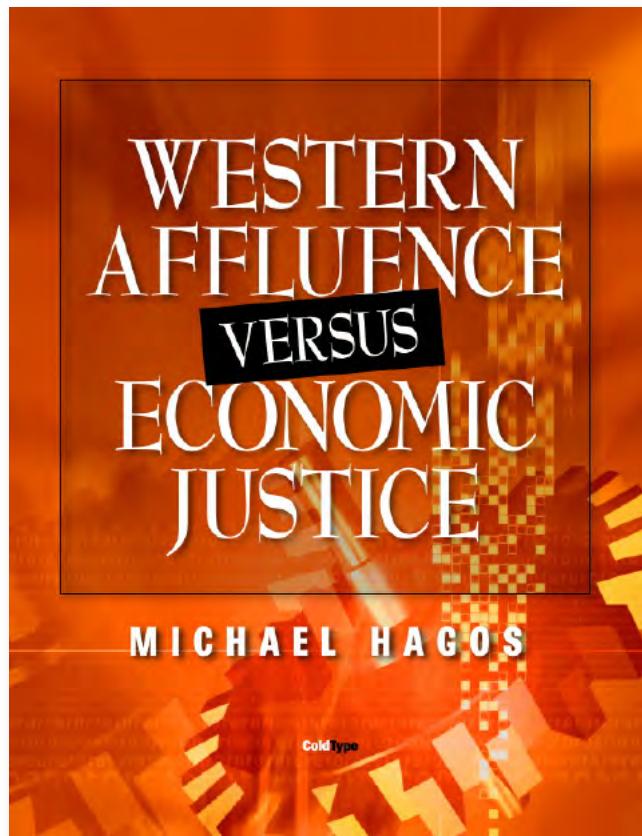


WESTERN AFFLUENCE VERSUS ECONOMIC JUSTICE

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“Individuals have international duties which transcend the national obligations of obedience... Therefore [individual citizens] have the duty to violate domestic laws to prevent crimes against peace and humanity from occurring” – Nuremberg War Crime Tribunal, 1950.

The proposition *the rich part of the world is entitled to its affluence* cannot be defended on moral grounds. The rationale behind taking such a stand is grounded in the following analyses and arguments: First, in order for the West to legitimately lay claim to its affluence, it must demonstrate objectively that its affluence is based on a legitimate claim-right. In other words, can the West’s affluence be demonstrably – in the light of day – traced back through a historical chain of events leading to a starting point in which the conditions (or preconditions) for creating wealth were legitimate, by virtue of the West’s own sacrifices and efforts, by virtue of well-conceived initiatives, constructive creativity (i.e., socially and morally harmless innovations), entrepreneurial skills and rugged individualism, and/or demonstrably legitimate (as opposed to legal) institutional efforts? Or is the West’s affluence based on a long tradition of expropriation (in the form of seizures) and misappropriation (in the form of theft and fraud)?¹ The historical and documentary evidence proves beyond a reasonable doubt that the answer to the first question is a resounding No, while the answer to the second question is a resounding Yes (this will continue to be the case until coherent, compelling evidence to the contrary is presented, subject to the same kind of scrutiny and rules of evidence required in *serious* court proceedings). Case in point: It is no secret that in the pre-colonial period, the South, though perhaps not quite on an equal footing with Europe in economic terms,² was self-sufficient. During Europe’s colonial depredations in the Third World, the net transfer of resources and capital from the South³ to the North have had a tremendous, *decisive* impact on the West’s ability to industrialize (so much so that Africa literally developed Europe and the US, who could not have industrialized without the massive kleptocratic transfers of material resources and slave labor power from Africa), to the point of not just affluence but profits beyond the dreams of avarice for the narrow sectors of state and/or private power,⁴ to the detriment of pretty much everyone in the South except the ruling clique

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and their cronies.

This is why Thomas Pogge “invoke[s] the effects of a common and violent history,” since “the social starting positions of the worse-off and the better-off have emerged from a single historical process that was pervaded by massive grievous wrongs.”⁵ Case in point:

Most of the existing international inequality in standards of living was built up in the colonial period when today’s affluent countries ruled today’s poor regions of the world: trading their people like cattle, destroying their political institutions and cultures, and taking their natural resources... The relevant historical crimes were so horrendous, so diverse, and so consequential that no historical-entitlement conception could credibly support the conclusion that our common history was sufficiently benign to justify even the radical inequalities in starting positions we are witnessing today. [Hence] we are not entitled to the huge advantages we enjoy from birth over the global poor, given how these inequalities have been built up [or, to put it differently,] we affluent have *no* rights to property, however acquired, in the face of the excluded. Rather, *they* have a right to what we hold [because] the *actual* history [i.e., the horrors of European conquest] *is* relevant.⁶ (Emphasis in original)

Many variants of these subterfuges, however subtle, can be found even in the modern era. As Vandana Shiva observes, “the rules of the WTO are ‘primarily rules of robbery, camouflaged by arithmetic and legalese,’ and global free trade in food and agriculture is ‘the biggest refugee creation program in the world.’ It is, not to put too fine a point on it, ‘leading to slavery.’ All in all, many of these critics would agree with the summary judgment attributed to the Zapatistas, an organization of Mexican peasants, that the WTO is simply ‘the biggest enemy of mankind.’”⁷ This sorry state of affairs is severely aggravated by the fact that Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) are basically a form of institutional chicanery through which international robbery on a massive scale is perpetuated to the detriment of the working class and the poor, particularly in the South, a fact noted even by the UNDP (according to UNDP, *Human development report 1999*)

Apropos of property rights, it bears mention that even “For [John] Locke, ‘property rights, however acquired, do not prevail in the face of desperate need’ because ‘everyone has an original pre-appropriation claim-right to an adequate subsistence from the resources of the world’.”⁸ This makes perfect sense, and is probably why Rousseau said (in his *Second Discourse on Inequality*):

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The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying “This is mine,” and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. Humanity would have been spared infinite crimes, wars, homicides, murders, if only someone had ripped up the fences or filled in the ditches and said, “Do not listen to this pretender! You are eternally lost if you do not remember that the fruits of the earth are everyone’s property and that the land is no one’s property!”

To lend further credence to the claim that the West’s affluence is basically stolen property from the South, Winston Churchill was kind enough to observe in a paper submitted to his Cabinet colleagues in January 1914:

we are not a young people with *an innocent record* and a scanty inheritance. We have engrossed to ourselves...an *altogether disproportionate* share of the wealth and traffic of the world. We have got all we want in territory, and our claim to be left in the unmolested enjoyment of vast and splendid possessions, *mainly acquired by violence, largely maintained by force*, often seems less reasonable to others than to us.⁹ (The italicised phrases are Churchill’s own!)

