



# *From the Left*

The newsletter of the  
Section on Marxist  
Sociology of the  
American Sociological  
Association  
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## Why Do They Hate Us?

By Michael Parenti

**T**errorism is a vicious form of political action directed against innocent and defenseless people, as demonstrated by the bombings in Madrid (March 2004) and London (July 2005). Along with denouncing such vicious assaults, we must try to comprehend why they keep happening. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon raised the question among many US commentators and citizens: "Why do they hate us?" How could anyone want to do such a thing to the United States and us nice Americans?

A number of the rightwing pundits who overpopulate the corporate media maintain that the "Islamic terrorists" attack us because we are prosperous, free, democratic, and secular; they want to change our ways. As CBS-TV anchorman Dan Rather remarked, "We are winners and they are losers, and that's why they hate us."

In fact, if we bother to listen to what the terrorists themselves actually say, they hate us not because of who we *are* but because of what we *do*--to them and their region of the world. The individuals who bombed the World Trade Center the first time in 1993, sent a letter to the *New York Times* declaring that the attack was "in response for the American political, economic, and military support to Israel . . . and the rest of the dictator countries in the [Middle-East] region" (Note 1).

In November 2001, in his first interview after 9-11, Osama bin Laden had this to say, "This is a defensive Jihad. We want to defend our people and the territory we control. This is why I said that if we do not get security, the

Americans will not be secure either." A year later, a taped message from bin Laden began, "The road to safety [for America] begins by ending [US] aggression. Reciprocal treatment is part of justice. The [terrorist] incidents that have taken place . . . are only reactions and reciprocal actions" (Note 2). Again in November 2004, in another taped commentary, bin Laden argued that the war his people were waging against the United States was a retaliatory one. He explicitly addressed the assertion that the United States is targeted because it is so free and prosperous. If so, he argued, then why haven't the jihadists attacked Sweden? Sweden is more prosperous and more democratic than the United States.

*(Continued on page 3)*

### Inside This Issue:

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| "Why Do They Hate Us?"<br>by Michael Parenti   | 1  |
| "The Gendered Politics of Imperial Plunder<br>and War: The Philippine Experience"<br>by Ligaya Lindio-McGovern             | 2  |
| "From the So-Called War on Terrorism to the<br>Crusade for So-Called Academic Freedom"<br>Editorial by Karen Bettez Halnon | 4  |
| Poem: "The Soul of a Nation"<br>by Ligaya Lindio-McGovern  | 7  |
| <b>Book Announcements:</b>   |    |
| <b>The Structure and Evolution of Chinese<br/>Social Stratification</b><br>by Li Yi  | 12 |
| <b>The Immanent Utopia: From Marxism<br/>on the State to the State of Marxism</b><br>by Axel van den Berg                  | 13 |
| <b>The Hate Handbook</b><br>by Martin Oppenheimer  | 14 |



## The Gendered Politics of Imperial Plunder and War: The Philippine Experience

By Ligaya Lindio-McGovern  
Indiana University

Imperialism, as the “highest stage of capitalism”, has always been gendered. The two goals of imperialism are to plunder the resources of the subjugated nation and exploit its labor for the benefit of capital. Under the current stage of capitalist globalization, imperialism partly articulates or embodies itself through the structural adjustment policies of the IMF and the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services). These organizations promote deregulation, liberalization and privatization – the three tenets of neo-liberal globalization that negatively impact Third World countries plundered by imperialist powers. Imperialist plunder is often initiated by war in order to contain the expected resistance against it. Once initiated, militarism is used to fortify it --- such as military repression of political activism and counter-insurgency against revolutionary movements in the plundered nation. Often this is justified by the rhetoric of national security ideology and recently by the “war on terrorism” (a term that is now indiscriminately used).

