ANSWERS TO
NAYAR/MARTIN

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The Permutation

Permute – combine the global action of the plan with the grassroots nature of the alternative. Only by globalizing our movement can we combat dangerous forms of globalization.

Boaventura de Sousa **Santos**, director of the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra, Summer 3/20/**03**, http://eserver.org/bs/63/santos.html

In opposition to this, there is the ongoing movement of globalization from below, the global struggle for social justice, led by social movements and NGOs, of which the World Social Forum (WSF) has been an eloquent manifestation. The WSF has been a remarkable affirmation of life, in its widest and most inclusive sense, embracing human beings and nature. What challenges does it face before the increasingly intimate interpenetration of the globalization of the economy and that of war?

I am convinced that this new situation forces the globalization from below to re-think itself, and to reshape its priorities. It is well-known that the WSF, at its second meeting, in 2002, identified the relationship between economic neoliberalism and imperial warmongering, which is why it organized the World Peace Forum, the second edition of which took place in 2003. But this is not enough. A strategic shift is required. Social movements, no matter what their spheres of struggle, must give priority to the fight for peace, as a necessary condition for the success of all the other struggles. This means that they must be in the frontline of the fight for peace, and not simply leave this space to be occupied solely by peace movements. All the movements against neoliberal globalization are, from now on, peace movements. We are now in the midst of the fourth world war (the third being the Cold War) and the spiral of war will go on and on. The principle of non-violence that is contained in the WSF Charter of Principles must no longer be a demand made on the movements; now it must be a global demand made by the movements. This emphasis is necessary so that, in current circumstances, the celebration of life can be set against this vertiginous collective suicide. The peace to be fought for is not a mere absence of war or of terrorism. It is rather a peace based upon the elimination of the conditions that foster war and terrorism: global injustice, social exclusion, cultural and political discrimination and oppression and imperialist greed.

A new, cosmopolitan humanism can be built above and beyond Western illuminist abstractions, a humanism of real people based on the concrete resistance to the actual human suffering imposed by the real axis of evil: neoliberalism plus war.

Perm solvency

The only way to challenge dangerous globalization is to globalize our own movement
Boaventura de Sousa **Santos**, director of the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra, Summer **02**, *Rutgers Law Review*

The two other forms of globalization - cosmopolitanism and common heritage of humankind - are what I call counter-hegemonic globalizations. All over the world the hegemonic processes of exclusion are being met with different forms of resistance - grassroots initiatives, local organizations, popular movements, transnational advocacy networks, new forms of labor internationalism - that try to counteract social exclusion. These resistance movements open up spaces for democratic participation, community building, and alternatives to dominant forms of development and knowledge, in sum, for social inclusion. These local-global linkages and cross-border activism constitute a new transnational democratic movement. After the demonstrations in Seattle against the World Trade Organization in November, 1999, those in Prague against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in September, 2000, and the two meetings of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil (2001, 2002), this movement is becoming a new component of international politics and, more generally, part of a new progressive political culture. The new local-global advocacy networks focus on a wide variety of issues: human rights, environment, ethnic and sexual discrimination, biodiversity, labor standards, alternative protection systems, indigenous rights, etc. n9

This new "activism beyond borders" constitutes an emergent paradigm which, following Ulrich Beck, we could call a transnational, emancipatory sub-politics, the political Geist of counter-hegemonic globalizations. The credibility of the transnational sub-politics is still to be established, and its sustainability is an open question. If we measure its influence and success in light of the following four levels - issue creation and agenda setting; changes in the rhetoric of the decision-makers; institutional changes; effective impact on concrete policies - there is enough evidence to say that it has been successful [*1056] in confronting hegemonic globalization at the two first levels of influence. It remains to be seen how successful it will be, and within what span of time, at the two last and more demanding levels of influence.