Neither should we overlook the fact that Western conglomerates, which are totalitarian command economies, could never survive were it not for economic crimes, which are not only welcomed and supported, but are required, by law. Thus pharmaceutical companies are required, by law, to produce drugs for rich people to reduce wrinkles but not to save the lives of thousands of children in Africa every day who are dying from easily treatable diseases. Not only is this the core of Anglo-American corporate law, but the justification for it is taught in every economics department in the universities. And it is hailed in the press as the height of civilization. It is within such a context that IMF policies should be brought to light. Thus IMF’s structural program is basically a way of siphoning off the wealth of the Third World, to the point of disemboweling national economies.¹⁰

In point of fact, in regard to the former issue, corporate capitalism was mostly imposed by radical judicial arrangements, not by legislation. The expansion of corporate rights was the work of both Federalist and Republican lawyers and judges removed from democratic processes (meaning “the lawyers’ technical expertise could not be democratically challenged” – Charles Sellers); and it was the state courts, not legislators, that gave the corporate entities extraordinary rights, granting them rights of persons (with the proviso that they are immortal), actually, rights far beyond what mere flesh-and-blood persons could ever even dream of, meaning they have freedom of speech, can

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propagandize freely, advertise (i.e., coerce the public to pay for the privilege of being brainwashed), run elections, etc.; and they are protected from inspection by the irrelevant citizenry and even by state authorities, in order to preserve these autocratic structures, which are mostly unaccountable to the public. And they are required legally to maximize power and profit no matter what effect that has on anyone else, even future generations. They are also required by law to externalize costs and risks (since power is largely what externalities are about). It would be illegal, according to international private law, for corporate executives to act differently. In brief, corporations are pathological by legal requirement, the implication being that the law has been manipulated by economic interests to such an extent as to make reforms meaningless *in the long run*.¹¹

It may be instructive here to consider the following question: Who should primary responsibility insofar as poverty creation is concerned be assigned to: IMF/WB/WTO, or Western states, or MNCs (multinational corporations)? All three are guilty in the highest degree, of course, since their interests and agendas converge a great deal, to the point of making them virtually indistinguishable from each other, in my view. But if we have to assign more responsibility to one as compared to the others, then blame should be placed primarily on MNCs, since they are the most dominant institutions of the 20th and 21st centuries, with Western States, IMF, WB, and WTO being subservient to MNCs. That said, the manner in which responsibility to individual ordinary citizens in the West can be assigned in the face of the above fact, is by virtue of emphasizing that power centers can do nothing at all without the explicit or implicit, “genuine” or manufactured, consent of the governed, just as Hitler could have done nothing at all without the support of ordinary Germans. So it follows naturally from this that sovereignty always resides in the people, and if or when the latter renounce their sovereignty and transfer it to power centers (as legally required by the inherently untenable imperative of the “social contract” theory, then they are guilty of having sold their souls to the devil (in a manner of speaking), since sovereignty should never but never be transferred from ordinary citizens to power centers (not for any reason, nor under any pretexts) – because the latter are inherently deceitful and violent. Now, when it comes to the charter revoking possibility that is fortunately deeply embedded in the federal system in the West (since all MNCs are chartered by the state, thereby existing at the whim of the public), there, too, we have the possibility of placing responsibility for global poverty on ordinary citizens in the West, since if they do not take advantage of the charter revoking possibility to renew democracy in the West (in the face of all the terrible social and environmental crimes that have been perpetrated for decades if not centuries by MNCs), then they are guilty, too, by default rather than by design, of perpetuating global poverty. This is how the connection ought to be made between institutional and individual responsibility, in my view.

To backtrack, the long and short of it is that Western conglomerates and their

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subservient states will stop at nothing to further enrich themselves at the expense of humanity, by exploiting raw materials, energy supplies, key markets and cheap labor in the South (with the *official* demise of the Cold War, the former Eastern bloc is now fully or almost fully reintegrated into the “Grand Area” dominated by unaccountable concentrated Western private economic power, meaning that its fate is similar to, not identical with, that of the Third World, in the sense that its service role (i.e., complementing Western industrial economies) is proceeding unabated, in similar fashion to the period preceding the Cold War, which began in 1917, according to John Lewis Gaddis). Rich countries are rich because they unscrupulously drain the greatest part of the world’s wealth in royalties, diamonds, profits and interest rates, mostly from economically impoverished countries.

Predictably, the formal means of rectifying the institutional injustices perpetrated by the West are virtually non-existent, since the UN has been transformed into a toothless tiger by the major powers, most notably by the US (it cannot be otherwise when governed by criminal syndicates, namely, the nation-state system, the church (which for the most part is part of the capitalist racket)¹² and the private tyrannies, i.e., the large transnationals that dominate most of the domestic and international economy). But the substantive means of rectifying the institutional injustices perpetrated by the West are latently existent, *limitlessly* so, since “*force* is always on the side of the governed, the governors have nothing to support them but opinion. It is, therefore, on opinion only that government is founded; and this maxim extends to the most despotic and most military governments, as well as to the most free and most popular,” as David Hume astutely observed. (Naturally, this means that the best way to destroy government, any form of it, be it secular or ecclesiastic, civilian or military, elected or not, is to challenge and chip away at the highly emotive, ideological opinion that sustains it at tremendous social and environmental costs, so that centuries of manufactured consent may be withdrawn to make way for progressive institutional changes, the early stages of which are likely to be riddled with brutal difficulties. The alternative is more hierarchical rule, more wanton violence and barbarism by the powerful and their allies, as well as by their originally fabricated but now real enough enemies, more brutal exploitation, deeper poverty, and more misery.¹³)

Not surprisingly, those Third World governments that have painstakingly made even modest moves in the service of the poor majority (since at least WWII) have been fraudulently perceived as communists by the West, and punished accordingly, as William Blum has demonstrated in his outstanding *Killing Hope*. This theme persisted throughout the entire *official* Cold War (meaning the latter is still unofficially on), and has continued to resonate since the official demise of the Cold War, though the pretexts have changed to “crazed Arabs and Islamic terrorists,” “Hispanic narco-traffickers,” “Third World miscreants whose technological sophistication in weaponry we need to

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defend ourselves against,” etc. (the inference here is that the economy cannot be kept afloat for elites without waging perpetual war against weak and defenseless Third World countries [due to the highly militarized nature of state-capitalism], for which purpose an endless series of enemies must be concocted, particularly in the U.S., since the more powerful a country is, the more fragile power tends to be, hence the more the powerful must resort to fear, so that by inducing fear in the domestic population, authority is thereby granted to the powerful.) In the former case, as the Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard duly observed (adding thrust to Blum’s already strong thesis): “you may have to sell [intervention or other military action] in such a way as to create the misimpression that it is the Soviet Union that you are fighting. That is what the US has been doing ever since the Truman Doctrine.”¹⁴

No less crucially, it was almost inevitable – during the official Cold War – that Third World countries committed to making radical or modest moves on behalf on the poor majority would turn to the former Soviet Union and/or its dependencies for help, to defend themselves as best they could from reactively offensive US military and/or CIA interventions. And of course, the former would indulge all too happily (as it and/or they did in the case of Nicaragua, for example), for perfectly cynical reasons. But the main point is that, in this case, Nicaragua’s reliance on the Soviet Union and/or its dependencies could not honestly be invoked to justify, either in retrospect or at the time, US actions against it – a matter authoritatively determined by the World Court in 1986, which ruled out any Cold War connections and condemned the US for international terrorism, even ordering it to desist and pay massive reparations to Nicaragua, to which the US reacted with *utter contempt*, followed by *escalation* of the terror war, this time (i.e., *after* the Court’s ruling) with *official* orders to attack ‘soft targets,’ i.e., unarmed civilians – since it is Nicaragua’s social and agrarian reforms that “provoked” the wrath of Uncle Sam. “The Cold War always was, and still is, a war against the majority of humanity. It was a war fought with the blood of “expendable” people over strategic position, resources (sic) and it was a war of control – it was an imperialist war. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States fought in the Third World was relatively insignificant compared with the war fought by the US against people trying to improve their position in the world.”¹⁵ If this – threat of a good example – had been allowed to succeed, it would have eventually brought an end to Western hegemony. Correspondingly, it is in accordance with imperial prerogatives that George Kennan (head of the State Department policy planning staff in the late 1940s), who was responsible for shaping policy for the post-WWII period, said in a *Top Secret Document* from 1948:

We have about 50 percent of the world’s wealth, but only 6.3 percent of its population... In this situation, we cannot fail to be the object of envy and

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resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity... . We need not deceive ourselves that we can afford today the luxury of altruism and world-benefaction... . We should cease to talk about vague and ... unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better.¹⁶

For the record, Kennan's view is from the *dovish, liberal, humane* end of the spectrum. He was dismissed from the State Department largely because his views and policies were not hawkish and extreme enough! And since this was a top-secret study, it was naturally implied that the idealistic slogans have to be constantly trumpeted by the ideological system: the media, scholarship, the schools, etc., in order to pacify the domestic population and to conceal the real goals of US foreign policy.