### Shifting Ambiguity

In applying this national security ideology and “war on terrorism” on the Philippines, the U.S. creates what I call, “shifting ambiguity” in defining who is a terrorist. By maintaining such ambiguity, it is able to shift in defining its enemy. For example, at one time it defined the small Abu-Sayyaf group as the “terrorist” en-

emy that threatened US national security. Later, after it claimed that the Abu-Sayaf had been crushed, it defined the Philippine revolutionary movement and its militant movement organizations, including the militant women’s movement, as the “terrorist” enemy

(Continued on page 8)

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**From the Left Seeks Submissions for its Summer/Fall Theme Issue: THE STATE OF THE LEFT, with feature from Stephen Bronner, socialist and Marcusean scholar and author of Blood in the Sand.**

**Please send proposals or texts by email to Karen Bettez Halnon at [kbh4@psu.edu](mailto:kbh4@psu.edu).**

**Deadline: July 30, 2006**



*Why Do They Hate Us? (Continued from page 1)*

Unfortunately the questions posed by bin Laden received little serious attention in the US news media.

As early as 1989, former president Jimmy Carter offered a fairly accurate explanation of why they hate us. He told the New York Times, “You only have to go to Lebanon, to Syria or to Jordan to witness first-hand the intense hatred among many people for the United States because we bombed and shelled and unmercifully killed totally innocent villagers—women and children and farmers and housewives—in those villages around Beirut [an attack ordered by President Ronald Reagan]. As a result of that . . . we became kind of a Satan in the minds of those who are deeply resentful. That is what . . . has precipitated some of the terrorists attacks” (Note 3).

And so we critics of US foreign policy have argued that the best road to national safety and security lies neither in police state repression at home nor military conquests abroad but in a foreign policy that stops making the United States an object of hatred among people throughout the world.

The Iraqi resistance to the US occupation does not seem impelled by a hate-ridden envy of the United States as such but by a desire to get the Americans out of Iraq. The Iraqis resent the USA not because it is so free, prosperous and secular but because US forces had delivered death and destitution upon their shattered nation. As exclaimed one Iraqi woman, whose relatives were killed by US troops, “God curse the Americans. God curse those who brought them to us” (Note 4). Under the US occupation, unemployment has climbed to 50 percent or higher, and villages and towns continue to go without electricity, water, and sewage disposal. Meanwhile, US companies were

pumping out Iraqi oil, and privatizing and appropriating the country’s entire economy.

An in-depth, five-year study of religiously motivated terrorism was conducted by Jessica Stern, who interviewed religious militants of all stripes. She found men and women who were propelled neither by hatred of US prosperity and democracy nor by nihilistic violence. Rather they held a deep faith in the justice of their cause and in the possibility of transforming the world through violent sacrificial action (Note 5). The United States was not envied but resented for the repression and poverty its policies had imposed upon their countries.

To be sure, there have arisen cadres of extremist Islamic zealots dedicated to waging holy war in the hope of imposing their theocratic rule upon the world. In their maniacal intolerance, indiscriminate bloodletting, ghastly mistreatment of women, and readiness to sacrifice themselves to their own particularly warped vision of Islam, they resemble the Taliban (who themselves were a product of the CIA-created post-Soviet era in Afghanistan). But we should remember that in Iraq these fanatical religious elements came to the fore only after the US invasion and occupation. And their message falls on receptive ears at times because of the desperate and much resented conditions imposed by western global imperialism.

Our rulers would have us believe that the terror bombings and invasions inflicted by US rulers upon the peoples of other nations are all for their own good. Why the targeted populations cannot see this remains a mystery to the sponsors of Washington’s “humanitarian wars.” When asked why he thought some populations have a “vitriolic hatred for America,” George W. Bush offered his superpatriotic mystification: “I’m

*(Continued on page 5)*



## EDITORIAL

## From the So-Called War on Terrorism to the Crusade for So- Called Academic Freedom

By Karen Bettez Halnon

Pennsylvania State University

**O**n February 9, 1950, a rather unknown and inconsequential Senator from Wisconsin gave a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia. There Joseph McCarthy alleged that the State Department was full of communists and that he and the Secretary of State knew exactly who they were. Aided by the media, an anxiety swept the nation, with charges flying of traitors sabotaging American diplomacy. Grave threats to the nation allegedly emanated from those inside trusted ranks who were “soft on communism.” Amid this culture of fear, in 1952 alone, McCarthy secured the removal of 534 employees from the State Department on charges that they threatened “security.” McCarthy even managed the removal of a very powerful and widely respected senator, who would have been beyond reproach in ordinary times. What is more, he and his entourage of supporters did all of this without producing any evidence of subversion or disloyalty. (See Alexander Carey, *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy*). Many citizens and public leaders who disagreed with or opposed McCarthy’s actions kept quiet, fearful that similar charges would be waged against them. In retrospect, we look back on this period of American history as a national embarrassment, an irrational “witch hunt” that undermined some of our most basic civil liberties.

