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for "disturbing a school," the specific charges of which we were innocent. The judge was so prejudiced and MIT (specifically Johnson—as I was told by several insiders) so obstinate in sending me upriver that even my mother received jail time for "contempt of court" when she rose to tell the judge, "My son is not a criminal." Hojo has never apologized (although the judge did). Hojo's assistant, Constantine Simonidis, did manage to get my mother released from the Charles Street jail after one week (her original sentence was 10 days).

As Johnson tells it, I "disappeared into the underground." Johnson did succeed in sending me to prison, and to insure I would not return to the Institute, I was graduated while in solitary confinement. After my release from jail and a summer trip to California, I returned to Cambridge and, together with another MIT alum and others, opened a non-profit, collective radical bookstore, The Red Book, within sight of MIT in Central Square. (The store continues to exist as the Lucy Parsons Center.) Given MIT's neglect and/or abysmal treatment of the neighborhoods adjoining it, it is no wonder that Hojo thought I disappeared into the underground. In actuality, I have continued my activism in California, Berlin, and Kwangju (Korea), earned a PhD in 1983, and am currently Professor of Humanities at Wentworth Institute of Technology in Boston. I have authored or edited nine books, am editor of *New Political Science*, and I even came back to my 25th MIT reunion and served for a time on the reunion committee.

Reading Howard Johnson's book crystallized for me how apparently good-hearted people can lead lives that facilitate atrocities related to killing millions of people in Vietnam. By writing a book that falsifies the events of 1969–1970, Hojo has attempted to cover up his own hostility and aggression—and his institutional complicity in the construction of weapons of mass destruction. His book is a vivid example of how seemingly mild-mannered and polite people can contribute to the functioning of a criminal system.

By distorting MIT's political history, Johnson does the Institute a disservice, one that mitigates the assimilation of valuable lessons to be learned from the rich history of MIT's internal debates, protests and discussions. Even if we overlook his not paying close attention to the facts of the matter, his failure to comprehend the value of protest in the construction of a better MIT is a serious problem that merits full and wide discussion.

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George F. DeMartino, *Global Economy, Global Justice: Theoretical Objections and Policy Alternatives to Neoliberalism*, New York: Routledge, 2000, xiv + 279 pp.

In the past several decades capitalism seems to have entered a period of intensified competition and accelerating inequality on a global scale, one closely connected with the growth of cross-border production, trade, and investment (often termed "globalization") and the increasing dominance of neoliberal free-market policies. The theory used to justify neoliberal policies is, of course, neoclassical economics. Within the mainstream, the only real alternative to neoliberalism is progressive nationalism, which argues for state-interventionist

economic policies to help individual nations compete in the increasingly globalized environment while taking this environment as given. At the same time, various popular movements have sprung up in resistance to neoliberal globalization itself, and it appears from some recent anti-IMF/World Bank and anti-WTO actions that these movements may have at least some potential to combine into an organized worldwide rebellion. Although tremendously variegated both culturally and politically, the popular resistance is in general much more egalitarian and pro-ecological than either progressive nationalism or neoliberalism.

DeMartino's first goal in *Global Economy, Global Justice* is to clarify the normative foundations of the neoliberal, progressive-nationalist, and popular anti-neoliberal positions. His second goal is to contribute to the construction of a more transparent, coherent, and politically resonant normative basis for anti-neoliberalism. In pursuit of the second goal, DeMartino proposes A. K. Sen's notion of human "capabilities" as the key to an egalitarian and internationalist conception of justice.<sup>1</sup>

The book's analysis is divided into seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 provide an overview and critique of neoclassical economics and its approach to welfare outcomes. While accounting for the theory's attractiveness as an elegant quasi-scientific construct all too easily applied to real-world economic processes including capitalist globalization, DeMartino sheds light on its anti-social values (given human preferences, purely individual rationality, *a priori* exclusion of non-market alternatives) and its analytical reductionism (e.g. the depiction of supply and demand curves in isolation from various social processes that shape them). These criticisms help motivate Chapter 3's discussion of alternative conceptions of distributive justice. Here, DeMartino surveys John Rawls's notion of "justice as fairness" and its embodiment in the "difference principle" under which inequalities can only be justified if they improve the situation of those who are worst off;<sup>2</sup> the "complex equality" of Michael Walzer, for which each kind of social good has its own principle(s) of distributive justice;<sup>3</sup> institutionalist notions of just outcomes as those required to recreate the community and the inherent worth of individuals in it; and Marxist conceptions of justice as elimination of class exploitation. Sen's concept of capabilities equality is posed as a way of encapsulating the essential elements of these various notions of justice. In this conception, a just distribution of primary goods (both public and private) is one that promotes equality in the capabilities of individuals to function and develop in society. Essentially, capabilities equality is equality of human developmental opportunities.

DeMartino then applies the theoretical insights from Chapters 1-3 to the policy debates surrounding capitalist globalization. Chapter 4 considers the issue, prominent in negotiations over international economic treaties, of so-called cultural differences among countries especially in terms of different attitudes toward protection of labor, women, children, and the environment. DeMartino shows that the capabilities-equality criterion, when combined with a recognition of the non-homogeneity of national preferences and the mutual

<sup>1</sup> Amartya K. Sen, *Development As Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (New York: Basic, 1983).

constitution of different nations' cultures, offers a way out of the dichotomy between moral objectivism (one normative code fits all) and cultural relativism (normative codes are always community-specific).