So the answer to Third World poverty lies not in foreign aid¹⁷ – which is so shamefully low as to be laughable, since it claimed only 0.22 percent of GNP of the OECD countries in 2002, far short of the meager 0.77 percent goal agreed to by the international community – since aid presupposes a legitimate claim to one's holdings, but far-reaching changes in the dominant societies, from the bottom up, by democratizing the economic system and the international order, so that resources are distributed on *equitable* terms, crucially without overlooking the need for massive reparations to the Third World, including substantial if not complete debt cancellation, since most Third World indebtedness is illegitimate.¹⁸

The only legacy that corporate globalization is leaving behind is one of *widespread* poverty. Even if we take the affluent West as an example, in the UK a staggering 25-30% of the population lives in poverty. In the US, close to 40 million people live in poverty. In NYC (the richest city in the world), 30 percent of children suffer from chronic malnutrition, the effects of which are likely to be permanent. In the EU, 19 percent of children live below the poverty line, according to Metro News Sweden (20 Feb. 2007). On a global scale, 1/6 of the world population lives on less than 1 USD per day, while 1/2 the world's population lives on less than 2 USD per day – that is real terror!

Even Thomas Jefferson – who supported independent production, *not* capitalism, and having no trouble perceiving the basic contradiction between democracy and capitalism – duly observed the danger posed to democracy by concentrated wealth and its attendant poverty: “widespread poverty and concentrated wealth cannot exist side by side in a democracy.” Jefferson reminds us that democracy is impossible without a large measure of social and economic equality.”¹⁹ To be sure, this has nothing to do with Marxism, Leninism, or any other “scare words,” since Western leaders never shy away

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from paying monumental lip service to equality, even enshrined in the US Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and many other international protocols. Hence political democracy can never precede or preclude economic and industrial democracy (since the connection between economic life and politics is one that we ignore at our peril), if it is to have even a slight chance of passing the test of legitimacy.

A further digression from North-South relations is in order at this point: In terms of the lesser of two evils, and *only* in those terms, state ownership of the means of production is better than private ownership, since the state has a defect: It is, in theory at least, accountable to the public, hence susceptible to public influence/dissidence, while private tyrannies are not. Of course, we should have no illusions about state ownership of the means of production, since the Red Bureaucracy was quite brutal, despite its marginal merits (meaning both communism and capitalism are basically indistinguishable from fascism). So for genuine democracy to be instigated, the commanding heights of the means of production have to come completely under workers' control, a conception shared by anarcho-syndicalists, left-wing (as opposed to right-wing) Marxists, and classical liberals, including Adam Smith and Wilhelm von Humboldt. John Dewey, America's leading 20th century philosopher and a relic of the classical liberal tradition, put the matter thusly: "The magic of eating a hair of the dog which bit you in order to cure hydrophobia is as nothing to the magic involved in the belief that those who have privilege and power will remedy the breakdown they have created. As long as politics is the shadow cast on society by big business, the attenuation of the shadow will not change the substance," meaning reforms are of limited utility. He held that for democracy to be instigated, the source of the shadow must be removed, not only because of its domination of the political arena, but also because the very institutions of private power undermine democracy and education. The anti-democratic power that Dewey had in mind was explicitly delineated thusly:

Power today resides in control of the means of production, exchange, publicity, transportation and communication. Whoever owns them rules the life of the country [despite formal democracy], not necessarily by intention, not necessarily by deliberate corruption of the nominal government, but by necessity. Power is power and must act, and it must act according to the nature of the machinery through which it operates. In this case, the machinery is business for private profit through private control of banking, land, industry, reinforced by command of the press, press agents and other means of publicity and propaganda. In order to restore democracy, one thing and one thing only is essential. The people will rule when they have power, and they will have power in the degree they own and control the land, the banks,

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the producing and distributing agencies of the nation. Ravings about Bolshevism, Communism, Socialism are irrelevant to the axiomatic truth of this statement. They come either from complaisant ignorance or from the deliberate desire of those in possession, power and rule to perpetuate their privilege.²⁰

So as long as industry does not change “from a feudalistic to a democratic social order,” based on workers’ control and federal organization (in the style of George Douglas Howard Cole’s guild socialism and much left libertarian thought), it is quite meaningless to talk about democracy.

Returning to North-South relations, as noted above, besides the horrendous legacy of colonialism which has historically deracinated Third World peoples and effectively crippled 3d countries’ ability to develop, the fact that the UDHR has had no enforcement power since the establishment of the UN leaves no formal means for Third World countries to pursue *independent* development (Cuba and Nicaragua offering the starker examples of how sadistically the West punishes independent nationalism, both barely surviving after relentless US sponsored terrorism coupled with severe economic strangulations), which is the only way to develop.

In point of fact, in 1998, half the world was hit by US unilateral coercive economic measures, which amount to not only a form of plunder but even genocide, albeit a silent one. If we take into account the social costs emanating just from unilateral coercive economic measures or sanctions, which are illegal under international law, the number of victims severely deprived of fundamental human rights is in the billions, since half the world’s population lives on less than 2 USD a day, while each cow in the EU gets at least that much per day in *forced* public subsidies!²¹ It is, therefore, not without good reason that Pogge argues:

we are actively responsible for most of the life-threatening poverty in the world. [...] by shaping and enforcing the social conditions that, foreseeably and avoidably, cause the monumental suffering of global poverty, we are *harming* the global poor – or, to put it more descriptively, we are active participants in the largest, though not the gravest, crime against humanity ever committed. Hitler and Stalin were vastly more evil than our political leaders, but in terms of killing and harming people they never came anywhere near causing 18 millions (sic) deaths per year... If citizens in the affluent countries were minimally decent and humane, they would respond to these appeals and would do their bit to eradicate world poverty.²² (Emphasis in original)

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But it does bear stating that the solution Pogge proposes is too modest and contradictory, since he proposes only *minor* changes to property rights to eradicate world poverty, while arguing that we have no such rights in the first place (granted, even if he is proposing minor changes *to the existing* property rights regime, which is a very academic question, it is extremely unlikely that world poverty could be eradicated this way, since the state-capitalist system is too profoundly anti-human to allow for this much latitude). That is the most significant shortcoming in his otherwise fine work, apart from not recognizing that power-holders will never do right by humanity unless they are forced to do so by a demanding and threatening constituency – and even then, it is not a given that they will make any “concessions,” due to their deep power lust and money hunger. We are, after all, dealing with a new Mandarin class whose fanaticism is unmatched, which will become more obvious once the US has what is called “Full Spectrum Dominance,” meaning total control of outer space for *offensive* purposes (to further widen the gap between the haves and have-nots, at the very least to maintain it, but also to wipe out, without forewarning, any Third World country that misunderstands or refuses to obey Western orders), a legacy that may well do us all in (since there is plenty of room for inadvertence, miscalculation and malfunction when dealing with such highly complex technological systems, involving, in this case, massively destructive laser weapons, which will be on hair-trigger alert and probably be nuclear-powered).²³

