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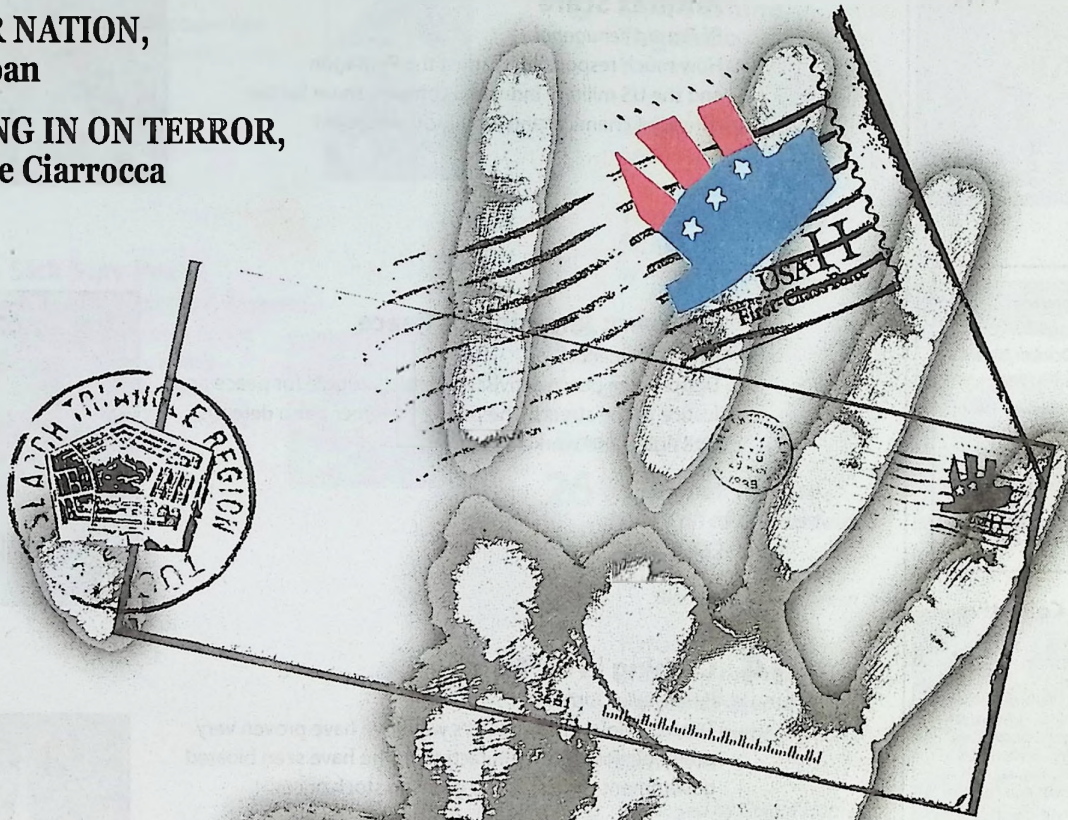
JANUARY 2003

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SOCIALIST VISIONS,
Tony Kushner

SNIPER NATION,
Don Sloan

CASHING IN ON TERROR,
Michelle Ciarrocca



POSTMARK PENTAGON

ORIGINS OF THE ANTHRAX SCARE

2003

January

Attention Libraries:

Volume 81, no. 9-10, September-October 2002, no. 11, November 2002, and no. 12, December 2002 were incorrectly numbered. The correct numbering is as follows: September-October 2002 is 9, November 2002 is 10, and December 2002 is 11.

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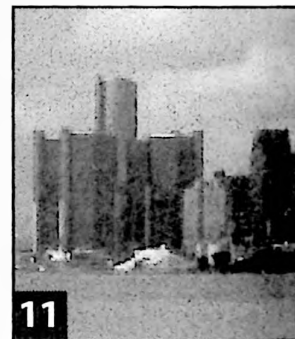
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One of the Best New York, NY

The November 2002 edition, "Left Imprints: 2002 Review of Books," is one of the best *Political Affairs* I've ever read. The book reviews are concise, timely and whet the appetite. The books chosen are especially interesting to people concerned with social, economic and political justice.

