is altruistic (being moved by the general good), and the idea of mutual advantage understood as everyone's being advantaged with respect to each person's present or expected future situation...

The appearance of the phrase "general good," which smacks of Social Good Theory, is a salutary warning that you cannot look for a totally consistent philosopher who fits perfectly in any one of the three major divisions. In

Rawls wants to separate political and social participation from moralistic concepts such as "a life of virtue," or rather he wants to limit moralistic concepts to the minimum necessary for harmonious participation of a wildly diverse bunch of citizens in "political and social life." In a pluralistic society like the modern world, this is probably necessary. In this sense, and to this extent, Rawls steps outside all schools of philosophical, moral and religious belief, insofar as they insist that there is one answer, and one answer only, to the ultimate questions.

So what are those "basic needs of all citizens" that must be met? First we get an echo of Mortimer Adler: "Needs are different from desires, wishes and likings." Rawls calls them "primary goods" and one should note that the list goes well beyond the "external goods" that Aristotle, Jesus, the Fathers, Marx and Marcuse talk about. Rawls' list:

IN THE SHORTEST EXPRESSION OF RAWLS' THEORY OF JUSTICE YOU CAN SEE QUITE CLEARLY, ALMOST 4000 YEARS LATER, THE REFLECTION OF THAT SIMPLE RULE: EACH CITIZEN WANTS EVERYONE (INCLUDING HIMSELF) TO ACT FROM PRINCIPLES TO WHICH ALL WOULD AGREE IN AN INITIAL SITUATION OF EQUALITY.

a. Basic rights and liberties [mainly the negative rights and liberties in the Bill of Rights — JCC].

b. Freedom of movement and free choice of occupation against a background of diverse opportunities.

c. Powers and prerogatives of office and positions of responsibility in the political and economic institutions of the basic structures.

d. Income and wealth; and finally,

e. The social bases of self-respect.

fact, Otto Bird, basing his judgment on Rawls' writing before he published *A Theory of Justice*, placed him in the Social Good school.

If you liked the distinction between positive and negative liberty, you will be disappointed that Rawls does not make it. His books, however, are founded on the assumption that both kinds of liberty are necessary to a just society. Rawls' goal is to establish a consensus upon which reasonable people can agree as to those positive and negative liberties, even though they may disagree passionately as to their over-all sets of moral, philosophical or religious beliefs. And we get an echo of Aristotle:

.. Measures are required to assure that the basic needs of all citizens can be met so that they can take part in political and social life." Aristotle was more concerned with "a life of virtue," but the accent on "basic needs" as a prior requirement is right on.

What immediately strikes you about this list is the thought, "How few of our citizens, even here in the wealthiest country in the world, enjoy all of these 'basic needs'?" What is encouraging about Rawls is his emphasis on "the greatest benefit of the least advantaged," a phrase he repeats from time to time. It reminds one of Saint-Simon's repeated mention of the need "to improve as quickly and completely as possible the moral and physical existence of the poorest and most numerous class."

What is discouraging about Rawls is the sight of him striding confidently up to the door marked "Right to Work" and then tiptoeing away from it with some ambiguous language about "certain essential requirements of social organization" and

Why Jews Must Seek Access into the Anti- Globalization Movement



IRA RIFKIN

Israel has always been more than just a nation. It is also an archetype, a symbol that inspires or inflames, depending upon one's view. For Jews, Israel is a symbol of spiritual and political redemption, of security and hope. Christians conceptualize Israel as God's historical play station for the unfolding of ultimate salvation. Modern Zionism owes its flowering to both visions.



Arabs and Muslims also view Israel symbolically. For them, Israel is an organic reminder of all the real and imagined wrongs they've suffered at the hands of colonial powers and nonbelievers.

Anti-globalization activists have also adopted Israel as a symbol. For them, the Jewish state is the bagman for laissez-faire capitalists they see as out to turn the world and its people into one undifferentiated market in which everything is reduced to the level of commodity. Consequently, virtually every anti-globalization demonstration these days has some anti-Israel component, which is, of course, manipulated to the fullest by pro-Palestinian forces pushing their own agenda.