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Perm (5)

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Permutation solves — action must be
both global and local

This problem is well recognised by sophisticated globalists
such as Richard Falk and Johan Galtung. They favour a
weakening and superseding of state power by simultaneously
strengthening initiatives at local and global levels. Local
organisations and campaigns can be linked in networks across
state boundaries, and global organisations can be constituted
independently of states, as in the case of global organisations
of scholars, war resisters or amateur musicians. Global
organisations, or individuals or groups constituted
independently of states, provide valuable support for local
initiatives, and vice versa.

Where this viewpoint runs into some trouble is in spelling out
what sort of powers global organisations would have in setting
frameworks or providing administration. Surely it is desirable
to provide guidance at a global level for regulating the input of
carbon dioxide into the atmosphere from burning fossil fuels,
or for providing assistance to disaster-stricken areas. But what
procedures should be used for creating and operating groups on
such vital topics? How are they to be made properly
representative and accountable? Are their recommendations to
be enforced in any way?

The arguments of the globalists may sound good, but how are
their proposals to be implemented? In the end, they seem to
rely on the power of ideas. Just like the conservatives, the
globalists have not done enough in terms of developing
strategies.

Nevertheless, the key insight of the globalist-localist advocates
is an important one: that local groups and initiatives should be
linked non-hierarchically with other groups and initiatives
throughout the world. Action groups often operate strictly
within the framework and perspective of a single state. The
globalist orientation can help broaden the view of local
activists. Likewise, the involvement of individuals and local
organisations in global initiatives helps break down tendencies
towards elitism in global organisations.

Baroque Subjectivity Turns

Putting traditional images on radical ideas energizes the movement by reigniting passions for resistance that have been consumed by hegemonic dominance – it will finally shatter that system by recreating fractured subjectivities into our radical image

Boaventura de Sousa **Santos**, director of the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra, Summer **02**, *Rutgers Law Review*

Baroque subjectivity has a very special relationship with forms. The geometry of baroque subjectivity is not Euclidean; it is fractal. Suspension of forms results from the extreme uses to which they are put: Maravall's extremosidad. n49 As regards baroque subjectivity, forms are the exercise of freedom par excellence. The great importance of the exercise of freedom justifies that forms be treated with extreme seriousness, though the extremism may result in the destruction of the forms themselves. The reason why Michelangelo is rightly considered one of baroque's forefathers is, according to W<um o>lfflin, "because he treated forms with a **violence,** a terrible seriousness which could only find expression in formlessness." n50 This is what Michelangelo's contemporaries called terribilita. n51 The extremism in the use of forms is grounded on a will to grandiosity that is also the will to astound so well formulated by Bernini: "Let no one speak to me of what is small." n52 Extremism may be exercised in many different ways, to highlight simplicity or even asceticism as well as exuberance and extravagance, as Maravall has pointed out. Baroque extremism allows for ruptures emerging out of apparent continuities and keeps the forms in a permanently unstable **state** of bifurcation, in Prigoggine's terms. n53 One of the most eloquent examples is Bernini's "The Mystical Ecstasy of Santa Teresa." In this sculpture, St. Teresa's expression is dramatized in such a way that the most intensely religious representation of the saint is one with the profane representation of a woman enjoying a deep orgasm. The representation of the sacred glides surreptitiously into the representation of the sacrilegious. Extremism of forms alone allows baroque subjectivity to entertain the turbulence and excitement necessary to continue the struggle for emancipatory causes, in a world in which emancipation has been collapsed into or absorbed by hegemonic regulation. To speak of extremism is to speak of archeological excavation into the regulatory magma in order to retrieve emancipatory fires, no matter how dim.

