

## *Editor's page*

Alan Johnson

**Norman Geras** reviews Larry May's *Crimes Against Humanity: A Normative Account*. He identifies a tension within Larry May's conception of crimes against humanity, arguing that one of the two central principles at the heart of it undermines the other. He places this in the wider context of the development of international humanitarian law, with its ambiguous and problematic relation to the protection of individual human rights when these are under attack by sovereign states.

**Michael Thompson** assesses David Harvey's *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, as 'nothing short of virtuosic.' While critical of his catastrophism, Thompson is impressed by Harvey's ability to capture the historical development and central characteristics of this new phase of capitalism. Harvey charts the emergence of neoliberalism through a series of revolutions from above, highlights the role of the 'neoliberal state' in the maintenance and spread of neoliberalism, and exposes the threat of this most voracious form of accumulation for the integrity of democratic institutions, the survival of community feeling and the public service ethos, and the future of the eco-system.

At the height of the mass demonstrations across Europe against the Iraq war, and in the face of Donald Rumsfeld's jibes at 'old Europe,' the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, and the French social theorist Jacques Derrida, issued a statement calling for a country called Europe to be created as a counterbalance to, and opponent of, the United States of America. *Old Europe, New Europe, Core Europe*, reproduces the statement and collects many of the contributions to the global public symposia it provoked. **John Lloyd** reviews this important event in recent European intellectual history, concurring with the critical judgement of Timothy Garton Ash and Ralf Dahrendorf that the renewal of Europe will never be accomplished through a self-definition of Europe as 'un- or even anti-American,' as 'each attempt to define Europe vis-à-vis the United States will not unify Europe but divide it.' Lloyd offers a fascinating insight into an alternative approach to European renewal being developed by a loose network of scholars, politicians and journalists grouped together by the Policy Network. He argues this alternative approach is not only more democratic but grounded in what Lloyd calls 'the stuff of Europe as it is.'

The Iraq War has sharply divided the left. **Thomas Cushman** offers a sharp polemic in response to Stephen Eric Bronner's anti-war book *Blood in the Sand: Imperial Fantasies, Right Wing Ambitions, and the Erosion of American Democracy*. According to Cushman the book lack an awareness of the core realities of the war on terror, proceeds by a series of theoretical reductions, fails to acknowledge any of the successes of the post-war period in Iraq, constructs a narrative of disaster in which there is no room for even a glimmer of hope, and does not take a serious measure of the pro-war left's arguments, settling instead for mocking *ad hominem* attacks. Democratiya is proud of the plurality of views represented in its editorial board. Stephen Eric Bronner has been invited to respond in the next issue.

The centrality of the mass media to the manufacture of consent has been the concern of the Glasgow Media Group since the 1970s. With *Bad News From Israel* the GMG has turned its critical gaze on media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. **Mike Brennan**, in a provocative critique of the GMG, highlights two problems. First, a valorisation of Arab nationalism, as a righteous and heroic struggle against Western/Zionist imperialism, alongside a demonisation of Zionism. Second, a research methodology lacking rigour. The result, claims Brennan, is an example of the very bias and 'illusion of balance' the GMG has long-criticised in television news. According to Brennan, the book routinely acknowledges two mutually opposed and competing viewpoints—the Israeli and the Palestinian—only for one to be effectively neutralised and disavowed while the other is naturalised and thereby validated.

Daniel Byman's *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism* is the most comprehensive study of its subject available. **Derek Catsam** welcomes the detail and insight of Byman's case studies of the activities of Iran, Pakistan, Syria, and Afghanistan while questioning important aspects of his definition of terrorism. Catsam also highlights the importance of Byman's insight that it is far easier to stop state support for terrorism before it begins, than to tackle it later. This insight, argues Catsam, should have 'tremendous ramifications for the future of terrorism-fighting,' for it suggests that it will be 'prevention (of state support but also of the emergence of terrorist groups themselves) that may prove to be the wisest course.'

The issue carries Part 1 of an extended interview with **Kanan Makiya**, the author of *Republic of Fear* (1989) and *Cruelty and Silence* (1993). Makiya is an outstanding representative of those from the '68 generation who turned from revolutionary Marxism to liberal antitotalitarianism. In this frank and wide-ranging discussion

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Makiya explores his personal and political odyssey, analyses what he sees as the vacuum at the moral centre of the left today, and talks about the supreme importance of 'putting cruelty first.' He also assesses the 'civilisational challenge' faced by the Arab and Muslim world and weighs the prospects for the transformation of Islam. Part 2 of the interview, a lengthy and revealing discussion of the Iraqi Opposition, the Bush administration and the Iraq War, will appear in Democratiya 4.

With this issue we introduce a new 'Archive' section. 'Social Democracy puts freedom first,' said **Sidney Hook**, in his speech to the 1978 conference of Social Democrats USA. In *Social Democratic Prospect* Hook aimed to set out a distinctively social democrat approach to defeating the threat of totalitarianism abroad, and working towards the Good Society at home. We invite the responses of readers.

The letters pages contain two exchanges. **Mick Hartley** and **Marko Attila Hoare** debate the Armenian Genocide and Turkish Genocide Denial. **Michael Nuemann** and **Jon Pike** discuss the question of what constitutes apologetics for anti-Semitism. The repression of trade unionists in Iran is the subject of an urgent appeal sent by **Rahman Hosseinzade**.