One reason for this is Israel's close relationship with the United States, seen by critics as the primary source of globalization's destructive economic and cultural values. In this sense, Israel is vilified as an unofficial 51st state, an American beachhead from which to assert control over Arab oil and spread a self-indulgent Western lifestyle.

A second reason is the historic anti-Semitic canard about Jewish wealth, undue influence, and elitism. Do not underestimate the enduring power of this hateful mythology. It lives on in the anti-globalization subconscious, if not consciousness, where it is interpreted to mean that Jews manipulate the multinationals that do, in fact, pull the global strings.

Yet a third reason is Jews have long been a globalized people who have achieved extraordinary success. Unfortunately, human history makes clear that religious and ethnic minorities that gain economic power are often subjected to the majority's deadly jealousy.

Over the past year, I have spent considerable time in the anti-globalization community while preparing a book on the subject. Not surprisingly, few Jewish groups that normally tackle social justice issues are to be found there. Why, after all, would they join a movement that is overtly hostile to Israel and mainstream Jewish interests?

Of course, individual leftwing Jews are involved. Many have no discernible Jewish connection other than their DNA and a vague idea that Judaism is about supporting "progressive" causes. But a fair number of Jewish anti-globalization activists have strong Jewish backgrounds, and some maintain a connection to Jewish culture, and even faith. They are, in short, Jews of the *tikkun olam* variety, who have made the Jewish imperative to repair the world the faith's sum total.

They are not beyond joining anti-globalization protests in which rampant anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism are displayed. One such Jewish activist explained to me that while the anti-Semitism (but not the anti-Zionism)

was unsettling, "the greater good" demanded her participation. "It's vital for Jewish activists to be part of the global justice movement," she said. Besides, she added, being there allows her to explain the difference between opposing Israel and espousing anti-Semitism.

Such naiveté makes it easy to dismiss Jewish involvement with radical anti-globalists as misguided and even dangerous. But for all its self-delusion and wrong-headed notions about how justice is achieved, the anti-globalization movement makes some serious points.

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Globalization has not lived up to its advance billing. It is beset with ills, ranging from the vastly unequal distribution of profits generated by global markets, to the insensitive disregard of local beliefs and customs,

to the environmental devastation that results from the uncaring policies of absentee multinationals. Capitalism has never been particularly nurturing, and globalization is, after all, nothing but capitalism writ large. Globalization's failures are already evident from Argentina, to Saudi Arabia, to Indonesia.

A few mainstream Jewish groups, such as the Reform movement's Religious Action Center in Washington, D.C., are struggling to devise policy that allows them to comprehensively address globalization's downside without aligning with anti-globalization Israel haters. However, most brush globalization aside as not a Jewish issue, certainly not now in this period of crisis.

Jews are among the national groups that have benefited most from globalization, for which we have no reason to be ashamed. But that also gives us little incentive to challenge globalization's status quo. Moreover, the events of recent years, specifically the Palestinian uprising, and the worldwide upsurge in Islamic terrorism and anti-Semitism, have left Jews defensive and have moved us to the right. As frightening as these times are, this is not enough reason to forget Hillel's dictate: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me, and if I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?" Because after the intifada ends, and Saddam Hussein is gone, and Bin Laden is of not-so-blessed memory, God willing, globalization and all its attendant problems will remain, and demand attention.

Blaming Israel and Jews for globalization's problems bespeaks ignorance. But ignoring globalization's negatives is flat-out stupid. ▀

Ira Rifkin is author of Spiritual Perspectives on Globalization: Making Sense of Economic and Cultural Upheaval

WHO REALLY RUNS THINGS?

Ira Rifkin's piece mentions the age-old myth that Jews manipulate the global economic forces that control the world, which of course begs the question of who really does manipulate the global economy. A quick look at the top 20 global corporations produces some interesting answers. Six of the twenty are oil companies; another five are automobile makers; the remaining nine are a combination of banking, energy, and communication firms, with Wal-Mart sitting on the top of it all as the world's largest corporation. Another six in this top 20 group actually invested in or otherwise helped to build Nazi Germany. Insofar as one can consider these multinationals as part of one particular nation, one finds that nine are U.S. corporations, five are Japanese, two are Dutch, two more German, and one each are British and French. Looking further down the list of the top 50 corporations, there are no Israeli firms, and only one truly Jewish-owned firm, Home Depot. (A menace to all competing home and garden outlets?) If there is any kind of conspiracy afoot to shape our world, it would seem to be all too obvious who is running it, especially now as the U.S. prepares once again to go to war for the right to more oil, to put into the millions of cars we own, both of which are made by 11 of the top 20 multinationals.