The same extremism that produces forms also devours them. This voracity takes on two forms: sfumato and mestizaje. In baroque painting, sfumato is the blurring of outlines and colors amongst objects, as clouds and mountains, or the sea and the sky. Sfumato allows baroque subjectivity to create the near and the familiar among different intelligibilities, thus making cross-cultural dialogues possible and desirable. For instance, only by resorting to sfumato is it [*1069] possible to give form to configurations that combine Western human rights with other conceptions of human dignity existing in other cultures. n54 The coherence of monolithic constructions disintegrates, its free-floating fragments remain open to new coherences and inventions of new multicultural forms. Sfumato is like a magnet that attracts the fragmentary forms into new constellations and directions, appealing to their most vulnerable, unfinished, open-ended contours. Sfumato is, in sum, an antifortress militancy. <continues on next page>

Baroque Subjectivity (continued)

Mestizaje, in its turn, is a way of pushing sfumato to its utmost, or extreme. While sfumato operates through disintegration of forms and retrieval of fragments, mestizaje operates through the creation of new forms of constellations of meaning, which are truly unrecognizable or blasphemous in light of their constitutive fragments. Mestizaje resides in the destruction of the logic that presides over the formation of each of its fragments, and in the construction of a new logic. This productive-destructive process tends to reflect the power relations among the original cultural forms (that is, among their supporting social groups) and this is why baroque subjectivity favors the mestizajes in which power relations are replaced by shared authority (mestiza authority). Latin America has provided a particularly fertile soil for mestizaje, and so the region is one of the most important excavation sites for the construction of baroque subjectivity. n55

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Work w/i System

£ 15

Must work within the system.

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London: Freedom Press, 19**90**

Campaigns concerning bureaucracy are much more likely to be effective if they involve coordinated efforts by people both inside and outside the bureaucracy. Insiders know what is going on first-hand: work conditions, power structures, attitudes, avenues for intervention. They can provide valuable information to outsiders, can advise on what tactics might be misdirected or counterproductive, and can sound out ideas informally. Outsiders have much greater freedom to act without putting their careers in jeopardy. They can take overt stands not safe for insiders to take. Outsiders also can have a wider picture of the role of particular bureaucracies, and are closer in tune with community perceptions.

Insider-outsider links help ensure that campaigns are broad based, and prevent polarisation of attitudes. In many social movements, there is a strong tendency to label all those who are involved with oppressive structures as automatically supporters of the 'enemy' and therefore beyond salvation. This can include government bureaucrats, soldiers, police, corporation managers and political party workers. The result of accepting this attitude and adopting polarising methods is that the insiders close ranks against the attack by the outsiders. Any hope of changing the structure, whether government bureaucracy, army, police forces, corporations or political party structure, is squandered. Treating insiders as potential and indeed essential supporters, and building links with them, helps overcome this counterproductive polarisation.

Must work w/in the system

Working within the System Solves

Dressing up our movement in the images of the oppressor is an effective means for social change

Boaventura de Sousa **Santos**, director of the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra, Summer **02**, *Rutgers Law Review*

And now, finally, the third emancipatory feature of the baroque feast: subversion. By carnivalizing social practices, the baroque feast displays a subversive potential that increases as the feast distances itself from the centers of power, but that is always there, even when the centers of power themselves are the promoters of the feast. Little [*1072] wonder, then, that this subversive feature was much more noticeable in the colonies. Writing about carnival in the 1920's, the great Peruvian intellectual Mariategui asserted that, even though it had been appropriated by the bourgeoisie, carnival was indeed revolutionary, because, by turning the bourgeois into a wardrobe, it was a merciless parody of power and the past. n63 Garcia de Leon also describes the subversive dimension of baroque feasts and religious processions in the Mexican port of Vera Cruz in the seventeenth century. n64 Up front marched the highest dignitaries of the viceroyalty in their full regalia - politicians, clergymen and military men; at the end of the procession followed the populace, mimicking their betters in gesture and attire, and thus provoking laughter and merriment among the spectators. n65 This symmetrical inversion at the beginning and the end of the procession is a cultural metaphor for the upside-down world - el mundo al reves - which was typical of Vera Cruz sociability at the time: "mulattas" dressed up as queens, slaves wore silk garments, whores pretended to be honest women and honest women pretended to be whores; Africanized Portuguese and Indianized Spaniards. n66 This mundo al reves is also celebrated by Oswald de Andrade in Anthropophagous Manifesto: "But we have never admitted to the birth of logic among us ... Only where there is mystery is there no determinism. But what have we to do with this? We have never been catechized. We live in a sleepwalking law. We made Christ be born in Bahia. Or in Belem-Para." n67

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War is inneuitable as long
as the military exists.