I plan on going to the bookstore as soon as my finances allow. I'm especially excited to read *Exiles From a Future Time: The Forging of the Mid-Twentieth Century Literary Left*.

As a youth, I really appreciated Joel Wendland's review of this book. It opens many doors. A book about Communist writers and Communist-led cultural groups is long overdue, especially for young folks interested in continuing that cultural tradition.

To see these types of critical and sympathetic books being published gives me hope that academia will shift toward a more objective analysis of leftist history. Maybe that shift is taking place now.

If so, *Political Affairs* has, with "Left Imprints," helped facilitate it.

Tony Pecinovsky



Frances Perkins' Legacy Cornwall, NY

Thank you for your review of Kate Weigand's book *Red Feminism*, on the association of US communism and women's liberation. Of course they go hand in hand. Sexism is as much an economic hindrance as any other issue in the socialist movement, and we have seen many times over that giving lip service to women by offering them token advances rarely includes economic power. That struggle continues.

But there was a disappointment in the coverage of her book. A glaring omission is the name of Frances Perkins, FDR's Secretary of Labor and the nation's first woman cabinet member. Her positions may not have allowed her to confirm the many rumors that her membership in the Democratic Party was only an act of political pragmatism. Her philosophic loyalties lay much further left and deserve an honorable mention at least in Weigand's roster of socialist women.

Who else but a Marxist could conjure up Social Security, the minimum wage, the union shop and wage protection, banking controls and bank deposit insurance for the working people of America? And then have the power to roll them through Congress and have FDR add his signature? She is easily America's most influential woman of her century. Her legacy lives forever.

Nancy Roulett



US is an Empire Pittsburgh, PA

Events have a way of decisively resolving what appear to be intractable debates. At the center of the position advocated by Hardt and Negri in their much discussed book, *Empire*, is the claim that the Leninist theory of imperialism is shopworn, out-of-date, and in need of replacement with their notion of empire. They view world power as decentered and directed towards establishing a global set of common values, a view at odds with the drive for dominance of global markets and spheres of interests by powerful nation-states characteristic of imperialism.

Empire might have had some surface plausibility two years or even one year ago. But in light of the now open and proudly proclaimed determination of the ruling class of the United States to act unilaterally anywhere in the world on behalf of what these same rulers deem to be national interests, the empire-thesis is, at best, irrelevant. Where anti-communism served as a smokescreen to cover imperialist adventure after the Second World War, anti-terrorism now covers the imperial designs of the most powerful nation-state history has ever seen.

Some have been fooled by the appearance of multilateralism and phony "peacekeeping" in the immediate post-Cold War era. This has fed the illusion among some on the left that we have entered a new era of non-imperialist "globalization." Ironically and at the same time, bourgeois intellectuals are today brazenly embracing an American imperial mission. The US is "a reluctant imperialist," "a neoimperialist," or "a soft imperialist" as pundits explain in leading newspapers and policy journals.

As I write this letter, the current (November 21, 2002) issue of *The New York Review of Books* arrives,

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Don't Whine, Organize

By Jarvis Tyner

The results of the 2002 midterm elections are a reason for great concern. While the actual number of votes separating Democrats and Republicans was not large, the fact that the Republicans increased their majority in the House and took back the Senate should be seen as a serious setback in the struggle to defeat the right. They will not have a large majority, but they control the basic agenda of Congress.

The shift of power to the Republicans has increased the danger of war and has given new momentum to the ultra-right agenda of the Bush Administration. It will make our world a more dangerous place. It will strengthen the forces of war, racism and repression. The results of this election will negatively effect the lives and well-being of working families. It will make life harder for the movement for justice and equality. This election was more than just a defeat for the Democrats.

After the stolen election in 2000, Bush and his policies were very unpopular. It appeared that the GOP was headed for an historic defeat in 2002. But the events of September 11, 2001 changed everything. The Bush administration – really the entire right wing – was able to use the horror of that tragic day to greatly increase their support. The real heroes who risked their lives and died took second place to Bush, Giuliani, Rumsfeld and Cheney. With the media in their pockets, they were able to build support for their agenda. In an atmosphere of hysteria, they were able to drown out discontent over the theft of the 2000 elections. The public

image of racist scoundrels like Ashcroft and Giuliani was remade. Anti-working-class, right-wing, pro-war extremists were reinvented as “strong leaders.”