Since 9/11, we have a new culture of fear. The most grave and realistic threat of the historical moment is not communism per se, but terrorism. Amid mass fears of biological weapons and another domestic attack, the Bush Administration invaded Iraq, to the outrage of much of the rest of the world, making unsubstantiated claims that Saddam Hussein had ties to Al Qaeda and that Hussein was hiding weapons of mass destruction. There was and is no proof of either allegation. That is a fact. While “failures of intelligence” is the backtracking excuse supplied by the Bush Administration, there *is* proof that key members of the Bush Administration (Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Wolfowitz) commissioned a Project for the New American Century think-tank White Paper document, “Rebuilding America’s Defenses,” that was published in September 2000, *prior to any of them taking office*. The document explicitly planned and urged the President who would be elected (or rather, as it turned out, selected), to, among a variety of other militaristic goals, invade Iraq, “regardless of regime change.” All that was needed, according to the strategists, was a “catalyzing and catastrophic event,” like a “new Pearl Harbor.” Such an event, the policy paper explains, would aid in cultivating favorable American public opinion and bipartisan cooperation in the pre-planned military invasion. To date, what some have aptly called “the hijacking of catastrophe” has resulted in the deaths of approximately 30,000 Iraqis (according to Bush, or approximately 100,000 according to the British *Lancet* study) and over 2,000 Americans, and the consequential *cultivation* of Iraq as an international magnet for terrorists who oppose “U.S. military imperialism,” or what the think tank document self-describes and elaborates as a plan for “U.S.

(Continued on page 6)



*Why Do They Hate Us? (Continued from page 3)*

amazed that there's such misunderstanding of what our country is about that people would hate us. Like most Americans, I just can't believe it because I know how good we are" (Note 6).

Not even the Pentagon allowed that what US leaders do abroad might have something to do with inciting terrorism. A 1997 Defense Department Study concludes: "Historical data show a strong correlation between US involvement in international situations and an increase in terrorist attacks against the United States" (Note 7). Such "US involvement," it should be noted, often consists of a state-sponsored terrorism that attacks popular movements throughout the world, exterminating whole villages and killing labor leaders and workers, peasants, students, journalists, clergy, teachers, and anyone else who supports a more egalitarian social order within their own country.

Peoples throughout the world are also discomforted by a US military empire that possesses an unanswerable destructive capacity never before seen in human history. This global force consists of about half a million troops stationed at over 700 military bases in 56 nations; 8,000 strategic nuclear weapons and 22,000 tactical ones; and a navy greater in total tonnage and firepower than all the other navies of the world combined, consisting of missile cruisers, nuclear submarines, nuclear aircraft carriers, and destroyers that patrol every ocean.

US bomber squadrons and long-range missiles can reach any target, delivering enough explosive force to mangle the infrastructures of entire countries—as demonstrated against Iraq in 1990-91 and Yugoslavia in 1999. US satellites and spy planes sur-

vey the entire planet. In addition, the United States is developing a capacity to conduct war from outer space. With only five percent of the earth's population, the United States expends more military funds than all the other major powers combined (Note 8). Whole societies have been undermined and shattered not only by US military assaults, but by US sanctions and monetary policies that have imposed a debt peonage and poverty upon struggling nations. US sponsored terrorism---in the form of death squads, paramilitaries, US-supported invasions and occupations have taken millions of lives in scores of countries.

Maybe all this has something to do with why they hate us. But to consider such things in any detail is to get too close to the hypocrisies and hidden agendas that sustain the US global empire. Bush finds it more convenient to play the virtuous and misunderstood knight in shining armor puzzled by the ingratitude of those whom he purports to rescue.