It is, shockingly enough, taken completely for granted by the mafia dons of the “Free World” and their representatives that they have an unquestionable, god-given right to pulverize anyone who stands in their way. It is surely a myth that states seek security even for themselves, since hegemony, within the framework of the reigning ideological institutions, ranks above survival in the scale of operative values for elite interests, history providing ample evidence that power-holders will sacrifice even their own long-term interests (let alone those of their subjects) in the pursuit of unquestioned political, economic and cultural hegemony in the short term. (N.B. The reason why security is at most a marginal concern of security planners is that they are highly irrational in the scale of operative values for elite interests, since they do not contribute to power and profit. This fact is readily conceded in Realist International Relations theory (i.e., in academic textbooks, though conveniently obfuscated in classroom discussions and seminars). Case in point: “survival rarely is at stake in international relations. It simply is not true that the ‘struggle for power is identical with the struggle for survival.’”²⁴ Also conceded is that moral considerations are rejected (as opposed to just ignored) by states. Case in point: “Realism maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states.”²⁵ Which is quite consistent with the documentary and historical record: *states are not moral agents, they are vehicles of power*. All states, be they liberal or illiberal, popular or unpopular, “are [invariably] motivated by a drive for power, no matter what the stakes.”²⁶ So if “the preservation and maximization of state power is an

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absolute guideline for policy-makers,”²⁷ this means three things: 1) State and individual sovereignty are mutually exclusive; 2) The neoliberal project demands that the state significantly cuts back on social spending while expanding military budgets and maximizing power and profit for the private sector, which entails and necessitates increasing state expenditure relative to GDP, since private power needs a big and powerful government to protect and advance its interests; and 3) There is an unavoidable, *fatal* tension between “the aim of maintaining the state and maximizing power, on the one hand, and of preserving the international system, on the other.”²⁸ This leads us to the following conclusion: The nation-state system is simply unviable, because “So long as there is international anarchy [defined in International Relations theory, in the most simple terms, as the lack of an effective authority above and beyond that of sovereign states], it is by no means clear that increase of efficiency in the separate States is in the interest of mankind, since it increases the ferocity and destructiveness of war... To improve the fighting quality of separate States without having any means of preventing war is the road to universal destruction.”²⁹

In point of fact, the UN system has done little or nothing to mitigate inter-state conflicts, or Western state terrorism against the Third World, partly motivated by racism, but more significantly motivated by imperial imperatives, since conquest and expropriation are a central feature of the state capitalist system. Some nuanced qualification is needed here: The deeply-imbedded Judeo-Euro-American racist ideology has always been one of the elements that has *sustained* the so-called capitalist system, even if it should be make clear (since credit has to be given where credit is due) that racism is not built into the capitalist system, as stated in note 3. Thus “Capitalism is not fundamentally racist – it can exploit racism for its purposes.” In other words, “Over the long term, you can expect capitalism to be anti-racist – just because it’s anti-human.”³⁰ But regardless of the racism that is often enough implicitly used to justify otherwise unjustifiable policies and practices,³¹ military-based state capitalism is sufficiently anti-human to seriously undermine even the long-term interests of the purveyors of the system, since if nothing else it will sooner or later, more or less completely destroy the eco-system that sustains all forms of life, not to speak of other impending risks, e.g., an all-out terminal global nuclear war, probably sooner than later, since US-UK-Israeli unilateralism, militaristic adventurism and brazen contempt for the rule of law, virtually guarantees proliferation of more terror (state and non-state alike), likely to be combined with WMD, sooner or later, the consequences of which will be awesome.³²

To preempt any challenge to raw US unilateral power, “the three grand imperatives of imperial geostrategy,” said Zbigniew Brzezinski, adviser to several presidents since the Carter Administration and one of the most influential gurus in Washington, “are to prevent collusion and maintain security dependence among the vassals, to keep tributaries pliant and protected, and to keep the barbarians from coming together.”³³ In a

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similar vein, to keep the “barbarians” at bay, Pentagon planners are proceeding with the task of assuring US control over every part of the globe. Major Ralph Peters, an officer responsible for conceptualizing future warfare in the office of the deputy chief of staff for intelligence, is lucid about why the US needs to fight:

We have entered an age of constant conflict... We are entering a new American century, in which we will become still wealthier, culturally more lethal, and increasingly powerful. We will excite hatreds without precedent... There will be no peace. At any given moment for the rest of our lifetimes, there will be multiple conflicts in mutating forms around the globe. Violent conflict will dominate the headlines, but cultural and economic struggles will be steadier and ultimately more decisive. The de facto role of the U.S. armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing.³⁴

To dispel any lingering doubts about the offensive nature of advanced state capitalism, one more revealing official quote is in order. Thus, consistent with the norms of the democrata-torship:

The new [military preparedness] standard is to maintain military superiority over all potential rivals and to prepare now for future military rivalries even if they can not yet be identified and their eventual arrival is only speculative... Military requirements have become detached from net assessments of actual security threats. Generic wars and generic capabilities are proffered as the basis of planning. Particularities of real threat scenarios have become secondary to the generalized need to show raw U.S. power across the globe.”³⁵

All this, of course, is in brazen contempt of international law. Therefore, at this point, a discussion of why the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD) is unenforceable is very relevant, which would shed light on why the UN is impotent. Thus, in the light of the fact that the UN is completely dominated by the U.S. (which obviously basically explains why it is impotent), it bears crucial mention that there should be an effective mechanism at the UN for what is called ‘enabling conventions,’ because under the prevailing politico-economic system the General Assembly is not really mandated to pass enabling conventions without interference from the US. And since no amount of restructuring at the UN will prove to be meaningful (without far-reaching changes in the dominant societies and the international order, from the bottom up, by democratizing the

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economic system in the West), due to the fact the UN can do nothing at all without the authorization of the great powers, primarily the US, it should be brought to light that the US has a terrible record – supported or suppressed by the media and the intellectual classes, typically – of utter contempt for international law.³⁶ To illustrate, take the UD, which is *formally* accepted by just about every state, including the West of course; but it has no enforcement power, unlike really important matters, like trade treaties, which matter greatly to those with power. The idea was that the GA would pass enabling conventions, which would then be implemented (though there are no enforcement mechanisms here either, reflecting the priority given to human rights as compared, say, with monopoly pricing rights for publicly-subsidized corporations). What is the status of the enabling conventions? That depends crucially on the practice of the most powerful states. In other words, in the real world of power and intellectual subordination to it, an abstention *by the US amounts to a veto*, whereas in the abstract world of ideology and academic seminars, an abstention does not amount to a veto (no contradiction; just a choice about the realm in which we choose to operate).

Any serious academic curriculum or public discourse on human rights would, of course, detail the record: specifically, the record of the most powerful state. The US officially dismisses the socioeconomic provisions of the UD, though they have the same status as others, and thus is a leader of the so-called “relativist” camp. But that is only the beginning. It regularly violates many of the others with impunity, as well-documented, and has a very poor record even on ratification of the enabling conventions. To be more accurate, it has authentically ratified none, because even the occasional ratifications are conditional: Specifically, they are “non self-executing,” legalese for “inapplicable to the US.” When a treaty is “non self-executing” and is accompanied by no enabling legislation, it cannot be invoked in US courts. Saddam Hussein would have been happy to ratify conventions in that manner!