A great fear and anger gripped the nation and made it possible for the administration and the right wing to use hysteria to divert attention from the deepening economic crisis, the corporate corruption scandal and issues of social justice. The war in Afghanistan and

Peril on the Potomac

racial profiling of suspected terrorists still dominate the headlines. The atmosphere is like the return of McCarthyite witch-hunts with “terrorism” as the enemy. In that atmosphere liberal elements tend to retreat, and that is what many did in and out of Congress. And during the elections, many Democrats ran poor campaigns as a result.

Yet, it was significant that while African American Congresswoman Barbara Lee was the lone vote in Congress against Bush's war powers act, 160 members of the House and Senate refused to support Bush's war on Iraq. This was not adequate, but it was a sign that Congress was feeling the effects of the growing domestic and worldwide peace and justice movement.



Democrats made gains in gubernatorial campaigns across the country, including the first woman governor of Michigan, Jennifer Granholm.

No overwhelming Republican mandate resulted from this election. A total of 78.7 million votes were cast with only 39.3 percent of voting-age citizens voting. In the races for the Senate

about 20 percent voted Republican and 19 percent voted Democrat. A shift of 43,000 votes, 24,000 in Missouri for Carnahan and 19,000 in New Hampshire for Shaheen and the Democrats would have held their majority in the Senate. In the House, a similar shift of 42,500 votes and the Democrats would be the majority. This election was very close. The Republicans cannot claim any mandate with only 20 percent of the electorate supporting them.

This election has to be put in historic perspective. In the 1994 midterm election, the Republicans led by Newt Gingrich made a huge 52-seat gain in the House and a 9-seat gain in the Senate. Significantly, the Republican majority has been going down every election since 1994, except for this election when they made a significant, but modest gain. The big change is that midterm elections usually result in the party in the White House losing seats in Congress. This time the Republicans gained, and that hasn't happened since 1934 in the depths of the Great Depression.

In November, there was a slim but decisive tactical win by the Republicans. Their majority is not overwhelming and can still be stopped; the struggle continues.

Jarvis Tyner is executive vice-chair of the Communist Party USA.

2004 is coming, and we must organize to win. What is needed is a new broad, all-peoples coalition to fight for peace and justice. We need a multiracial coalition that involves labor, civil rights advocates, religious, women, environmentalists, anti-globalization fighters, youth, students and seniors, to come together and prevent the catastrophe that is the Bush administration's program. If we are going to stop Bush, we need new unity that operates during elections and between elections.

This is great challenge to all progressive forces. It is a time to unite to stop the war, to defend democracy, to defeat racism and privatization, to save lives and stop the tax giveaways to the super rich. The Democrats in the Congress must move in a progressive direction away from the failed policies of the Democratic Leadership Council. It is urgent that old sectarian differences are put aside and Democrats, independents, Communist, socialists, liberals and even moderates in the Republican camp (remember Jim Jeffords) find the tactics and the issues to unite. This would be a new development, but this is what it will take to win. ■

Sniper Nation

By Don Sloan

Ten are already dead; three more were critically wounded. If the Beltway sniper is indeed convicted, we can all breathe a sigh of relief. But we don't know how many more will become victims on the streets. Home-grown American terrorism has become more commonplace in the last several decades.

Standout examples are the Texas

Tower slaughter in 1966 by Charles Whitman; the Charles Manson Beverly Hills carnage in 1969; the Oklahoma City bombing by Timothy McVeigh in 1995; the 1999 Columbine High School massacre in Colorado; the Mark Barton killings in the South and the array of abortion clinic murders over the past 20 years. The list goes on. Is this the isolated work of the demented in our society?

When Whitman climbed up to his perch overlooking the University of Texas campus at Austin and opened fire, the nation was in the throes of a presidential war in Vietnam that left 58,000 Americans and several million Vietnamese dead.