Latin America

cont'd from page 1

Crisis of the Social Democratic Model

The idea that the model should provide assistance and aid (both in commodities and cash) to citizens in need, was soon to become a criterion for consensus among the Latin American political elites, who saw in the progressiveness of the state's means of redistribution and assistance — a natural endogenic evolution towards development and modernization of the economy.

Until the middle of the 1960s, the balance of social democratic conquests had been very positive, in terms of having reached more democratic societies, which were also integrated and equal.

Even when the problem of poverty and its causes had not been resolved, social democracy improved substantially the quality of the lives of its citizens, incorporating sectors of the peasantry and middle classes into active political life, defending an anti-imperialistic foreign policy and in some cases, such as that of Costa Rica, audaciously abolishing the armed forces.

It would seem that social democratic parties have had the virtue of having understood, in Latin America, the importance of the "national popular" category, that is to say, the understanding that political articulation requires the integration of a common front and under the hegemony of reformist national projects, to all classes interested in the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution. This is an element of summary importance to highlight, which, without doubt, is the crux of the reformist project of Latin American social democracy, with its most efficient approximation is seen in a hegemonization of a political culture by way of the integration of the interests of the different social strata: that is workers, peasants, the *petite-bourgeoisie* and students.

Without doubt, this consensus was constituted around convenience, and the need for a Welfare State began to define itself around the beginning of the 1980s where its efficiency and need were questioned.

Many things seemed to have changed on the continent and in the international order, where the "classical"

proposals of social democracy seemed not to be the most ideal in confronting the first challenges of globalization. The international economic crisis and the grave problems of external debt provided a first glance at the magnitude of the problems and the inability of Keynesian ideals to provide solutions to them.

One of the biggest components of this crisis was to be found in the role of the State and in its incapacity as an agent for social and economic change. This actor saw itself overwhelmed by the increase of social and economic expectations, by its incapacity to continue with the diversification of its roles, as well as by its bureaucracy and financial constraints.

It was thought many times in Latin America that the more times the State intervened in social and productive life, the greater would be the benefits to society as a whole. Socialization was confused with pure and simple statism and in this way the progressive weight of the State in the productive sector came to blur the concept of a mixed economy.

The crisis of social democracy, as an ideology and as an expression of concrete policies coincided with the beginning of the Conservative Revolution or neo-liberalism, which after the 1980s was to convert itself into the dominant ideology.

The so-called Washington Consensus proclaimed the market as the principal regulator of economic and social relations, acquiring "quasi-magical" attributes, with the ability to solve all of humanity's problems. The liberal liturgy of fiscal discipline, elimination of subsidies, liberalization of trade, privatization, deregulation and the strengthening of intellectual property rights became the credo to follow.

The crisis of statism, of the Welfare State, seriously affected all social democratic parties. The lack of alternatives made social democracy lose its transforming essence and its ability to propose changes, implying that it would sometimes be difficult to distinguish it from other currents of thought. Moreover, social democratic governments have applied the same policies of adjustment as employed by their conservative opponents. So, from the social democratic years of the statism of the 1970's, we passed over to a period of privatization, deregulation in the economy, where the productive element of the state was removed, thereby debilitating the Welfare State.

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In my own country, Costa Rica, governments of my own party promoted two programs for structural adjustment, as encouraged by the International Monetary Fund. In the case of Venezuela, the ex-President, Carlos Andrés Pérez (and a former Vice-President of the Socialist International), applied a neoliberal “shock therapy” program which led to a popular uprising that caused over three hundred dead.

This shift to the Right can be explained, in part, by the friction produced between party elites and grass roots members of both political parties and trade unions.