NOTES:

1. *New York Times*, January 9, 1998. This and the next two citations were kindly provided to me by William Blum.
2. *Los Angeles Times*, November 13, 2002.
3. *The New York Times*, March 26, 1989.
4. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 January 2004.
5. Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God* (New York: Ecco, 2003).
6. *Boston Globe*, October 12, 2001.
7. US Department of Defense, Defense Science Board 1997 Summer Study Task Force on DOD Responses to Transnational Threats, October 1997, Final Report, Vol.1.

*(Continued on page 6)*



*Why Do They Hate Us? (Continued from page 5)*

<http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/trans.pdf>, cited in William Blum, "Myth and Denial in the War Against Terrorism" forthcoming article.

8. On US military spending, see *Defense Monitor* November/December 2003, publication of the Center for Defense Information, Washington, DC. On the US military empire, see the collection of articles in Carl Boggs (ed.) *Masters of War: Militarism and Blowback in the Era of American Empire* (New York/London: Routledge, 2003).

Michael Parenti's most recent books are *The Assassination of Julius Caesar* (New Press); *Superpatriotism* (City Lights); and soon to be published, *The Culture Struggle* (Seven Stories Press). For more information, visit his website: [www.michaelparenti.org](http://www.michaelparenti.org)

*The New McCarthyism (Continued from page 4)*

military preeminence" and "global dominance." At home, the casualties of 9/11, still being counted, include our civil liberties.

The USA Patriot Act, recently renewed by Congress, allows government officials to carry out investigation and interrogation of suspected domestic "terrorists." Without being formally charged, supplied evidence, or otherwise authorized in a court of law or even a public hearing, suspects can have their homes searched, telephones tapped, e-mail read, li-

brary and credit card records examined, and can be detained for up to 30 days. Those who have challenged this legislation, or the invasion of Iraq, are accused of being unpatriotic, or what amounts to being "soft on terrorism." The current level of expected uncritical and uninformed allegiance is contrary to a healthy citizenship in a democratic society founded in criticism of unjust authority and rebellion against it. However, the Connecticut librarians who recently opposed the renewal of the Patriot Act were silenced via a court-issued gag order.

What may be even more threatening to our civil liberties is the creeping "Academic Freedom" legislation that is being proposed gradually across the nation. For example, House Resolution 177, known as the "Academic Freedom Bill," is currently under consideration in the Pennsylvania General Assembly. If made law, the bill would establish a state committee to oversee the hiring, firing, curriculum content and political affiliation of faculty members at any Pennsylvania college or university receiving state funding. The committee would also handle student complaints of professorial bias, in which case the accused professor would have 48 hours to prepare a defense to be given before the committee in Harrisburg.

A number of other states—Ohio, Georgia, Florida, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Colorado, California, Washington and Tennessee, for example—have or are considering legislation that will redress the alleged liberal bias that allegedly dominates the nation's colleges and universities, and in the process is allegedly depriving conservative students of "academic freedom." The goal, it appears, is to establish nationwide legislative oversight of intellectual life, correcting for alleged inadequacies of educational administrators and meek right-wing students.

*(Continued on page 11)*



## The Soul of a Nation

The Soul of a nation  
is not the Cross  
that the Spanish colonialists implanted on its  
soil;  
nor is the presence of Gringo soldiers or ma-  
rines –  
a symbol of American imperialism.

The Soul of a nation  
is the struggle of a people  
against oppression and exploitation!

The Soul of a nation  
eloquently speaks in the clinched fists  
of men and women –  
boys and girls --  
expressing their indignation against the six  
U.S. marines  
who raped a 22-year old Filipina  
and dumped her unconscious, near-naked on  
the streets  
as if she was not a human being.

The collective political moral outrage  
of a nation  
expressed in militant demonstrations

staged on the streets in  
the Philippines  
Canada  
USA  
Europe  
Hong Kong  
elsewhere  
with slogans –  
“End American sexual terrorism in the Philip-  
pines”  
“End the Visiting Forces Agreement”  
that unconstitutionally brings  
American military forces on Philippine soil

Is the soul of a nation  
seeking justice  
for the injuries  
American imperialism  
has long inflicted on the Filipino people!

Ligaya Lindio-McGovern, Ph.D.  
November 10, 2005



*Gendered Politics (Continued from page 2)*

that must be crushed.