The helter-skelter debacle of killer Charles Manson and his cult took place when the aggression in Vietnam was at its pinnacle. We watched the news reports of Vietnamese civilians who got in the way of napalm and cluster bombings. These killings were highlighted by the Mai Lai butchery by US soldiers who effectively went unpunished and were given heroes' welcomes at home. Secret Christmas bombings of Cambodia in 1973 without a military purpose were simply statements of power by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger and resulted in many civilian casualties.

Then came more state violence by Presidents Reagan, Bush I, Clinton and Bush II. One after the other, these chief executives sent soldiers, assassins and CIA hit teams into foreign lands to dispose of leaders who

were not to their liking. These self-appointed saviors of "freedom" in the Oval Office were merely taking a page out of the manuals of their predecessors.

Looking back into that history, one sees the assassinations of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1961, Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973 and Maurice Bishop of Grenada in 1983. One also sees the failed attempts to eliminate Libyan president Muammar al-Qaddafi that resulted in the death of his young daughter and attempts aimed at Cuban President Fidel Castro.

They all bore the imprint of the CIA and other sinister US architects. The successful killings provided decades of more cooperative corporate-friendly governments that needed oppression, secret police, imprisonment and executions to maintain control. Terrorist groups, sometimes organized by these same forces, came to retaliate against the US presence in anchored destroyers, Marine barracks and US embassies.

Finally, the numerous abortion clinic killings by thugs in the Right to Life movement became commonplace among a group that viewed violence as the only form of viable political action.

Mere coincidence? Judge Brandeis was alarmed at the filtering down of a governmental shoot-first-and-talk-later policy. Just as the abortion killings follow the demagoguery that seems to be their inspiration, the Mansons, McVeighs, Bartons and the

"Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law." Justice Louis Brandeis, 1928

kids in Columbine are animated by the actions of their political leaders. After all, goes the logic, if Washington can kill to solve its problems, why can't we?

In the October 2002 sessions on the Hill, as the country's elected Congress and appointed president were making plans for war in Iraq despite significant worldwide resistance, Bush press secretary Ari Fleischer ignominiously offered a solution to the Iraq stand-off. He brazenly suggested some sharpshooter pick up a rifle and put a single bullet in the skull of Saddam Hussein, a legal head of another sovereign state.

Before his words were dry, someone in the Beltway environs took Fleischer's single-bullet advice to heart. Pondering some unrest that is as yet beyond our full knowledge, a perpetrator(s) decided to settle a score. Was this a literal interpretation of words and policy from an official administration spokesman? Justice Brandeis must have had such moments in mind when he wrote his decision.

Life's events do not occur in a political vacuum. Just as the people hope to be inspired and driven by leadership acting in their best interests, humans also can act upon the wrong messages, especially when they see no alternative to the fear and powerlessness instilled in them by the right. In Germany in the 1930s as the Nazi war machinery was gearing up for world holocaust, domestic violence, murder and incidences of armed robbery rose. The people were learning from their government.

We are living in a volatile time. The world's only superpower has

fallen into the hands of those whose behavior has been marked by retribution by death. As governor of Texas, President-select Bush presided over an unprecedented number of death penalty cases. This is the thinking that has now become his foreign policy. When what happens in the streets mimics the lessons from on high, it is time to take yet another sober look and make sure that the next time election day comes around, it does not happen again. ■

White House photo



White House spokesperson Ari Fleischer.

The Free Trade Scam

By Thomas Riggins

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere." Marx & Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848).

The "new world order," "globalization" and "free trade" are the current slogans of the imperialist bourgeoisie but represent nothing new. Over 150 years ago, Marx and Engels pointed out capitalism's intent to exploit the whole world. It is still doing so – with a vengeance.

How has the world fared under capitalist dominance? The multinational corporations and their puppet governments (especially the United States government) are waging an unending onslaught against both the world's peoples and its environment



Credit: IMF

Washington D.C. headquarters of the IMF.

in their quest for profits.

