

# **SOCIALIST REGISTER 1992**

Edited by  
**RALPH MILIBAND**  
and **LEO PANITCH**

**THE MERLIN PRESS  
LONDON**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	vii
The New World Order and the Socialist Agenda Leo <b>Panitch</b> and Ralph <b>Miliband</b>	1
Global <i>Perestroika</i> Robert W. Cox	26
Globalization – To What End? Harry <b>Magdoff</b>	44
Global but Leaderless? The New Capitalist Order Andrew Glyn and Bob Sutcliffe	76
The Collapse of Liberalism Immanuel Wallerstein	96
Security and Intelligence in the Post-Cold War World Reg Whitaker	111
US Military Policy in the Post-Cold War Era Michael T. <b>Klare</b>	131
Europe in a Multi-Polar World John Palmer	143
The Emerging World Order and European Change Stephen Gill	157
Japan in a New World Order Makoto <b>Itoh</b>	197
Africa: The Politics of Failure Basil Davidson	

<b>The Gulf War and the New World Order</b> Avishai Ehrlich	227
<b>Ruptured Frontiers: The Transformation of the US–Latin American System</b> Roger Burbach	239
<b>Post-Communist Anti-Communism: America's New Ideological Frontiers</b> Joel Kovel	254
<b>Hollywood's War on the World: The New World Order as Movie</b> Scott Forsyth	270

## PREFACE

Like its predecessors in recent years, this twenty eighth volume of *The Socialist Register* has one theme, the so-called new world order. All the essays in the volume deal in various ways with the immense changes which have been occurring in the world since the eighties: in particular with the nature, extent and impact of the 'globalization' of capital; the fact that the United States has turned into the only 'super-power', paralleled however by its own loss of economic hegemony and its multiple internal crises; the emergence of Germany as the predominant power in Europe and of Japan in Asia; the worsening of conditions in most of the 'third world'; the shift of the ex-Communist countries towards peripheral capitalism.

In the first article, the editors examine some of these changes and the prospects which, notwithstanding neo-liberal 'triumphalism', they offer for a socialist revival. The next three essays – by Robert Cox, Harry Magdoff, Andrew Glyn and Bob Sutcliffe – present searching analyses of the political economy of the 'new world order'; and the following three essays – by Immanuel Wallerstein, Reg Whitaker and Michael Klare – discuss from different angles the role of nation states in global capitalism. The following six essays are concerned with the 'regional' aspects of global change – John Palmer and Stephen Gill with the European Community, Makoto Itoh with Japan, Basil Davidson with Africa, Avishai Ehrlich with the Gulf War and the Middle East, and Roger Burbach with the relationship between the United States and Canada and Latin America. Finally, the last two essays, by Joel Klare and Scott Forsyth discuss some ideological and cultural dimensions of the dilemmas confronting the United States in the 'new world order'.

Both Robert Cox and Stephen Gill teach international political economy at York University, Toronto; Harry Magdoff is co-editor of *Monthly Review*, New York; Andrew Glyn is a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Bob Sutcliffe teaches economics at the University of Bilbao. Immanuel Wallerstein is Director of the Fernand Braudel Center at the State University of New York at Binghamton; Reg Whitaker is Professor of Political Science at York University, Toronto, and Michael Klare is

Director of the Program in Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College, Amhurst, Mass. John Palmer is European Correspondent of The Guardian; Makoto **Itoh** is Professor of Economics at the University of Tokyo; Basil Davidson is a distinguished writer on African affairs; Avishai Ehrlich teaches in the Sociology Department at the University of Tel-Aviv and Roger Burbach is Director of the Center for the Study of the Americas in Berkeley, California. Joel Kovel is Alger Hiss Professor of Social Studies at Bard College in New York State, and Scott Forsyth teaches Film and Video Studies in Toronto and is co-editor of Cine Action.

We are very grateful to our contributors for their help; and we wish to stress, as usual, that neither our contributors nor the editors necessarily agree with everything that appears in the volume. We also wish to thank Robert Albritton for his help with the editing of Professor **Itoh's** essay; and we also acknowledge with many thanks the help of Martin Eve, of Merlin Press, in producing this volume.

February 1992

L.P.  
R.M.