This has led to the current intensification of militarization. But despite its attempt to create this shifting ambiguity in its “war on terrorism” it comes out clearly that what the United States government wants is to preserve its imperial military presence in the Philippines in order to maintain imperial capital in the Asia Pacific region. By crushing the revolutionary movement in the Philippines that has a socialist and nationalist agenda that challenge imperialist capitalism in the Philippines, the U.S. will have a strong foothold in the region in advancing its neo-liberal agenda of globalization, often referred to as the “Washington consensus.”

### **Militarization**

The intensified militarization with consequent escalation of human rights violations in the Philippines has created hurdles in the political activism of the women’s movement organizations. For example, some leaders of GABRIELA, the militant national alliance of women’s organizations, have experienced military harassment and violence. Intensified militarization has also produced internal refugees as families flee from military operations in the villages. Some move to the urban areas creating economic pressures both for men and women, especially those with dependent children.

Intensified militarization has targeted peasant organizations that take militant actions for land reform that will alter the semi-feudal economy of the Philippines and obstruct the continuing transnational capitalist penetration of Philippine agricultural development. Hence, we have the recent Hacienda Luisita massacre of peasants who were legitimately demanding the land reform the government

promised them a decade ago.

Indigenous communities who resist the entry of transnational mining companies that will destroy their land and livelihood have also been counteracted by military repression and violence.

### **Consequent Economic Crisis and Diaspora**

The intensified economic crisis due to the complex politics of imperial plunder and war in the Philippines (which I can only superficially elucidate here) has created an economic diaspora of approximately eight million Filipinos in more than 160 countries, comprising mostly of women.

Women who migrate overseas for economic survival of their families become a source of cheap labor generally in the service sector of the economies of the richer nations. Domestic workers who were deployed in the war zones in the Middle East experienced being abandoned by their employers as they fled for their lives. In 2001, I was able to talk to some of these women who had to wait to be repatriated to the Philippines during the U.S. war on Afghanistan. Of all the migrant workers, the illegal and undocumented migrants are the most vulnerable.

They are the super-exploited since they are the most powerless. During times of war and

*(Continued on page 9)*

### **Progressive Sociologists Network**

If you would like to exchange views with like-minded colleagues (many of whom are members of the Marxist Section), join PSN-Progressive Sociologists Network list serve (over 700 people on the list worldwide).

Send an e-mail to:

[listproc@lists.Colorado.EDU](mailto:listproc@lists.Colorado.EDU) with the contents of the message being:

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*Gendered Politics (Continued from page 8)*

crises, illegal migrants are also the ones who are least likely to get government help. Such state response penalizes the victims. It does not address the root and structural causes of illegal emigration from economically depressed regions. They are concentrated in domestic service work where in the worksites they are vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse and economic exploitation. By concentrating these women in child care and elderly care (major tasks of domestic work) occupations, they and their country of origin are actually made to subsidize these services which otherwise should be subsidized by the migrant-receiving states. Hence, the labor-sending countries' resources and human labor are exploited as labor-importing countries increasingly privatize these services. I view this as a new form of internal colonialism.

### **Plundering Women's Bodies**

As poverty worsens from imperialist plunder, poor women become prey to sex trafficking, where their bodies are turned into profitable sex industry commodities at the service of rich countries. These women experience the intersection of gender and class in the social organization of the capitalist sex trade. As imperial America builds military bases in different parts of the world to maintain its military dominance to protect transnational capital, it is generally poor women who are made sexual servants of the patriarchal imperial army who (the major consumers of the sex industry around these U.S. military bases). The imperial army then is not only used to protect the plundering of resources and labor of the colonized or neo-colonized, but also to plunder women's bodies.

### **Weakening and Strengthening Transnational Feminism**

The increasing feminization of migrant labor contributes to the social construction of a transnational division of female labor where generally migrant women from poorer countries serve the households of richer nations as their professional or middle-class women get integrated into the formal wage economy. This creates class division among women, which is in the interest of capitalism. The feminization of migrant labor also splits the capitalist labor market in the core, imperialist, or richer countries based on gender, race, and class --- where Third World migrant women are occupationally segregated in low-paid, low prestige work, while the First World women and men seek the more privileged positions. Such segregation may result in downward occupational mobility for the college-educated or professionally-degreed migrant Third World women. Thus, capitalism sustains itself on gender, race/ethnicity, and class inequalities. This weakens the potential force of the women's international solidarity movement.