A recent article in *Beijing Review* (September 26, 2002) on the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, contains the following grim statistics put together by the United Nations and other organizations:

- World forests are disappearing at the rate of 14 million hectares per year (1 hectare equals 2.47 acres). By 2020 the forests will be reduced to one-seventh of the earth's land mass (down from the current one-sixth);
- Two-thirds of the world's agricultural land is eroding away;
- 850 million people will see their land become a desert (one-third of the globe's land surface);
- 40 percent of the world's people lack adequate fresh water. 1.1 billion have no safe water at all, and 3 million a year will die because of it;
- Billions of tons of pollution are dumped yearly into the oceans, killing fish and other marine wildlife;
- About 12 percent of birds and 25 percent of mammals are facing extinction.

The list goes on, and we hear daily that every attempt to curb the destructive policies of international capital is effectively blocked by imperialist governments. Some prime examples are the Bush administration's rejection of the Kyoto treaty, downplaying of the Johannesburg Summit and easing of pollution

◆ (continued on page 28)

Thomas Riggins is book review editor of Political Affairs.

POSTMARK PENTAGON

ORIGINS OF THE ANTHRAX SCARE

By Prasad Venugopal

Funny – in a perverse sort of way – that the recent acts of terror in the US have all got one thing in common: the hidden hand of the Pentagon. The “Beltway Sniper” as John Allen Williams was called, turned out to be a Gulf War veteran. Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda group had extensive contacts with the Pentagon and the CIA during the anti-Soviet Afghan war. But the real hidden story lies in the anthrax attacks that followed the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

More than a year after the deadly anthrax attacks, which infected 13 people and killed five, the government’s investigation claims to have run into a dead end, without a single arrest or even a clear suspect. But the facts reveal a storyline imbued with government cover-ups and dangerous military research gone disastrously wrong.

Anthrax as a Bio-Weapon

Anthrax, technically called *Bacillus anthracis*, is a bacterium that commonly infects cows, sheep, goats and other livestock. Humans are infected when they come into contact with diseased animals or animal products that have been improperly handled. Meat tainted with anthrax, for example, could be transmitted to humans who eat undercooked beef and other meat products. However, the three common modes of infection – inhalation of spores, ingestion of tainted food and skin contact – have occurred relatively rarely in the

US, and have posed little danger to public health.

The appeal of anthrax as a biological weapon lies in its undetectability. Unlike nuclear material,

A Crisis made in the USA

which is highly radioactive and can only be detonated with specialized equipment, biological weapons can be introduced into food and water supplies relatively easily and remain undetected. As Barbara Rosenberg, a professor at SUNY, Purchase, wrote in a recent *LA Times* editorial:

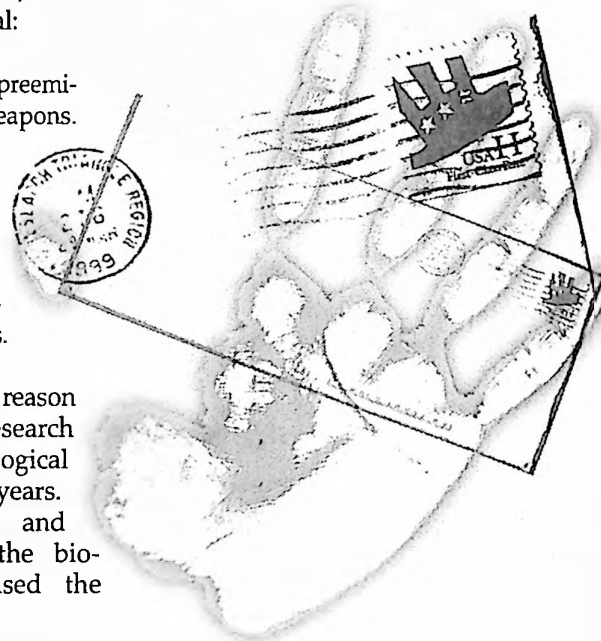
Biological weapons are preeminently anti-population weapons. But it would be impossible to provide the entire country with protective suits, masks, detectors, shelters, training and vaccinations against the large and growing array of potential agents.

This has been a key reason behind global military research and development of biological weaponry over the past 80 years.