Indeed, those who hold the world’s superpowers to their own standards of the rule of (international public) law will invariably find them appallingly lacking (since the international human rights regime was set up by the powerful [ironically, however, it is a *potential* weapon of the powerless, owing mostly to self-interest stemming from the traumatizing effects of WWII rather than strictly moral concerns for the powerless, in my view], most aspects of which are incorporated into national law, if only by virtue of the sheer fact of formal ratification). In other words, any serious efforts to measure the world’s superpowers by their own professed standards and to hold them responsible for the indefensible actions they commit in the name of democracy, freedom and human rights, will invariably reveal and underscore the lawlessness and violence of Western and other powers, not to mention the profound hypocrisy that prevails in the intellectual and moral culture of the West particularly, even if this is a universal principle of intellectual culture. This is putting aside the fact that, contrary to the fabrications spun by most men-

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tal pygmies (academics), there is nothing progressive about human rights being subordinated to property rights. And there is certainly nothing inevitable about the fact that ordinary citizens basically have four slavish, divinely-ordained rights under capitalism: Work hard for little, pay taxes to totalitarian states and their paymasters (the multinationals) through their noses, obey orders from above without question (which of course entails the right to ratify decisions taken by their betters but not questioning by what right they rule over the masses), and maximize their consumptions (even if they have to go into debt to do so). If they use hard and/or soft drugs in their free time to get temporary relief from an unbearable existence, that is more money in the coffers of state and corporate institutions, since the US government is the biggest drug dealer in the world. In fact, the trade in illicit drugs (heroin, cocaine, marijuana, synthetic drugs, and etc.) is one of the things that keeps the economy afloat for the state-corporate power elites in the US, Canada and some other places. This means that virtually the whole establishment pushes dope, including the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) and CIA, for whom drugs have long been a currency, just as they have been for US banks and chemical corporations (see source in note 38).³⁷ This is putting aside the fact that nicotine is the most addictive and lethal drug in the world. For example, in the US alone, more than 400,000 people die from cigarette-related diseases *every year*, whereas in 1997 a record of 16,000 people succumbed to drug-related deaths in the US, i.e., from all hard drugs combined; and among Chinese children under 20 today, 50 million will die of cigarette-related diseases, courtesy of the US.³⁸ If this does not constitute criminal violence on a massive scale, then I do not know what does.

In any case, it is not likely that there is any other way to denazify the prevailing politico-economic system, hence to reverse the powerful currents of reaction and oppression and violence, than to expropriate the expropriators (since the institutions of finance capital, as well as all the governmental and ideological [i.e., academic and media] institutions that support them, are no more legitimate than the institutions of slavery and Nazism³⁹). Which would have to entail dismantling the unholy trinity mentioned above (the state, the church and the multinationals), and replacing them with viable, egalitarian structures through which human needs and rights are met universally, through socially and morally desirable means and ends.

Since the hegemony of the ruling class under capitalism (or any other elitist system for that matter) results from a constantly nurtured bond (by the elites themselves as well as by their lower level representatives) between the rulers and the ruled, one strategy than can be employed to break the ideological bond is to question by what right political and economic masters rule. Consensual validation at the societal level – stemming mostly from dogmatic traditions, cultural myths and social illusions to begin with – certainly spuriously legitimates the status quo (as does the ballot, which is not about whether or not people want to be ruled but who will rule over them, thereby making it

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largely a sham), but those at the top nevertheless bear a heavy burden of justification, through rational and honest argumentation and proof. Power always has to prove that it is legitimate, in any given context. If it cannot, then it is illegitimate and should be dismantled. Rarely can such a challenge be sustained, when honestly posed and squarely faced, as noted earlier.

Sadly, the first question most people who are presented with the facts about how rotten the prevailing system is ask is: “If not capitalism, then what?” This is not a legitimate question. It is like asking, “If not slavery or tyranny, then what?” But then, people might somewhat reasonably ask, “But there ought to be at least a semblance of an alternative system so that people may have a sense of direction, if only by virtue of long-term goals and visions. Fair enough. There is a rich tradition of libertarian thought and action (listed in **Suggested Readings**). However, none of these works attempt to give detailed visions of a future society reorganized along egalitarian lines, and only Anton Pannekoek’s and G.D.H. Cole’s works provide, more or less exhaustively, the *basic framework* for what libertarian structures *can* (as opposed to ought to) look like. But, crucially, to leave the question of detailed descriptions, modalities, modes of implementation, etc. of a future society, not only open-ended but *necessarily to be worked out by the poor and the working class* is, in my view, not a weakness. If anything, it is a strength, because it will encourage and provide the possibility for those who *appear* to be least likely to show signs of creativity to do much more than just that. It will encourage and bring out in them the genius of creating a system that is most suited to the material and inner needs of the time, based on the material and non-material resources that are available at that same time in the history of the future. The risk with coming up with too detailed a plan (like *Parecon*: short for *Participatory Economics*), no matter how well-intentioned, of what a future society can or ought to look like has the very real potential of being transformed or distorted into an authoritarian system by reactionary forces, simply because it will not have been the creative product of the working class and the poor *themselves*, thereby creating no incentive for them to defend its purest form and substance, if any, to the death. For them to adopt a system that was devised by Michael Albert (author of *Parecon: Life After Capitalism*), or anyone else, 5, 10, 20, or 50 years from now, will effectively evacuate that system of meaning and substance, thereby relying, once more, as always, on externally imposed ideas or schemes. It should be up to the working class and the poor to tap into their own creative powers to work out, *on a trial and error basis*, the details of *libertarian* (i.e., stateless) socialism, within the basic, pretty much complementary frameworks set up by Pannekoek and Cole, if they appeal to them to begin with. If not, then even those frameworks can and should be rejected for a better one, in accordance with the needs, aspirations, available resources, creative ideas and grassroots efforts of the poor and the working class themselves (otherwise, it cannot, by definition, be libertarian). In other words, none of the founders of classical liber-

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alism or anarchism would have accepted Parecon. This is more a matter of logical pessimism than criticism. The critique aspect of it, however, is that just because Parecon is being experimented with and is allegedly functioning more or less smoothly in Argentine factories and other workplaces, is *not* a justification for Parecon, since the justification for any kind of system is to be found not *necessarily* in practical outcomes but in *how the system was conceived, by whom, and for what purpose(s)* – this is putting aside the very problematic fact that Parecon is, again, simply too detailed, hence pretentious, since no one is smart enough to plan a society. In brief, libertarian socialism will either be achieved by the activity and ingenuity of the working class and the poor themselves (no matter how demanding this may be), without any interference or direction from above, or it will not be achieved at all. The reason is very simple. As one of the founders of classical liberalism put it: “Whatever does not spring from a man’s free choice, or is only the result of instruction and guidance, does not enter into his very being, but still remains alien to his true nature; he does not perform it with truly human energies, but merely with mechanical exactness.”⁴⁰

There is an important nuance that should not escape our attention in this context: Getting to the source of real power (private power), in order to dissolve it, as well as bringing down the nation-state system on a world-wide scale (since it is simply unviable, owing to, among other things, the fact that its primary task throughout history has, with very few exceptions, been to protect the rich against the poor – James Madison), are not enough. Before these tasks are undertaken, it is of inestimable importance to create alternative cultural and institutional structures (respectively, of course) alongside existing power (even if it is done informally), so that they may replace existing power when the time is ripe. In other words, unless alternative cultural and institutional structures are created, there will not be a basis for sustaining a libertarian structure, meaning dismantling the prevailing structures under such conditions will send us all straight back to the Stone Age. Of course, existing power structures will dislike libertarian structures within their domains, and if they become significant, will try to destroy them, but it does not follow that they will succeed. In fact, one can see something like that throughout history, since much of history is about people struggling for democracy in the face of brutal elitism. Nor should it be overlooked that whatever nominal rights we enjoy today in the West, they have been the result of bitter democratic struggles gained over time against overwhelming odds, often with great self-sacrifices. This is why Frederick Douglass, an American slave, said in 1857: “If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation...want crops without plowing up the ground... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will.” Clearly, although a truism, he had no anarchistic conception, hence failed to realize, perhaps, that even a benevolent master is still a master, and a happy slave – as repugnant as this notion is or should be to anyone who values equality, freedom and peace, equality

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being an indispensable precondition for freedom and peace – is still a slave.