As women's international solidarity weakens, gendered imperialism and militarism triumph and women from imperial countries become allies in the plunder of poorer countries.

Hence, it becomes increasingly important in the politics of imperialism and war in the post-September 11th world, that international solidarity between First World and Third World women be strengthened to make transnational feminism a more potent and/or militant force towards building a better world with just peace. One important task of this transnational feminism is to challenge the imperial war machine whose task is to defend gendered capitalism.

*(Continued on page 10)*



*Gendered Politics (Continued from page 9)*

Lenin, V.I., quoted in Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.

See also Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995. Here she argues that “gender” is not just a “question of sexuality but also a question of subdued labor and imperial plunder” and that race which intersects with gender is “not simply a question of skin color but also a question of labor power, cross-hatched by gender” (p.5). She suggests the imperialism can be fully understood by incorporating a theory of gender power, that may explain the fact that men and women did not experience imperialism in the same.

See for example, Julian Go and Anne L. Foster. (Editors), *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003.

Deregulation refers to the minimization of state intervention in the economy, giving more rein to the capitalist market. Liberalization refers to the creation of borderless economies that will facilitate more freely the movement of transnational capital, goods, and services. Privatization allows for the elimination of state-owned enterprises and state subsidies on various services. These three reinforce each other, and ultimately benefit more the rich countries largely in control of capitalist globalization, referred to as the Group of Seven (G-7)—United States, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, Italy, France, and Canada.

The Abu-Sayyaf was a small group that operated mainly in southern Philippines and consisted of about 200 members, alleged by the US to be connected with the Al-Qaeda

network. According to some members of this group were known to be formerly trained by the US CIA. When they were abandoned after the Cold War, they allegedly resorted to kidnapping for ransom as a way to earn money. However, some of their rhetoric suggested that they were fighting for social justice from a government that neglected them. This shifting ambiguity was also applied when the US labeled the recently organized International League of Peoples’ Struggle, an international alliance of people’s organizations and non-governmental organizations convened in Holland about three years ago united under an anti-imperialist, anti-neoliberal globalization agenda and global social justice.

See also Sandra Pollock Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. New York: The New York Press, 1992.

**Biographical Note:** Author of *Filipino Peasant Women: Exploitation and Resistance* (University of Pennsylvania Press), Ligaya Lindio-McGovern is currently an Associate Professor of Sociology and Women’s Studies at Indiana University. Her current research is on Philippine labor export, gender and globalization and has published articles in these area. Email Address: [LMCGOVER@iuk.edu](mailto:LMCGOVER@iuk.edu) and [Ligayako29@aol.com](mailto:Ligayako29@aol.com).



*The New McCarthyism (Continued from page 6)*

Complicating claims that academic freedom bills, including HR 177, are nonpartisan initiatives intended to eliminate rather than promote political bias is the perspective of the primary initiator of HR 177. David Horowitz is publisher of Fox News-friendly FrontPage.com and president of the Center for the Study of Popular Culture (CSPC). Created in 1989, CSPC has received over \$13 million in grants from private sources through 2003. Between 2001 and 2003, for example, CSPC received \$1.67 million from The Bradley Foundation (which funds anti-labor, anti-corporate regulation and welfare-reform projects); and \$1.025 million from The Scaife Foundation (which is also a major funding source for the powerful right-wing think tank, The Heritage Foundation). Information about this is available on the Web site [www.aaupuc.org/horowitz.htm](http://www.aaupuc.org/horowitz.htm).

An offshoot of CSPC, also created by Horowitz, is the politically conservative national organization called Students for Academic Freedom. It has 150 campus chapters nationwide and coordinates grass-roots academic freedom bills.

In general, Horowitz is explicitly and vehemently anti-leftist, pro-Bush and pro-war on Iraq, and portrays anti-war dissenters as anti-American back-stabbers who are undermining the cause of freedom, jeopardizing national security and inviting more terrorism.

Further indicative of bias in the crusade for so-called "Academic Freedom" is the composition of the select committee charged with examining the academic atmosphere in Pennsylvania's public higher-educational institutions. It is composed of a majority of Republicans. An amendment to HR 177 was proposed that would require an equal number

of Democrats on the select committee, but was voted down by the Republican majority.