But it has not only been political parties that have fought a crisis of legitimacy before civil society; other social actors — subjected also to the social democratic equation — have been the trade unions. The neo-liberal offensive has provoked a breakdown in relations between trade unions and parties, with the subsequent weakening of social consciousness and the ability to organize.

This situation has weakened even more the grass roots of social democratic parties, creating on the one hand, a distortion with the interests that are said to be defended, and on the other, what parties have really been doing. That is to say, that political-electoral choice has not coincided with final governmental management, implying a serious problem of representation on behalf of the parties.

The loss of the reformist social essence has resulted in popular sectors of society, workers and peasants, no longer identifying themselves with social democratic parties as forces for social change. In the big popular struggles against the privatization of public services, against corruption, social democrats have not been on the street amongst the people.

It is true that it has been difficult to implement alternative politics, as the international climate threatens with capital flight or financial pressures, but in most cases this situation has been accepted with “extreme docility.” Many leaders and ideologues of our parties have taken to positions that favor an omnipresent market, echoing neo-conservative critics to state economic intervention.

Social democratic parties have left idle the exercise of thinking and studying an objective reality, and as global capitalism accentuates old inequalities it also generates new ones. In any case, when an effort for theoretical reflection occurs, it usually happens with plenty of

diagnosis but little therapy. In some cases, parties function only as electoral machines. Political education, especially amongst the young, is no longer a priority.

All of this has unquestionably had an impact that has debilitated parties. If we make a comparison with regards to the electoral advancements of Latin American social democracy in the last fifteen years, we discover an important regression: fifteen years ago we were in government in six countries, ten years ago in five, and five years ago in four. Today we govern only in three.

From Latin America we have been interested parties to the debate on the Third Way, which occurred in Europe. This debate was an interesting process and has provided an opportunity to establish which should be the socialist project of the future, and what responsibilities we have as parties.

It was not long before the Third Way was to show its true conservative and media essence, which would denaturalize socialism and its principles. One should

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recognize that the only voice which was raised against the embarrassing opportunism of the Third Way was that of the French socialist leader Lionel Jospin.

In actual fact the Third Way had an important virtue. It provoked a necessary discussion inside our movement, around the search for new paths and instruments. In this way, many European socialist parties, have set out — after a long time — on a healthy internal ideological debate.

Unfortunately, this was not the case in Latin America, where there has been a lack of reflection on the re-focusing of socialist principles. It would be fair to say that if in the future social democratic parties do not reconcile themselves with these principles, setting about them in a creative fashion, then the debate on social democracy in Latin America will not be one of re-invention but rather of survival. The future hails important social changes in Latin America and it will be these changes that will come with or without the traditional social democratic parties.

Latin America

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Latin America has been the most ill-fated laboratory of neo-liberalism. Its legacy is sadly patent. The dismantling of government social programs, the privatization of public services and the abandonment of farmers on the part of governments have provoked an increase in generalized poverty. According to the Social Panorama Report of 2001, of the Latin American Economic Commission (CEPAL- its acronym in English), 214 million people, nearly 43% of the Latin American population, live in poverty, while for the year 2002, it was expected that poverty would increase by an additional 7 million.

The most shameful part of this is that this poverty is not a consequence of the lack of human and material resources, but rather the result of a system with excess unemployment and a decrease in labor costs. It is here where global capitalism has shown more uncontrollably its incompatibility with equality or social justice. And inequality is not only an unfortunate aspect of capitalism, but rather a natural product of capitalism and an essential condition of its function.

The disenchantment with this economic model has generated in the last two years a growing social effervescence along the length and breadth of the continent. Large masses of workers, indigenous communities, the unemployed, students, etc., have assumed a direct protagonism in the construction of an alternative social structure, which has also led to the downfall of more than one government.

The fact that traditional social democratic parties are in the midst of a deep crisis does not mean that there is not a political potential for the left. There is a significant electoral advance for progressive alternatives, as the recent elections of Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil and Uruguay testify. And as in politics there are no vacant spaces, the growing social demands have been capitalized by a new generation of political parties. The so-called Latin American New Left, which are not precisely the traditional social democratic parties of before, can now be found in the PT of Brazil, the MAS in Bolivia or the Frente Amplio in Uruguay.