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and
Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London:
Freedom Press, 19**90**

Military defence can provide a deterrent against the outbreak of
war. But military defence provides absolutely no basis for
eliminating the war system, and indeed helps perpetuate it.
Among those who argue the need for military defence, there is
no attention to strategies for eliminating war permanently.
Essentially, war is seen to be an inevitable, if undesirable,
feature of human society. War is seen to be a lesser evil
compared to the weakening of national sovereignty, or
compared to allowing the dominance of socialism, capitalism
or some other enemy or evil.

War is
inneuitable
as long
as the
military
exists.

Who are those who accept military defence without
fundamental questioning? Military planners, of course, but also
just about everyone else. Large numbers of those in 'antiwar
movements' do not question military defence in any

fundamental way. Some thinkers in peace movements favour a
reduced number of nuclear weapons: 'minimum deterrence.'
Even among those who want to eliminate nuclear weapons
entirely, there is widespread (though usually unstated) support
for conventional military defence. 1

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Global Ordering and the State

Wave I

AT: Martin

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9/15

Social Movements are Extremely Vulnerable to Failure

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London: Freedom Press, 19**90**

Sparking a social movement does not automatically provide a strategy for the movement, nor even a clear set of goals. The problem of mobilising against the roots of war is more than the problem of stimulating people to become concerned about an issue. The more difficult problem is to create possible avenues for involvement and action which are both attractive and effective.

Consider the situation of isolated individuals or small groups who are committed to trying to tackle the roots of war. They have thought out their goals and methods, and have a tentative strategy, for example promoting social defence, peace conversion or self-management. The question of mobilisation then is, how should actions or campaigns be designed to stimulate greater commitment and participation towards the goals of the activists? In the usual situation, much more than a spark is needed to launch a social movement. A patient process of developing goals, strategies and participation is required.

I have assumed that the groups are small and weak. If they are large and strong, mobilisation is not such a problem, though other difficult problems are likely to exist. At the current time, it should be realised that structure-challenging movements are

(very weak) Some social movements, such as the peace movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and in the 1980s, can boast a high level of participation and public sympathy. But only a small fraction of activities even at these times systematically challenge the underpinnings of war.

Furthermore, even large and apparently strong social movements and cultures may be vulnerable to attack by opposition forces. The European socialist and antiwar movement was smashed after the outbreak of World War One, and the bulk of left political activism and culture in the United States succumbed to cold war suppression in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Social activists should not mislead themselves that they are in a powerful position. Almost always they are not.

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*Non-violence is a prevention,
not a cure*

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and
Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London:
Freedom Press, 19**90**

Neg

Social Def.
is a prevent
not a cure.

[Nonviolent action is much more effective *before* a conflict
reaches the stage of violence. Once violence erupts, it may
seem too late for a nonviolent response. Just like military
defence, social defence is a better solution when war is
prevented rather than being fought. It is not surprising that
some of the most persistent objections to social defence are
along the lines "How could it possibly work against Hitler or
Stalin?" Nonviolent resistance did have some successes against
the Nazis. And it should be remembered that military means
only succeeded against Nazi military might after one of the
greatest mobilisations of human resources in history, and that
military approaches did little to prevent or restrain Stalinism. It
remains to be seen what social defence could do against such
repressive regimes. But while comparisons are all very well,
the problem remains that as a prescription for the problem of

war, social defence is better as prevention than cure. One
implication for antiwar strategy is to emphasise nonviolent
deterrence and preparation for social defence, and not to
promise short-term successes before social defence is widely
adopted.]

Alternative fails

Grassroots mobilization fails because
of common pitfalls.

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and
Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London:
Freedom Press, 19**90**

Grassroots
Mob. fails
b/c of
Common
pitfalls.