The undetectable and unstoppable nature of the bio-weapons threat has raised the

specter of terrorist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda, resorting to their use. The anthrax attacks of last year were themselves thought to be the handiwork of Bin Laden’s group. The fear is that individuals or a small group with few resources may be able to launch an attack on large populations in urban areas. But a 1998 study commissioned by government, military and medical personnel came to a somewhat different conclusion. In a May 1999 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA), the Working Group on Civilian Bio-defense, noted:

Most experts concur that the manufacture of a lethal anthrax aerosol is beyond the capacity of individuals or groups without access to



Prasad Venugopal is science editor of Political Affairs.

advanced bio-technology. However, autonomous groups with substantial funding and contacts may be able to acquire the required materials for a successful attack.

These statements certainly point a finger towards the Pentagon as an organization capable of having provided the "advanced biotechnology," the "substantial funding" and "contacts" for last year's anthrax attacks.

Bio-weapons at the Pentagon

The Pentagon began studying the use of anthrax as a bio-weapon in the 1940s at Fort Detrick, Maryland, during the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt. The successful conversion of the germs into an aerosol form in the late 1940s created weapons-grade anthrax, which was produced in large quantities throughout the 1950s and 1960s. But anthrax was only one among a list of biological warfare agents. Both the former Soviet Union and the US also maintained huge stockpiles of other infectious disease germs like smallpox and botulism. Today, nearly two dozen countries are believed to have active biological weapons programs.

It is believed that the US bio-weapons program came to a grinding halt after Nixon officially ended the program in 1969. Subsequently, the International Biological Weapons and Toxins Convention in 1972, which was signed by over 100 countries including the US and the Soviet Union, prohibited offensive biological weapons research or production. However, a recent book titled *Germis: Biological Warfare and America's Secret War* indicates

that, in reality, the US program continued on in a different manifestation – as a bio-defense project. While much of the funding for the program was diverted to other projects, enough remained to continue research and maintain stockpiles of anthrax, small pox and other diseases. It is now known that the Pentagon has supplied this anthrax to numerous weapons labs and other organizations over the years.

In a rather lengthy article titled "Anthrax and War: The Marketing Disaster," Tim O'Shea discusses how the Pentagon's anthrax got into the hands of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. The immediate culprit, he notes, was "a company in Manassas, Vir-

Companies such as American Type Culture Collection maintain and sell specimen cultures for anthrax, plague and a host of other biological organisms to organizations around the country.

ginia, called American Type Culture Collection [ATCC]," which "has obtained the anthrax samples as a result of original research done just up the road at Fort Detrick in the 1950s." One deadly consequence of this privatization of bio-weapons research was the sudden demand by the Pentagon for anthrax vaccines during the time of the 1991 Gulf War. As it turned out, the Iraqi army never used any anthrax in the war, probably because it did not have the capability to convert the germs into weapons-grade anthrax. Nevertheless, US soldiers in the field were inoculated with a new, untested anthrax vaccine, which later became part of the controversy surrounding the "Gulf War syndrome."

In effect, the Pentagon's longstanding relationship with biological weapons design and development has had two broad consequences. First, the Pentagon has used these weapons on numerous occasions, both domestic and foreign, as alleged by William Blum in his book *Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower*. Blum alleges that the Army used these weapons not only during war against countries such as North Korea and Cuba, but also domestically, as part of its research program, in places such as the San Francisco Bay area, Tampa Bay, Florida and New York City. The Pentagon has also made supplies of biological weapons agents available to "friendly" countries over the years. In addition, according to a January 13, 2002, *Global News Wire* article, declassified Pentagon documents say that "the US government continues to sell ... detailed explanations on how to produce biological weapons such as anthrax



Department of Defense

The Pentagon is responsible for the existence of most biological or chemical weapons.

and smallpox." Quoting a *New York Times* report, the article notes that for \$15 anyone can buy the 57-page manual, 'Selection of Process for Freeze-Drying, Particle Size Reduction and Filling of Selected BW Agents,' which includes details on how to turn germs into powder to infect human lungs.

The second consequence of the Pentagon's love affair with bio-weapons has been the contracting out and privatization of much of the military research in the US. Companies such as American Type Culture Collection maintain and sell specimen cultures for anthrax, plague and a host of other biological organisms to organizations around the country. Some of these specimens are linked to various genetically modified strains that were a result of earlier military testing and research. Consequently, it has become much easier for most individuals and groups to obtain samples of these deadly germs. One example that O'Shea provides, based on a commentary in *JAMA*, is a case where "in 1995, an Ohio civilian bought three vials of plague bacteria from this same [ATCC] company." In the case of last fall's anthrax attacks, it was probably such a scenario that had deadly consequences.

