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Alan Johnson

Speaking on the BBC, the political commentator David Wilby called **The Euston Manifesto** 'more than a set of principles, it's a phenomenon.' When the Manifesto was launched in April the writer Will Hutton expressed the hope it would 'offer a new direction for the left.' Peter Ross writing in *Blueprint*, the magazine of the Democratic Leadership Council, has observed that the Manifesto is 'quickly becoming an intellectual and ideological home for many disillusioned European leftists who are looking for a sensible progressive movement to join.'

André Glucksmann writes on the 'implacable permanence of chaos.' He argues that we face the 'somalisation' of the world in the twenty first century, and that this threat must be met by a re-forged Euro-Atlantic alliance.

The subject of *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*, by Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, is 'the ideology of violent opposition to Western political and moral values; not just democracy and political pluralism, but also individualism, the emancipation of women and sexual freedom.' **Marko Hoare** offers a critical appreciation of the book, pointing out that it does not always avoid 'oversimplification, and the squeezing of specific cases to fit the general theory.' Nonetheless, Hoare claims the book is 'required reading' for all those wishing to understand why much of what passes for 'anti-imperialism' today should be rejected. Hoare's searing critique of what we might term reactionary anti-imperialism, and his careful tracing of its relation to Occidentalism, will be sure to stimulate debate.

Michael Allen reviews four books that propose new directions for foreign policy. In *Anti-Totalitarianism: The Left-Wing Case for a Neoconservative Foreign Policy*, Oliver Kamm excavates an authentic left-wing tradition of militant anti-totalitarianism and charts its fortunes during four historical episodes: collective security in the 1930s, opposition to Communist expansionism after World War II, the Labour Party's rejection in the 1980s of its earlier anti-Communism, and President Bush's 'war on terror.' Francis Fukuyama's *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power and the Neoconservative Legacy* (published in the UK under the 'sexed up' title *After the Neocons*) seeks to rescue the positive aspects of the neo-conservative legacy from what he sees as a 'wrong turn' taken with the National Security Strategy of 2002 – when preventive war was made the cornerstone of US

foreign policy. He sets out a more sober and more effective foreign policy, for which he coins the term 'realistic Wilsonianism.' Two important collections produced by intellectuals in and around the US Democratic Party – *With All Our Might: A Progressive Strategy for Defeating Jihadism and Defending Liberty*, edited by Will Marshall, and *The Good Fight: Why Liberals – and Only Liberals – Can Win the War on Terror and Make America Great Again*, by former New Republic editor Peter Beinart – are also critically assessed by Allen.

Dick Howard has long been exploring what becomes of radical politics once it abandons what he sees as the economic promises of Marxism. This talk, given in 2005 to a symposium held in New York to discuss Perry Anderson's influential analysis of the crisis of the French Left, which originally appeared in *The London Review of Books*). Howard is sceptical of the ability of the Old Left, of which he sees Anderson as an erudite practitioner, to understand the dilemmas of the present. Howard makes the case for reading recent French political history, and the recent history of the left more generally, within a larger story than Anderson's, a story about democracy and its spread. Howard also argues for the central importance of the French critique of totalitarianism and espousal of the politics of human rights – challenges he thinks are evaded by Anderson.

The colonial massacre in Guatemala, and its legacy for the Latin American left, is the subject of Greg Grandin's *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*. **James P Woodard** praises Grandin's reconstruction of the story of Maya political activism through oral history interviews, but takes issue with aspects of Grandin's larger analytical narrative of social democracy, Guevarism, and neoliberalism in Latin America.

Elisabeth Porter reviews 'a powerful book by young feminists about their dreams.' The authors are participants in the Young Women and Leadership Program of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). Porter explores the ways in which 'the perspective of a new generation of women makes for a different reading of global feminism,' and she explores the exciting opportunities for inter-generational feminist dialogue in meeting the new challenges for gender equality.

'Osama bin Laden's ... war is not against America per se, but is rather the most recent manifestation of the millenarian jihad for a universal Islamic empire.' So claims the historian Efraim Karsh in *Islamic Imperialism: A History*. **Evan Daniel** argues that the books detailed account of the 'internal, autonomous dynamics' of Islamism

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offers the reader an interpretive lens that leaves much looking very different. Islamism no longer appears as an historical reaction to European imperialism, the terrorist attacks in New York City on September 11, 2001 no longer look like a reaction to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and Hamas looks anything but 'a political movement for national liberation.'

Why is Russia sliding back to authoritarianism? **Bogusia Puchalska** examines the answer given by M. Steven Fish in *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Not impressed with some of the usual explanations, Fish points an accusing finger at Russia's abundance of natural resources and the failure to fully 'liberalise' the Russian economy. Puchalska argues for 'a more nuanced understanding of the nexus of liberalisation and democratisation' and for the continuing importance of political culture and institutions.

In Spring 2006 **Gary Kent**, Director of Labour Friends of Iraq, led a delegation of UK trade unionists and politicians to Iraq. His *Letter from Iraq* inaugurates a new series in Democratiya. Kent appeals to Democratiya readers 'to engage with the Iraqi unions and to help them rebuild Iraq.' He also wants your old mobile phones.

The article we publish in our *Archive* section probably never had more than a few hundred readers when it was first published in 1950, in the internal bulletin of a small US anti-Stalinist organisation. It certainly deserves to be widely read today. **Susan Green** makes the case that democratic socialists should extend critical support to capitalist democracies faced with totalitarian threats while not giving up on either their progressive ideas or their support for the labour movement.

Paul Berman's *Power and the Idealists* (reviewed by Oliver Kamm in *Democratiya 4*) examines the political odyssey of many of the 68'ers 'from radical leftism to liberal anti-totalitarianism.' Democratiya intends to carry a series of reviews of this important book and Paul Berman has agreed to respond. **Philip Spencer** praises 'an invaluable resource for those who want to rebuild an ethical and radical left today' but he raises questions about Berman's use of Hannah Arendt's concept of totalitarianism, and queries Berman's pessimism, as he sees it, regarding the prospects for a future unity of the democratic left across the generations and despite our differences over Iraq.

In an extended interview **Paul Berman** responds to a series of criticisms of his earlier book *Terror and Liberalism*. He argues that a Third Force able to wage the

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battle of ideas against totalitarianism is a necessary condition for victory, deploring what he sees as the 'unilateral disarmament' on the part of many on the liberal left. Berman explores the causes and consequences of the 'rationalist naiveté found across modern liberal society,' discussing the shadows of modernity – the limits of the modern liberal idea and the 'materialist error' of the left. He also discusses the lessons of the invasion and reconstruction of Iraq for humanitarian interventionists