As noted earlier, progressive nationalists have championed state-interventionist policies to enhance individual nations' competitiveness in the context of economic globalization. In Chapters 5 and 6, DeMartino provides a compelling survey of and alternative to the resultant mainstream debates over "competitiveness" and "strategic trade" policies. He shows how, despite its emphasis on the benefits of *competition*, neoclassical economic theory does not support state policies (such as trade barriers and export subsidies) to enhance the *competitiveness* of specific national firms and industries. Moreover, building on his interesting historical account of the eclipse of center-left industrial policy thinking by progressive-competitiveness strategies, DeMartino sets out a scathing critique of the inegalitarian and anti-cooperative values built into the latter. Finally, DeMartino demonstrates how the capabilities-equality criterion can be used to support the *competition-reducing* approach to trade and other policies implied if not demanded by popular anti-neoliberal movements. This enables a powerful rejoinder to neoliberal attempts to subsume internationally substandard labor and environmental policies under given national "endowments" or "preferences" underpinning comparative advantages and gains from trade.

Chapter 7 further demonstrates "the practical virtue of the internationalist principle of capabilities equality" by proposing a set of "Global Economic Policies for the Year 2025" (p. 218). These proposals amount to a new "global social charter" governing trade, corporate behavior (especially foreign direct investment), and labor mobility—with the charter's exact contents subject to multilateral negotiations among all relevant parties. DeMartino is quite up front about the apparent remoteness of an actual movement toward such a regime; his main purpose in setting it out is to investigate the policy paths opened up by the capabilities approach, and to stimulate further discussion and debate among all those interested in egalitarian alternatives to neoliberalism. Toward this end, he outlines a trade regime governed by a Social Index Tariff Structure, in which tariffs would be determined by each producer-country's rank in terms of a human development index such as the one published by the United Nations (with negotiated exceptions for countries in dire straits economically). Similarly, corporate behavior would be constrained by a Global Corporate Code of Conduct covering labor rights, the environment, etc., and by the international harmonization of corporate taxes and subsidies—the idea again being to take economic processes crucial for human capabilities out of the realm of cut-throat competition. More controversially, DeMartino proposes a Global Convention on International Labor Mobility that would inhibit the migration of high-capabilities individuals to wealthier areas, while facilitating the freer movement of low-capabilities individuals from poorer to more prosperous countries and regions.

My only misgivings concern not DeMartino's substantive analysis, but its methodological and rhetorical trappings. DeMartino tries to motivate his focus on normative issues by strongly rejecting the use of empirical evidence to adjudicate theoretical and political disputes. This radical anti-empiricism coexists uneasily with the book's repeated use of empirical descriptions and asser-

tions not only to motivate the concern with issues of globalization, but also as an essential element in the critique of neoclassical economics and neoliberal ideology. It is also unclear whether radical anti-empiricism jibes with the proposal to build a new global social charter around an empirical index of human development.

In terms of theory, DeMartino is radically anti-reductionist, and he criticizes not only neoclassical economics but also "orthodox Marxism" for reducing complexly "overdetermined" social processes to fundamental essences. As usual with this stance, however, the question arises as to whether the reductionism resides in the theories being criticized or, instead, in the inadequate representation of these theories by the critique itself. DeMartino reduces neoclassical theory to its initial assumptions (given preferences, resources, and technology), whereas a neoclassical economist would likely point out the missing element of implicit dynamics essential to any theoretical model. The book's critique of "orthodox Marxism" seems to rely on a straw-man version of this theory that reduces everything to the economics of class (neglecting the relational holism fundamental to all but the most vulgar forms of Marxism) and that utilizes a crude dichotomy of reform versus revolution (DeMartino's distorted ascription of this dichotomy to Rosa Luxemburg is particularly unfortunate; see pp. 238–240). Besides, the anti-reductionist hammer, if not used with extreme care, can serve as a license to evade difficult but strategically crucial choices among analytical and political priorities (thus encouraging various forms of opportunism) and may even lead to theoretical nihilism and political paralysis. DeMartino avoids these extreme results, but the unwillingness to prioritize does seem to rear its head insofar as the book does not distinguish adequately between anti-neoliberal and anti-capitalist concerns.

Fortunately, the book's contentious methodological ornamentation does not greatly detract from its core analysis of normative issues—which actually requires no motivation other than the need for counter-hegemonic discourses against transnational capital. *Global Economy, Global Justice* should be quite useful for upper-level undergraduate or master's-level courses in international relations and the global economy, or as a secondary text in economic development courses. The first three chapters can also serve as a kind of handbook for teachers and students looking for an alternative exposition and normative critique of standard microeconomic theory. Finally, Chapter 5's discussion of the competitiveness debate should be assigned reading in all post-introductory courses involving the theory and practice of economic policy in global context.

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Peter Roman, *People's Power: Cuba's Experience with Representative Government*, Boulder: Westview, 1999, xi + 284 pp.

The imminent demise of the socialist government of Cuba has been predicted many times, most confidently after the dissolution of the Soviet Union a decade ago. Its persistence is therefore something of a puzzle. This detailed study of the representative institutions of Cuban government provides considerable insight