Recent electoral processes have shown that the economic and political structures that sustained the neo-liberal model of the last 20 years are today shattered. It is a model that cannot give more and there exists an evident loathing on the part of the population. In Brazil, the right engineered the "production" of

candidates who would defeat Lula da Silva in the three prior elections fought there. On this last occasion they were not able to do that, and the same seems to be the case in other countries in the region.

In Bolivia, the indigenous leader Evo Morales and his party, the Movement to Socialism (MAS, the acronym in Spanish) reached 21% of the votes in the first round of presidential elections in June. The MAS is a point of convergence of a wide sector of Aymaran, Quechuan indigenous organizations, as well as coca producers. With an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and democratic collective discourse, the success of the MAS has been the result of a growing fight on the part of the Bolivian people against their internal and external oppressors.

The collection of interests from the oligarchy, the U.S. Embassy and the complicity of the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, MIR, prevented the election of Morales as President of the National Congress. However, the MAS has become the second most important political force in the country and has obtained an important number of deputies, the same as the other indigenous party, the Indio Pachacuti Movement, or MIP, that represents "a socialism of Incan inspiration." For the first time in its history, Bolivia has a plural-national parliament, where five languages are spoken.

In Ecuador, in the first round of presidential elections in October, the coalition of left candidates obtained 45% of the votes. The retired army colonel, Lucio Gutiérrez, who led an indigenous uprising of the 21st January 2000, that provoked the fall of the then President Jamil Mahuad, was able to reach the second round. Supported by the Pachakútik axis, the political arm of the powerful National Confederation of Indigenous Organizations (CONAIE, its acronym in Spanish), and another group of social and peasant movements, Gutiérrez will fight out the next round against the oligarch Gustavo Noboa on November 24th. *[Editor's note: Gutiérrez won the election, but has since been strongly criticized by CONAIE for his quick steps toward electricity price hikes and wage freezes.]*

Venezuela is another significant case. President Hugo Chávez, and his "Bolivarian Revolution" have challenged important sectors of the oligarchy and the traditional corrupt political classes. He has been the only Latin American president that has actually pursued a policy of actual opposition to U.S. imperial initiatives such as the American Free Trade Agreement (the FTAA), or Plan Colombia.

But it has been the electoral victory of Lula da Silva and the Workers' Party (PT) that has proved to be the most outstanding example that things can change quickly on the continent.

This victory has been the result of many years of consolidating both a political and social project whose core ideals are a deep radicalization of democracy. It is therefore not strange that five of the six candidates for the Presidency were socialist, or that a year ago a poll commissioned by IBOPE, found that 55% of Brazilian population would support a socialist revolution.

The PT, a party founded by the working class, has had the ability to make real an objective of the Latin American left, namely to function as an historical block with all social movements, trade unions, grass roots religious groups, landless peasants, intellectuals, artists, etc.

This has made the PT a party with an extraordinary support base and one of the biggest socialist organizations in the world. Lula's victory is perhaps transcendental because it represents a clear defeat for neo-liberalism and also because it is a victory for a new type of left, different from the traditional bureaucratically vertical model of Marxist parties, but also from classical social democratic parties. It is a modern left, of the "post cold war" era, capable of managing itself creatively within the framework of global capitalism.

Holding political ethics as a base, with a prioritization at the social level, the alternative has been a more just Brazil, based on solidarity. The states and municipalities governed by the PT have experienced a significant improvement in the quality of life of its people, a dramatic fall in corruption levels and above all, a new way of doing politics. Initiatives such as the People's Bank, programs such as minimum incomes or Participatory Budgets have played a fundamental role in the democratization of the cities governed by the PT and an improvement in the mechanisms of social control over public resources. These have been governmental measures that have proved that an alternative path is possible to reach real democratic participation.

Challenges of Latin American Socialism

The French sociologist Alain Touraine referred a few months ago — in a recent article in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* — to the fact that Latin America has dual societies between the rich elites and the deposed masses, making it difficult to maintain a process of

political continuation, so making difficult the possibility to link social demands with international perspectives.

Fortunately this tendency seems to be in retreat. Each time more consciousness seems to be acquired from the need to fight liberal globalization other than within national borders.

