

homeless advocacy movement and led to political compromise. Chief among these, of course, has been the movement's inability to address the structural causes of modern homelessness. Much to the advocates' dismay, this failure has limited them to some very temporary policy interventions.

My one quibble with this narrative is a matter of emphasis. Many advocates used to say that the solution to homelessness was "housing, housing, and more housing." Although Hopper does not employ this rhetoric, he does underemphasize the extent to which modern homelessness reflects an affordability gap, which consists as much of falling wages as it does of the rising costs for housing. But this criticism falls on the margins. In every other respect, he has written a fine book that deserves a wide audience.

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REFERENCE

Ellen Baxter and Kim Hopper, *Private Lives/Public Spaces* (New York: The Community Service Society, 1981).

IMPLICATING EMPIRE: GLOBALIZATION AND RESISTANCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY WORLD ORDER. Stanley Aronowitz and Heather Gautney (Editors). *New York, Basic Books, 354 pp., paper.*

When you hear members of the Bush neo-con brain trust write, "What is wrong with dominance, in the service of sound principles and high ideals?" or hear the Bush administration's "National Security Strategy of the United States of America," calling for American military power to remain "beyond challenge"—it's difficult to argue that we are not talking about empire building here. But we're also talking a response to *Empire*, the book and high-theory tome, by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. A short essay of theirs and twenty others are featured in the anthology *Im-*

Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century World Order, edited by Stanley Aronowitz and Heather Gautney. This, of course, is another reason why *Implicating Empire* is so compelling. The obsequious near 500 pages of Hardt and Negri's previous work is quickly finding its place alongside the *Closing of the American Mind* as the most talked about unread book of the decade. On the other hand, Hardt and Negri's essay on empire as monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy here, like many of the others featured, is imminently inviting and intriguing. The essays in *Implicating Empire* offer a readable and substantive primer on a political landscape that has remained in constant flux between the Battle of Seattle in 1999 and War on Terror beginning in 2001 (really since the fall of the Berlin Wall for that matter). *Implicating Empire* is a collection of works by 21 preeminent intellectuals who critically examine the future of globalization and resistance and the ways these concepts have shifted the way political work and analysis is done. Its editors, Stanley Aronowitz and Heather Gautney, both of the City University of New York Graduate Center, combine their work as scholars and activists in striking ways. Their collection breathes life into a topic which has produced far too much superficiality in the mainstream press, a crude one-size-fits-all anti-imperial analysis on the left, and lacked the style, narrative grace, or critical arch presented herein.

At issue here are a number of compelling themes: the role of democracy in an era of corporate control, the sustainability of anti-poverty and environmental work in an era of neo liberal economic policy, and the challenge of turning globalization into a tool of resistance. Manning Marable's wonderful essay, "Racism in a Time of Terror," begins the volume by taking us back to a far away time—the days right after the 2001 terrorist bombings in New York City. In his unassuming way, Marable lays out the evidence, one bit at a time, about the use of race and the question of otherness in American political history, especially as it plays out within the new era of dissident, terrorist, and racial profiling. Americans are, of course, dependent on the idea of otherness, of blackness, to define themselves. And it's here that Marable digs below the surface of a political debate, which has often become stale in the mainstream press. By looking at economic, social, and psychological dynamics of otherness in relationship to the end of the Cold War and the rise of the War on Terrorism, he opens new spaces for us to consider the ways the Bush administration is orchestrating its wars on Iraq, Afghanistan, and American consciousness. "Perhaps the most dangerous element of the Bush administration's current campaign against democratic rights has been the deliberate manipulation of mass public hysteria," Marable explains,

pointing out that 1.9 million new prescriptions of Zoloft, Prozac and other anti-depressants were filled after the terrorist attack. “The American public has been bombarded daily by a series of media-orchestrated panic attacks, focusing on everything from the potential threat posed by crop-dusting attacks being used for ‘bio-terrorism,’ to anthrax-contaminated packages delivered through the U.S. postal service” (p. 9). Thus panic is used as an elite engineered tool for the control and manipulation of public space and opinion.

The editors lay out a number of policy questions and dilemmas involved within the War on Terror’s replacement of the Cold War as America’s permanent threat. “In service of the new militarism, all other concerns, including poverty and constitutional protections such as civil liberties and civil rights—indeed, the right to dissent from official policy—are not only subordinate to the advancing war machine but have become suspect on patriotic grounds” (p. XXX). From here the editors open up a new space for scholars of social welfare policy to redirect poverty studies. For Bush, the War on Terror includes a war on women, poor people, unions, civil liberties, and a social safety net for those in need. It is difficult to imagine the question of anti poverty work without considering the interconnection of globalization with social, political, and economic life. Thus globalization becomes the “context within which future struggles will be waged and alliances forged.” As labor, church, AIDS, and women’s groups coalesce to form a broad-based peace movement, new spaces for political work and organizing are already emerging.

The vexing question that runs throughout the volume is how to best create a realistic model for organizing a democratic resistance and workable alternatives. Current political structures after all allowed a corporate sponsored government to turn a weak hand into a war without a mandate. Hardt and Negri and number of other authors suggest that local sovereignty and democracy are subordinated to prerequisites of the transnational market. The question is how to best respond. David Graeber, a Yale anthropologist and frequent presence in anti-authoritarian organizing circles in New York City, suggests rejecting formal political channels and leadership in favor of organizing from the bottom up. Thus citizens access their own potential as organizers, a point those in power would hope organizers would not believe possible: self-organization in action. “The very notion of direct action—with its rejection of a politics of protest (which would appeal to those in power to modify their behavior) in favor of efforts to physically intervene against power in a form that itself prefigures an alternative to its very existence—emerges directly from the libertarian tradition . . .” (p. 326), Graeber writes. It’s a

beautiful sentence. Yet the question remains, does this mean when activists block a street that they're challenging a liberal model of protest's very existence? Earlier in the essay, Graeber acknowledges that the complex synergies between reformist groups (NGOs) and radical politics have produced some of the global justice movement's greatest successes. And while there is a potential for protests that become a socially transformative ritual as opposed to the status quo-reinforcing ceremony, people still have needs on the ground. People still get hungry. They still need housing, food, and services provided by NGOs funded by the state.

Reconciling direct democracy and community building with unregulated corporate globalization is a difficult task—part of a conversation that may be with us for a long time.

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NOTE

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POVERTY KNOWLEDGE: SOCIAL SCIENCE, SOCIAL POLICY, AND THE POOR IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY U.S. HISTORY. Alice O'Connor. *Princeton University Press: 2001.*

Whether the poor will “always be with us,” it now seems our fate to have policy wonks always among us. At least in the twentieth century, “slicing, dicing” and counting the poor, analyzing their behavior, and prescribing policy changes has become a major industry, funded by gov-

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