To conclude, the tasks that lie ahead are difficult ones, no doubt (owing both to psychic resistance and to the challenging tasks of creating new basic institutions, since most of the existing ones are quite illegitimate), but they are not impossible to achieve. And even if humanity ultimately fails in these noble, heroic endeavors, perhaps it can console itself by virtue of the principled fact that it is better to climb the right ladder and fail than to climb the wrong one and succeed. But while striving for these ultimate goals, we can and should press for reforms, in order to try mitigating the worst excesses of military-based state capitalism, since there is always some latitude for alleviating human suffering no matter profoundly anti-human the prevailing politico-economic system may be. Those of us who are indifferent to the suffering that we, ordinary citizens in the West, all contribute to is something that should put us to shame beyond shame. “The time has come when silence is betrayal,” said Martin Luther King. That time is now more than ever. In other words, it is when we become silent about things that matter that our lives begin to end (as the saying goes); and, not surprisingly, silence does not come from nowhere. Even though there are thousands of grassroots social movements around the world working tirelessly – in the South, despite great risks to themselves – to bring about progressive changes in many different contexts, still, most of us Westerners are woefully ignorant about world affairs and social and political reality generally, hence apathetic. The latter cannot be remedied without explicitly refusing to continue being trapped in a kind of self-imposed conspiracy of silence that, in effect, perpetuates crimes of state courtesy of corporate West, without starting to actively do what we have to do to educate ourselves and each other about things that matter, so that fundamental social change can begin to take place on a really significant scale. While we are at it, it bears mention that bringing authority into disrepute, besides being a moral duty, is one of the few remaining powerful weapons available to us if we are interested in survival, so that we may prove to be a viable organism – not at all a given as things stand now, tragically. But there is nothing inevitable about that. The grave and perilous situation that humanity finds itself in today is a matter of will and choice, not just by the powerful, but, by default, by the powerless as well.

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NOTES

1. as with the case of American capitalism, for example. Which was built on genocide and slavery. To this day, no apology, no reparations.
2. This is somewhat of a misleading statement, since the South was not likely to have had a monetary economic system but primarily (or perhaps exclusively) a barter-based one before Europe's dehumanizing conquest.
3. That is, in conjunction with the forceful imposition of Europe's monetary system on the South. And the imposition of the inorganic and profoundly anti-human nation-state system on Africa during colonialism was more than just forceful; it was extremely violent, exacting a death toll of millions (perhaps tens of millions) in Africa alone. For excellent but not flawless discussions on these topics, see Chancellor Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.*, Chicago, 1987; and Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, NY, 1992; I say not flawless, because some of these men's analyses and propositions are lacking in accuracy and/or sufficiently profound insights, not because I am in a position to contest or refute their historical claims and accounts. Davidson's solution to the problem posed by nationalism and North-South relations of asymmetry, for example, is shallow and ill-conceived, amounting to not much more than patchwork reforms, in my view. And Williams' proposition that Blacks will never command respect from Whites unless they create their own position of power, particularly economic power, is bound to fail given the high likelihood that humanity at large is living close to if not within the margins of survival, due to the threat of nuclear holocaust (which appears to be rather imminent) and the more long-term threats posed by cataclysmic climate changes. Last but not least, the pessimism inherent in Williams' proposition may not be reasonable, given the fact that morality appears to be innate in humans, a fact that needs to be discovered in those cases when wrong education and wrong upbringing seem to have distorted this innate sense of morality. Thus, it would be more expedient to help people discover their innate sense of morality in order to join hands to bring down a profoundly anti-human system that is oppressing Blacks and Whites alike (given the fact that capitalism is not fundamentally racist), even if the degree of oppression is obviously not the same for the two groups of people, rather than implicitly perpetuating the Black-White dichotomy by following Williams' suggestion.
4. This alliance between state and private power is unholy, which is why Mussolini (who should know) said: "Fascism should more appropriately be called Corporatism, because it is the merger of state and corporate power." In the more contemporary period, a similar observation was made by the international financier George Soros: "Perhaps the greatest threat to freedom and democracy in the world today comes from

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the formation of unholy alliances between government and business. This is not a new phenomenon. It used to be called fascism... The outward appearances of the democratic process are observed, but the powers of the state are diverted to the benefit of private interests." (Soros, *Open Society: Reforming Global Capitalism*, NY: Public Affairs, 2000, xi. Soros, who ironically calls for national controls to dampen speculation in financial markets, even though his own fortune has been built in those same markets, now runs the CIA-created Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and other institutes.)

For an excellent discussion of the hows and whys of the fact that the state is a criminal organization, see Charles Tilly, *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime*, <https://netfiles.uiuc.edu/rohloff/www/war%20making%20and%20state%20making.pdf>

5. Pogge, "A cosmopolitan perspective on the global economic order," in Harry Brighouse and Gillian Brock (eds.), *The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005, p. 97.

6. Ibid., pp. 97, 98, 99. In a similar vein, Peter Singer says: "the present global distribution of wealth is the result of the wrongful expropriation by a small fraction of the world's population of a resource that belongs to all human beings in common." (Singer, *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*, Yale University Press, Second Edition, 2004, p, 31)

7. Shiva quoted in Singer, *One World*, p. 53.

8. Locke quoted by Pogge in Brighouse and Brock, op. cit., p. 99.

9. Clive Pointing, *Churchill*, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994, p. 132. A similar but more contemporary

observation was made by one of the founders of modern political science, Harold Lasswell: "Modern events have sharply reminded us that distribution depends on myth and violence (on faith and brigandage) as well as bargaining." (Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, Cleveland, Ohio: Meridian Books, 1958, p. 8.)

10. Case in point: IMF policies invariably have the following elements: "(1) radically reduce government spending on health, education and welfare; (2) privatize and deregulate state enterprise; (3) devalue the currency; (4) liberalize imports and remove restrictions on foreign investment; and (5) cut or constrain wages and eliminate or weaken mechanisms protecting labor."(Kevin Danaher, *10 Reasons to Abolish the IMF and World Bank*, NY: Seven Stories, 2001, p. 11).

Put slightly differently, "The term 'structural adjustment' [specifically] refers to a series of economic 'reforms' which the International Monetary Fund and World Bank demand before giving loans to Third World governments to pay off their existing international debts. These include: privatizing state enterprises, devaluing local currencies,

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raising food prices, lowering deficits by reducing consumer subsidies and charging for social services like health care and education, dismantling regulation of the private sector, limiting protectionist measures for foreign trade, and creating various incentives for foreign investment.” (The footnotes for: *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky*, Edited by Peter R. Mitchell and John Schoeffel, p. 210, note 59, at www.understandingpower.co.uk, in the PDF version)

11. For important studies on this topic, see Morton Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1870-*

1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy, Oxford: 1992 (2 volumes). Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*, London: 2005; revised and expanded edition. Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*, NY: 1991, esp. pp. 44-55. And Gary D. Rowe, “Lochner Revisionism Revisited,” *Law and Inquiry*, Vol. 24, Winter 1999, esp. p. 248.

On the role of state subsidies in the US economy, see chapter 3 of *Understanding Power* by Chomsky and its footnotes 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10; ch. 7 of *U.P.* and its footnotes 38 to 44, 51 and 53; and ch. 10 of *U.P.* and its footnotes 22 and 23. See also ch. 2 of *U.P.* and its footnotes 4 and 5.