The basic problem in grassroots mobilisation is how to develop
a continuing political practice which remains democratic and
participatory and which also works to overturn structures. The
standard activist approach, which involves lurching from rally
to rally or to some other action with periods of inertia between,
is inadequate because it pursues no programme for structural
challenge and reconstruction. The standard alternative,
involvement in a political party with a definite programme,
usually involves a political practice oriented to lobbying,
elections and elite power struggles which reinforce rather than
challenge dominant structures. The gap between these two
approaches needs filling, but many questions and action and
organisation remain to be answered.

Non-violence can't solve the military

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and
Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London:
Freedom Press, 19**90**

How will mass expansion of preparedness to use social defence
occur? What happens after the idea becomes popular? How is
social defence to be institutionalised? How are decisions to be
made in a large social defence network? What are military

workers to do? (Be unemployed? Be social defence activists?
Be trained in social defence as part of military training?) Who
will handle negotiations with government and military elites in
struggles to switch from military to social defence? These and
other unanswered questions show that the development of
social defence is at a stage where much more analysis,
discussion and practical experience is needed.

Neg

Social Def.
Not Dev.d
enough.

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Global Ordering
+ the state AFF
Wave I

Non- violence
Bad.

13/15

Non-Violence Fails

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London: Freedom Press, 19**90**

Non-violence Fails.

A sizeable portion of symbolic nonviolent action is aimed directly at elites, in an attempt to prick the consciences of individual elites. This use of nonviolent action suffers the same defect as other methods of influencing elites: the structures of the war system are not addressed, but instead reaffirmed through a focus on the decision-making role of those at the top.

(Protest + civil disobed)

More important is the role of demonstrations, vigils and acts of civil disobedience in bringing the issues to the attention of the public. The actions show that a deep moral concern is felt by at least some people, and that public opposition is an available option. But these techniques do not, or at least have not yet, become part of the lives of the bulk of the populace. The act of protesting is something that may happen today, but if not organisationally anchored it may well be gone tomorrow. Furthermore, protest and civil disobedience may not in themselves overcome the powerlessness felt by many individuals nor allay the fears of foreign attack felt by many others.

Non-violence is viable but extremely difficult

Brian **Martin**, associate professor in Science, Technology and
Society at the University of Wollongong, Uprooting War, London:
Freedom Press, 19**90**

1 One alternative to military defence is social defence which, in
short, is nonviolent community resistance to aggression. After
describing social defence briefly, I will focus on its key
characteristics as a part of a strategy for eliminating the roots
of war. Then I will discuss ways of promoting social defence as
part of a grassroots strategy against war. Finally, I will raise
some of the problems and limitations of social defence.

*Social
Defence =
viable but
difficult
@4/t.*

What is social defence?

Social defence is nonviolent community resistance to
aggression as an alternative to military defence. It is based on
widespread political, economic and social noncooperation in
order to oppose military aggression or political repression. It
uses methods such as boycotts, refusals to obey, strikes,
demonstrations, and setting up of alternative social, political
and economic institutions.
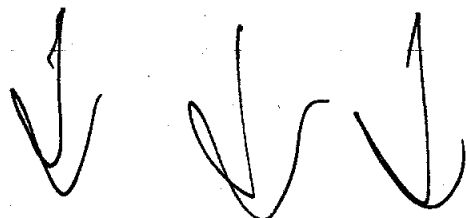
Social defence is based on the principle that no regime, whether democracy or military dictatorship, can survive without the passive support or nonresistance of a large fraction of the population. Since social defence relies on resistance by large sections of the population, it can be considered to be the nonviolent equivalent of guerrilla warfare.

A key part of social defence is an attempt to win over soldiers and civilians in the aggressor country. The appeal to them is bolstered by the broad base of support required for social defence, by its nonviolence, and by the justice of its cause. The methods of social defence aim to promote disunity and to weaken morale in the aggressing forces and country.

Social defence is not automatically successful, just as military defence is not automatically successful. Its effectiveness can be improved by planning and practice in advance. Although social defence is based entirely on nonviolent methods, violence and suffering caused by the aggressors are still likely. Social defence is not an easy alternative.