Playing a central role as initiator-activist of academic freedom bills, Horowitz testified before the Pennsylvania State House Select Committee at Temple University on Jan. 10. This hearing followed others that were held in Harrisburg and at the University of Pittsburgh. Two additional committee hearings will take place in central Pennsylvania in June.

One might imagine that intellectuals, nationwide, are speaking out in brief and at length based on their knowledge of growing injustices, and their sense of civic responsibility. As education leaders they may be countering and correcting for what they know is not "fair and balanced" in the media mainstream. If this is so, the solution is not censoring educators with intellectual and social conscience, but initiating broad societal changes that will bring integrity to the meanings of liberty, freedom and democracy.

Lastly, it is especially ominous when the same funding sources for the Project for the New American Century (The Scaife Foundation and the Olin Foundation) are two of the primary funding sources for Horowitz and his nationwide campaign for so-called academic freedom. Considering that college and university youth are the usual harbingers of social change, potential dynamite, or the trouble makers of society who may lead the way to something much better and equitable, it seems to me that so-called Academic Freedom Bills are no more than Orwellian doublespeak. They profess to empower students, while their actual objective is quelling youth dissent against an increasingly extremist, imperialist, and fascist-like agenda.

Link to United for Progress Radio Interview on subject: <http://www.unitedforprogress.com/index.php?act=guestRadio&cmd=rShowclip&id=149>.



**BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS**

**THE STRUCTURE AND  
EVOLUTION OF CHINESE  
STRAITIFICATION**

**By Li Yi**

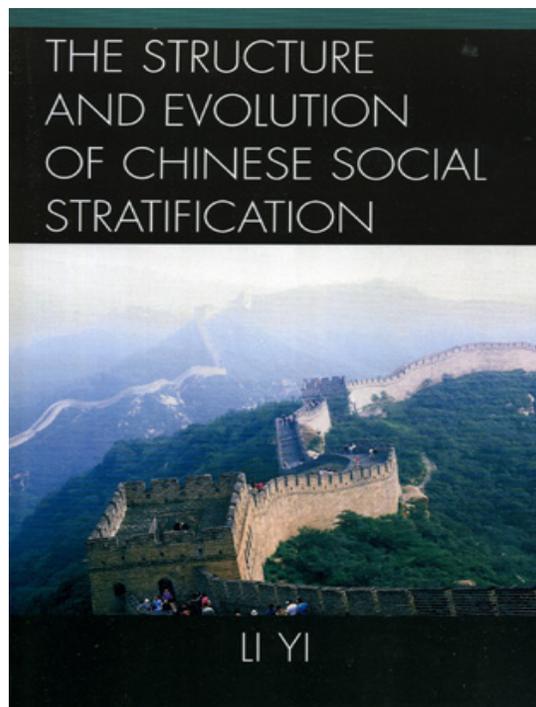
University Press of America  
\$35.00 Paper  
0-7618-3331-5  
November 2005 258 pp

There have been two great shifts of power on the world stage during the past five centuries: the rise of Europe following the Industrial Revolution, and the rise of the United States after its Civil War. As we speak, a new power shift is beginning to take shape: the rise of Asia. Leading Asia's charge toward the world's center stage is the reemerging powers of China and India. To answer and adapt to such new challenges, the United States must develop a thorough understanding of the society of China.

This book is a great groundbreaking work in China Studies. For generations, China scholars have pursued the structure of Chinese social stratification, but none has completely succeeded in constructing even a single, complete model.

The Annual Review of Sociology 2002 reported: "Insufficient research attention has been given to emerging social classes in rural and urban China and existing analysis are hampered by the still evolving nature of social and economic structures in which social classes are in the making. Thus, insightful analysis and reliable assessments are to be called for from future researchers" (page

9 8 ) .



The Structure and Evolution of Chinese Social Stratification has finally addressed this gap. Dr. Li provides detailed analysis critical to understanding the class structure of Chinese society, both pre-1949 and in the post-Mao era. His explanation of the origin, structure, and evolution of the model will be essential reading material for any introductory student of Chinese society.