On the real purpose of the Pentagon (i.e., the fact that it is primarily a subsidy system for the rich and powerful rather than a defense establishment in the true sense of the expression), see ch. 3 of *U.P.*, “Teach-In: Evening,” and footnotes 22 and 23 of ch. 10 of *U.P.*

12. For some valuable insights into the hows and whys of the fact that the church is an illegitimate structure (thereby exposing the symbiotic relationship between state and church [owing to the fact that religion has always been the basis of political power]), which has in effect if not intent enslaved humanity, see following work at www.geocities.com/witnesstohisresurrection

13. In point of fact, as Charles Tilly has observed in his classic *Coercion, Capital, and European States: 990-1990*, the whole history of the pre- and post-nation-state system is one of force and fraud, of extreme violence and bloodshed. The nation-state system is pretty much a European invention. It was established by force, through centuries of extremely bloody warfare; and was later imposed on the rest of the world by extreme force. If the nation-state system is necessarily the natural form of human or social organization, if it is an organic entity which is *vindicated by the laws of nature*, why so much terror and bloodshed? “This question has to be faced squarely, because any structure of hierarchy and authority carries a heavy burden of justification, whether it involves personal relations or a larger social order. If it cannot bear that burden – sometimes it can – then it is illegitimate and should be dismantled. When honestly

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posed and squarely faced, that challenge can rarely be sustained. Genuine libertarians have their work cut out for them.” (Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects*, London: Pluto Press, 1996, p. 73.)

14. Samuel Huntington, “Vietnam Reappraised,” *International Security*, Vol. 6., No. 1 (Summer 1981), p. 14. For a discussion about the hows and whys of the permanent war economy, see Ed Rippy, *War is Still a Racket*,

http://erippy.home.mindspring.com/War_Is_Still_a_Racket.html, and Chomsky, *Permanent War Economy*, <http://www.counterpunch.org/merlin07312004.html>

15. John Pilger, *The New Cold War*,

<http://www.redpepper.org.uk/cularch/xalmeida.html>

16. George Kennan, “PPS23: Review of Current Trends in U.S. Foreign Policy,”

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/2496/future/kennan/pps23.html>

17. “one of the realities of foreign aid: a means by which the poor in the wealthy societies pay the wealthy in the poor societies for their services to the wealthy in the wealthy societies” (Chomsky, *On Power and Ideology*, Québec and NY: Black Rose Books, 1987, p. 82). Which is a way of protecting the sanctity of the fifth freedom, defined as the freedom to dominate, exploit and rob. In other words, “aid is a device to compel the (Western) taxpayer to subsidize the wealthy and powerful, at home and abroad” (*ibid.*, p. 83), so as to facilitate the expropriation of wealth from the poor and the working class, at home and abroad, in the latter case, crucially with the help of the IMF and WB (both *extraordinarily* human rights averse), who are guilty of theft on a scale that dwarfs all the great bank robberies in history combined.

Equally important, “Much of the flow of foreign aid from rich to poor countries is publicly-subsidized export promotion.” (Chomsky) Which results in socially harmful practices. For example, the so-called ‘debt crisis’ (which is an ideological construct rather than a simple economic fact, and from which much Western coercive power derives) forces poor countries to open up their markets to a flood of heavily subsidized Western agricultural products. Which are dumped at artificially low prices to undermine local production, thereby giving the West a monopoly on humanity’s staples.

And there is also the fact that the only kind (or one of the very few kinds) of development that is tolerated in the Third World is that of production for export, which has a double, symbiotic purpose: 1) It is through such export platforms in the artificially poor South that primary products are expropriated by the artificially rich industrial economies under the mantle of ‘trade’ and ‘comparative advantage.’ 2) Debt service forces pauperized countries to keep their economies oriented to production of exports, so that they can earn foreign exchange with which to service their debts, according to Justin Podur. As he duly observes, “Debt service takes an appalling share of income

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countries need to keep their people alive, and it also forces countries to keep their economies oriented to production of exports to earn foreign exchange. For every aid dollar received by Africa in 1993, three dollars left Africa in debt service; four-fifths of Uganda's export earnings go to debt service. Between 1990-1994, African countries spent \$13.4 billion in debt service – 4 times what they spent on health. That Africa produces cash crops for export and imports food is not good for its own food security, but it is good for Western agribusiness, which gets a market in Africa at the expense of land reform and the alleviation of hunger there." (Podur, History Handbook, *Non-Reformist Reparations for Africa: Repairing the Damages*, <http://www.zmag.org/Zmag/articles/february02podur.htm>)

18. To verify this claim, see Chomsky, *Debt, Drugs and Democracy*, NACLA Report on the Americas, Vol. 33, No.1, Jul/Aug 1999, also available at: <http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/19990312.htm>

19. Jefferson in John F. Manley, "American Liberalism and the Democratic Dream: Transcending the American Dream," *Policy Studies Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Fall 1990, pp. 97-99.

20. Dewey quoted in Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 441, 442.

21. To verify the claim about sanctions, see Someshwar Singh, *Half The World Hit by US Unilateral Sanctions, Third World Economics* (Jan. 16-31, 2000), <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title/half-cn.htm> See also Mark Sommers, "Sanctions are Becoming 'Weapon of Choice'" *CSM*, Aug. 3, 1993.

22. Pogge, op. cit., pp. 92, 93, 95.

23. Of course, all this is in brazen violation of international law. To verify the claim about the first-strike nature of the space program, see Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*, NY, 2003, chapters 6 & 9. Carl Boggs (ed.), *Masters of War: Militarism and Blowback the Era of American Empire*, London & NY, 2003, chapter 3. William Blum, *US Military and CIA Interventions Since WWII*, Claremont (SA): Spearhead, 2003, p. 384 (in ch. 56). Western States Legal Foundation, *Weapons in Space*, Information Bulletin, Summer 2000. And US Space Command, *Vision for 2020*, http://www.middlepowers.org/gsi/docs/vision_2020.pdf

The overriding point here is that "states have acquired the capacity to obliterate human society, a capacity that they will exercise if the current social order evolves along its present paths." (Chomsky, in Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice*, Edinburgh: AK Press, 2004, ii) That is inherent in the perverted logic of power politics in today's world, given that the powerful have never had any misgivings

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about resorting to fear (from which authority is granted to them by those in whom fear is induced), hence leaving an endless trail of blood and misery in their trail, while all along maximizing power and profit, but especially the former, since profit is less important than the imperatives of power, if a trade-off between the two becomes applicable.

24. Jack Donnelly, in Scott Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations* (third edition), Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005, p. 51.

25. Ibid., 31.

26. William D. Coplin, “International Law and Assumptions about the State System,” *World Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 4. (Jul., 1965), p. 618.

27. Ibid., 629.

28. Ibid.

29. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1954, p. 579.

30. Chomsky, *Understanding Power*, London & NY: Vintage Press, 2002, p. 89.

31. Apropos of North-South relations, it seems apt to mention that given the fact that “non-democracies” are almost invariably underdeveloped – I mention this only because in the academic world it is very much in parlance in the field of International Relations to claim that democracies do not wage war against each other, since they are so peace-loving, but only against “non-democracies,” which happen to be populated by, surprises of surprises, mostly non-Whites! – as a result of Western domination and tutelage, waging illegal and immoral wars against the Third World, which has been a pretty constant theme even in the post-UN Charter period, boils down to lording it over those who are least able to defend themselves, and to implicitly “insist[...] on reserving the right to bomb niggers,” which has *always* been the bottom line in North-South relations (statement by British PM Lloyd George in 1932, cited in V.G. Kiernan, *European empires from conquest to collapse, 1815-1960*, London: Fontana, 1982, p. 200. The “niggers” George was referring to were Iraqis, whom England was then bombing with regular munitions as well as poison gas. To verify the latter claim, see *Winston Churchill’s Secret Poison Gas Memo*, at:

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/CHU407A.html>)

32. To verify the claim about the high stakes that we face as a species, which cannot be exaggerated, see Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, *passim*. See also his seminal *Fateful Triangle: the United States, Israel and the Palestinians*, particularly chapter 7: *the Road to Armageddon*, available free of charge in its entirety at:

<http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/livres5/fateful.pdf>

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33. Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, NY: Basic Books, 1997, p. 40.
34. US Army War College Quarterly, First published From *Parameters*, Summer 1997, pp. 4-14: US Army War College, “Constant Conflict,” Ralph Peters, <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article3011.htm>
35. Charles Knight, Project on Defense Alternatives, panel presentation at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 14 June 2000, on “U.S. Military-Strategic Ambitions: Expanding to Fill the post-Soviet Vacuum,” <http://www.comw.org/pda/0006vacuum.html>
36. This profound contempt for international law has a very predictable corollary: Western state terrorism, as evidenced in the following uncontroversial works: John Pilger, *The New Rulers of the World*; Alexander George, *Western State Terrorism*; Edward Herman, *Real Terror Network*; Michael McClintock, *Instruments of Statecraft*; Gore Vidal, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*; John Cooley, *Unholy Wars*; William Blum, *Killing Hope and Rogue State*; Michael Mandel, *How America Gets Away with Murder, Illegal Wars, Collateral Damage and Crimes Against Humanity*; Edward Said & Christopher Hitchens (eds.), *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*; John Perkins, *Confessions of An Economic Hit Man*; and Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism; The Fateful Triangle; Rogue States; Turning the Tide; The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism; Hegemony or Survival; Failed States*.

These sources are highly relevant even in the context of economic justice, since it is in pursuit of economic and military domination around the world that the US government follows the most brutal policies. And even though the terroristic horrors that have been visited upon Third World peoples for centuries by the West are shockingly cruel and sadistic, still, it is very important to resist the temptation to dichotomize between ‘Good’ and ‘Evil,’ since failure to do so enables us to, at least in effect, rationalize human cruelty and sadism (as if these traits were innate). Which in turn can be said to have a self-perpetuating property or effect. It is, therefore, more wise and constructive to explain (as opposed to condone) such inhumane behaviors in terms of an institutional need to behave this way, which nevertheless does not absolve the perpetrators of such crimes from responsibility. The reason is simple: It is standard in law to determine intent on the basis of evidence concerning predictable consequences. No one claims evil intentions. The same standard is used constantly in international law, but, of course, only against the weak and defeated. A good book about this is Mandel’s work, mentioned above.

37. For a comprehensive account of CIA involvement in drug trafficking throughout

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parts of the world, up to at least the 1980s, see:

- a) Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin: CIA Complicity in the Global Drug Trade*, NY: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991, reprinted in 2003 (this is the major source on the CIA's post-war reconstruction of the Mafia by the US as part of its campaign to destroy the European labor movement).
 - b) Alexander Cockburn & Jeffrey St. Clair (eds.), *Whiteout: The CIA, Drugs and the Press*, London & NY: Verso, 1998.
 - c) Henrik Kruger, *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, and International Fascism*, Boston, 1980.
 - d) Christopher Robbins, *Air America*, NY, 1979, pp. 128, 225-243.
 - e) Leslie Cockburn, *Out of Control: The Story of the Reagan Administration's Secret War in Nicaragua, The Illegal Arms Pipeline, and the Contra Drug Connection*, NY: Atlantic Monthly, 1987.
 - f) Peter Scott & J. Marshall, *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies, and the CIA in Central America*, University of California Press, 1991.
 - g) Drugs, Law Enforcement and Foreign Policy, a Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations, 1989,
http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/congress/1989_cr/s890516-drugs.htm
 - h) The Oliver North File: His Diaries, E-Mail, and Memos on the Kerry Report, Contras and Drugs, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 113, February 26, 2004,
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB113/index.htm>
 - i) Congressional Reports On Drug Corruption And The Federal Government,
<http://www.druglibrary.org/SCHAFFER/govpubs/drugcorr.htm>
 - j) Declassified USG documents titled "The Contras, Cocaine, and Covert Operations," <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB2/nsaebb2.htm>
 - k) Declassified USG document titled "The Negroponte File,"
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB151/>
 - l) "CIA and Crack Cocaine," <http://www.geocities.com/~virtualtruth/crack.htm>
- 38.** To verify this claim, see Chomsky, *Rogue States: The Rule of Force in World Affairs*, London: Pluto Press, 2000, chapter 5, particularly pp. 79-80, and pp. 150-51 in ch. 10, plus corresponding footnotes.
- 39.** This is because wage labor is a form of slavery, and not much better than chattel

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slavery. And there was a massive recruitment of Nazi war criminals by the CIA at the war's end (well above a thousand of them, strategically placed in military installations, universities and private corporations), aided by the Pope, the Vatican and various elements of the Catholic Church, in order to adopt Nazi counter-insurgency programs: doublespeak for 'international terrorism' in the true sense of the expression. Two first-rate works pertaining to the latter are Christopher Simpson, *Blowback*, and Linda Hunt, *Secret Agenda*, the latter particularly drawing on a wealth of declassified US government documents.

40. Wilhelm von Humboldt, *The Limits of State Action*, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1993, p.23. In a similar vein, Emma Goldman said (in the Preface of the work mentioned below): ““Why do you not say how things will be operated under Anarchism?” is a question I have had to meet thousands of times. Because I believe Anarchism can not consistently impose an iron-clad program or method on the future. The things every new generation has to fight, and which it can least overcome, are the burdens of the past, which holds us all as in a net. Anarchism...leaves posterity free to develop its own particular systems, in harmony with its needs. Our most vivid imagination can not foresee the potentialities of a race set free from external restraints. How, then, can any one assume to map out a line of conduct for those to come? We, who pay dearly for every breath of pure, fresh air, must guard against the tendency to fetter the future.”

Partly for this reason, the interview between Robert Barsky and Chomsky preceding Pannekoek's work, in the AK Press, 2003 edition, is also worth reading; it can also be accessed at:

<http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/h3vwqY/Interview%20with%20Barsky%20and%20Chomsky.pdf>

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SUGGESTED READINGS

Emma Goldman, Anarchism and Other Essays,

<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Writings/Anarchism/anarchism.html> or

<http://www.identitytheory.com/etexts/goldmananarchism2.html>

Sam Dolgoff (ed.), Bakunin on Anarchy,

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/bakunin-on-anarchism.htm>

Anton Pannekoek, Workers' Councils,

<http://libcom.org/library/workers-councils-book-pannekoek>

George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia,

http://orwell.ru/library/novels/Homage_to_Catalonia/english/e_htc

J.P. Proudhon, What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government, <http://www.gutenberg.org dirs/etext95/pprty10.txt> or

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=ProProp.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=all>

Rudolf Rocker, Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice,

http://www.spunk.org/library/writers/rocker/sp001495/rocker_as1.html

Daniel Guerin, Anarchism: Theory and Practice,

http://www.zabalaza.net/texts/anarchism_guerin/contents.html or

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1931/guerin/contents.html>

G.D.H. Cole, Guild Socialism Re-Stated,

<http://ia341233.us.archive.org/1/items/guildsocialismre00coleuoft/guildsocialismre00coleuoft.pdf> or

<http://ia351405.us.archive.org/2/items/guildsocialismre00coleiala/guildsocialismre00coleiala.pdf>

Noam Chomsky, Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship,

<http://question-everything.mahost.org/Archive/chomskyspain.html>

_____ "Notes on Anarchism" as appeared in his For Reasons of State,

<http://www.spunk.org/library/intro/sp000281.html> or slightly different version at:

<http://www.southerncrossreview.org/21/anarchism.htm>

_____ Government in the Future,

<http://tangibleinfo.blogspot.com/2006/11/noam-chomsky-lecture-from-1970-full.html>

FAQ, Why Do Anarchists Oppose the Current System,

<http://www.infoshop.org/faq/sectionB.pdf>

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