Together with efforts such as the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, there has been a resurgence of an important coalition of social movements that are taking on globalization, as well as its concrete expressions: such as the FTAA, Plan Colombia, North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA.

This illustrates the first time in which deposed minorities were not only victims, but also actors or would be fundamental actors who, encouraged by the defense of freedom, justice and dignity, were to become disposed towards designing and proposing an alternative globalization from Latin America.

The cases of Brazil and Bolivia, in which social movements have played a fundamental role in the conquest of a political space for socialism, are a positive example of how it is possible to converge the political left with a social left. This is something which does not seem to be at all easy for the rest of the world, where a mutual lack of trust would seem to exist between anti-global social movements and socialist parties. To the former, parties are just institutions that embark upon the "election ritual every four years." They are part of the status quo rather than instruments for social change. For the latter (the parties), social movements are a dangerous critique to politics, misunderstanding the legitimate democratic space they occupy for any initiative of social change, and believing that civil society is still a concept too heterogeneous and full of contradiction.

Dialogue and the convergence between these two sectors constitute a fundamental priority for Latin American socialism. This implies a different attitude towards parties. Both the social left and politics as a whole should understand that transformations are not made over night, by the "grace of concession" of the powerful. The ensemble of any popular anti-system movement that wishes to transform society needs a political instrument, that is to say, a party or a political front.

But parties should also recognize that the reconstruction of a project for the future in which the social left can converge requires the exorcism of practices and vices of

Latin America

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the past, such as dogmatism, vanguardism, sectarianism, classist reductionism, etc.

The new model for the type of party that the Latin American left requires is one which encompasses society. Its force should not be measured by the number of members but rather by the influence that it has in society. It is very important also that the party assume the attack against any type of oppression that affects all discriminated social sectors, as well as the economically, politically, socially and culturally excluded. This is precisely another aspect that has characterized the support of the PT.

A New Internationalism

The renewal of Latin American socialist parties has taken us to the necessity to construct a new internationalism.

In this sense a lot is still required to sensitize Latin American socialist parties with respect to the need to integrate more efforts in international work. The Socialist International cannot continue to be just a "friends club," without incidence in the political life of the continent and whose meetings have a low level of theoretical discussion.

The fundamental challenge of Latin American socialism and the world is to define a real internationalism that necessarily should be inclusive of political parties, a program of government in the short term and an internationalist program in the long term, which is nothing else other than global democracy.

Taking advantage of the advance of important sectors of the left, it should be possible to provoke a new balance of forces at the hemispherical level that permits a critical restructuring of initiatives against the American Free Trade Agreement, FTAA, until now meekly accepted by all Latin American governments and which really are tantamount to "an annexation on the part of the United States."

In Latin America the conditions exist to define alternative and popular projects. On the other hand we cannot be carried away by triumphalism. The conquest of important political terrain does not mean that Latin American socialists should not still have an alternative project, which is a systematic alternative to liberalism.

The political scientist Immanuel Wallerstein has suggested in his book, *After Liberalism*, that the crisis is so profound, that it will be a long time — perhaps two decades — before we can see a clear anti-systemic alternative. The dominant hegemonic discourse reminds us of the impossibility of alternatives. After the triumph of Lula da Silva, an infinite number of articles from media sources loyal to the system have warned of the "inconvenience" of implementing policies that "break" with the Washington Consensus. If Lula applies a socialist program, they suggest, "there will be chaos."

Many social democrats in Latin America have ended up repeating this same discourse. They had been told so often that there were no alternatives that they have ended up believing it.

What does socialism represent at the beginning of the new century? One of the conclusions of the excellent book by Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, is that it failed in its trying to abolish capitalism. The best it could do was to "civilize" it, through the welfare state. Today it would seem that the socialist tradition has survived subservient in a kind of liberal fate that recognizes the importance of certain measures of equality, but does not assume a radical discontinuity with capitalist society. I do not believe under any circumstances that the historical mission of socialism has been exhausted. I refuse to believe that the current social and economic order is the culmination of human history," as Francis Fukuyama assured us thirteen years ago.

Liberal globalization presents a great paradox, that if on the one hand this economic revolution, where new technologies permit peoples and nations to integrate with progress, at the same time they promote the renovation of the practices of the most barbarous forms of capitalist exploitation.