<http://www.univpress.com/ISBN/0761833315>



BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS

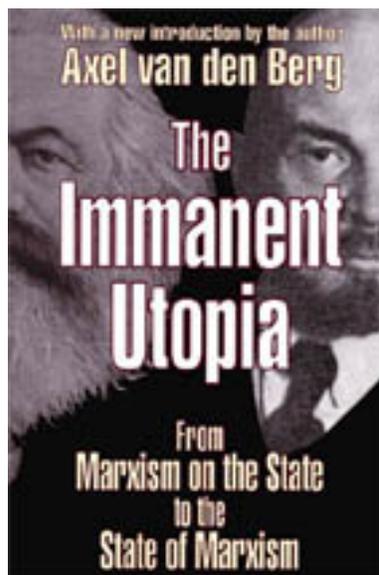
THE IMMANENT UTOPIA: FROM MARXISM ON THE STATE TO THE STATE OF MARXISM

by Axel van den Berg

The spectacular growth in the 1970s and 1980s of the Marxist literature on politics and the state in capitalist society was hailed at the time as cumulative proof of Marxism's success in producing an effective theory of the political superstructure. More generally, it was seen as confirmation of the health and vigor of Marxist theory. Axel van den Berg questions both of these claims. Through comprehensive analysis of Marxist thought on bourgeois politics and the state, from that produced by Marx himself on, van den Berg radically challenges the viability of a distinctly Marxist theory of the state and of recent Marxist theorizing in general.

In an exhaustive review of the literature, van den Berg shows that neo-Marxist theories are, for the most part, not empirically testable. To the extent that it is possible to draw any empirical implications from these theories at all, such implications are virtually indistinguishable from those of bourgeois theories. Van den Berg proceeds to lay bare the contradiction at the heart of Marxist theory in general: it presupposes the viability and desirability of some ideal socialist society yet its anti-utopian insistence that all criticisms of capitalism must rest on foundations immanent in capitalism itself prohibits any open discussion of such a utopia. Now available in paperback, this is a fundamental work for political and social theorists.

"This work is brilliant in its polemical courage, its originality, and its detailed and revealing examination of texts. Van den Berg demon-



strates that postwar Marxist political theory and sociology is not only vague and contradictory but that it actually makes critical concessions to the bourgeois thought it claims to surpass. Appearing in

the midst of afar-reaching reconsideration of the Marxism project in Europe, this volume crystallizes these issues for North American social science" (Jeffrey Alexander, University of California, Los Angeles).

"Van den Berg has made a major contribution to the long overdue relegation of Marxism to the museum of nineteenth-century ideological antiquities." (Dennis Wrong, Contemporary Sociology)

Axel van den Berg is a Dutch-Canadian professor of sociology at McGill University in Montreal. His most recent work is The Social Sciences and Rationality.

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## BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS

### THE HATE HANDBOOK

by Martin Oppenheimer

“This ‘handbook’ is not about how to hate,” says author Martin Oppenheimer, emeritus professor of sociology at Rutgers University. “It’s about understanding why people hate, how their victims fight back, and what ordinary folks can do to diminish bigotry and violence.”

Just released in paperback by Lexington Books, *The Hate Handbook* examines social movements from Nazis, white supremacists and anti-immigrant hate mongers to today’s suicide bombers. Oppenheimer exposes the alibis commonly employed to justify abusive behavior whether it’s done by governments, political or religious causes, demagogues or your friends and neighbors. Stereotyping a nation’s minorities, using sex to oppress, feeding off conspiracy theories, trivializing abuse including torture. Oppenheimer deftly describes the universal patterns employed by those who hate.

Reviewers have praised the book’s “combination of sophistication and accessibility,” and “the foundation it offers for developing effective remedies.”

This latest work by Oppenheimer continues his lifelong study of social movements, including *The Urban Guerrilla* (1968), *White Collar Politics* (1985), and *The State in Modern Society* (2000), winner of an American Sociological Association Marxist section “best book” award. A lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, Oppenheimer, a Princeton-area resident for 35 years, teaches and writes about civil rights, political move-

ments, and issues related to social class, inequality, and labor..

[Marty is a member of the editorial board of *Critical Sociology*.]

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