This social order, supported strictly by the logic of profit, is unsustainable from any point of view, be it economic, environmental or ethical. Its failure to guarantee human coexistence and democracy are limited to the philosophical conception I have outlined: that existent liberalism is the nucleus of the *pensée unique*.

Liberal globalization, as an ideology, implies with it a series of values and activities that socialism cannot accept: amoral, egoistic liberalism; where the free competition discourse of the market has been transferred to all human relations; inequality is now the criterion on which the system is constructed and founded; social success and money (greed) are elements that motivate human beings.

The values of socialism will always be superior from an ethical perspective. Not only from the mere philosophical perspective, but fundamentally as an aspiration, a reachable objective.

But the superiority of these values is not relevant if we do not construct an alternative anti-system effective against liberal globalization. In Latin America, we still do not have it, but at least, we have initiated the road to social change, where millions of Latin Americans would follow.

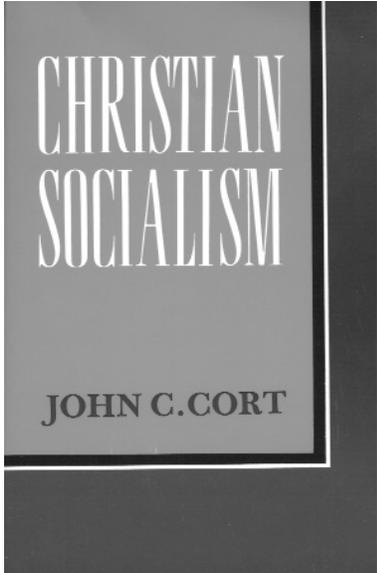
I believe, as Martha Harnecker outlined, that this should provide for the left a general redefinition of politics, more than just the "art of the possible," but rather the "art of making the impossible possible." But we also need to go back to being visionaries, as a life without a utopia is the entrance hall to death.

This path in Latin America should move towards the radicalization of democracy, for the extension of participation and for the coming together of the same principles that inspired the founders of socialist ideals in the continent, more than one hundred years ago. To be loyal to one's principles is to be loyal to the flame, not to the ashes, as Jean Jaurès said. This implies the coming together again with the people, as well as with the oppressed, whom we have sought to defend. It is for this that we are in politics, to change life.

The future belongs to socialism. ▀

Sergio Moya Mena is International Secretary of the Party of National Liberation of Costa Rica.

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Death of a Good Philosopher

cont'd from page 7

"considerations of efficiency." In fact, Rawls doesn't even seem to see the sign on the door, which is all the more surprising and disappointing, considering the emphasis he repeatedly places upon "the fundamental importance of self-respect." One might be excused for preferring the simple statement of the Kevin Kline character, playing the part of a U.S. president in the movie *Dave*:

It's not about the paycheck. It's about respect. It's about looking in the mirror and knowing you've done something valuable with your day.....From today I'm going to make it the responsibility of this government to find a job for every American who wants one.

And let's not forget the paycheck either. There does come a time when one gags on a surfeit of Rawlsian abstractions and longs for the simple, concrete demand. Even Nicholas Brady's statement is preferable to these measured, cautious abstractions: "The most unfair thing in the world is a guy without a job." Justice as fairness, after all.

One is tempted to go totally unscholarly, totally undisciplined and say, "Name it, Rawls. Get down off that Harvard lecture platform, go out into the streets of this suffering world and say it, say it not only to Ankara, Delhi, St. Petersburg, and Shanghai, but first of all to Boston, New York Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas and San Francisco. Say it here because here is the country that, unlike those other places, actually has the capacity to make it real. Name that one thing without which all your primary goods and all your basic rights and liberties are impossible: a decent job."

[Author's Postscript: John Rawls, according to reliable report, was not only a good philosopher, but a good man who lived a life consistent with the principles he incorporated in his books and lectures. So I cannot leave him with the strident criticism that closes my critique, but rather with a confident prayer that the good Lord has received him into the company of all wise and virtuous philosophers.]

Fordham University will publish Cort's autobiography in the spring. The title is Dreadful Conversions: The Making of a Catholic Socialist.



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