The Pentagon-CIA connection

According to a May 10, 2002, report from Deutsche Presse-Agentur, the German news agency, it is "now all but certain" that the anthrax attacks that followed the September 11 terrorist acts "were descendants of germs from a US military facility." Based on a study published in the journal *Science*, the report noted that detailed analysis of the anthrax bacteria shows subtle but clear differences between so-called "terrorist" and "military" strains. The genetic code of the anthrax used in the attacks identifies it as part of the "Ames" strain (named after the city of Ames, Iowa, where much of the initial research

Suspicious about Hatfill emerged when it became known that he was closely linked to the Pentagon/CIA-sponsored study looking at how anthrax attacks might be sent via the mail.

was done) that has been used in biological weapons development at Fort Detrick.

Apart from the genetic signature, the extremely fine quality of the weapons-grade anthrax used in the attacks pointed to its production at highly sophisticated biotechnology labs. Efforts to link the attacks to Al-Qaeda or Iraq were unable to counter the evidence that connected the attacks to domestic sources. In fact, in a March, 2002, interview given to the BBC, Barbara Rosenberg, who is also the director of the Federation of American Scientists' Chemical and Biological Weapons Program, claimed that the CIA had commissioned a theoretical study in 1998 to study the effects of anthrax attacks via the mail. As reported in the March 15, 2002, *Financial Times*, Rosenberg noted that "some very expert field person would have been given this job and it would have been left to him to decide exactly how to carry it out." Individuals who were closely linked to the CIA or Pentagon and had access to the results could easily have misused

such research for their own reasons.

A rather conspiratorial May 13, 2002, article published in the Canadian newspaper *The Edmonton Sun* linked the attacks to a 57-year-old microbiology professor, Dan Wiley, from Harvard University who, the article says, "specialized in the field of lethal viruses and knew all about anthrax." The professor died under mysterious circumstances in Tennessee in November 2001— a case of apparent suicide caused by jumping off a bridge — and the article notes the curious coincidence that the anthrax attacks stopped after his death. The article also alleges that the professor was killed because of his knowledge of the anthrax attacks, either as the perpetrator or as a key informant. It cites the British government's belief that "American authorities decided to assassinate the anthrax attacker rather than bring him to justice." Wiley's family denies this claim and insists that he may have been killed because "he knew a couple of the key people who worked on anthrax at the US army's clinical warfare lab."

According to the FBI, the real "person of interest" is the bio-warfare expert and former employee of Fort Detrick's Institute of Infectious Diseases (USAMRIID), Dr. Steven Hatfill. Suspicious about Hatfill emerged when it became known that he was closely linked to the Pentagon/CIA-sponsored study looking at how anthrax attacks might be sent via the mail. The amount of anthrax in each mailing suggested by that study matched the amounts sent in each anthrax-laced envelope. The Associated Press noted that Hatfill had even co-authored a fictional novel in 1998 that dealt with an anthrax attack on Congress. Circumstantial evidence from other sources could also point towards Hatfill's possible involvement in last year's attacks. In a bizarre and ironic twist to the Bush administration's impending war against Iraq, Dr. Steven Hatfill's name is now on a

◇ (continued on page 30)

Motown

Jammin' for Peace

By Joel Wendland

Most Americans oppose war on Iraq, and their feelings are showing. According to the Institute for Policy Studies, a conservative estimate of 250 peace-related activities were organized in October 2002. As many as 250,000 people around the country protested war on October 26th. Church organizations, civil liberties activists, unions, student alliances, peace activist groups, political parties, labor-based peace committees and others at the grassroots demonstrated against the Bush drive for war. Letter writing campaigns, teach-ins, rallies, phone calls and street demonstrations became daily activities. From the grassroots, the people fought to force Bush to back away from an "inevitable," unilateral war to negotiations within a multilateral framework.

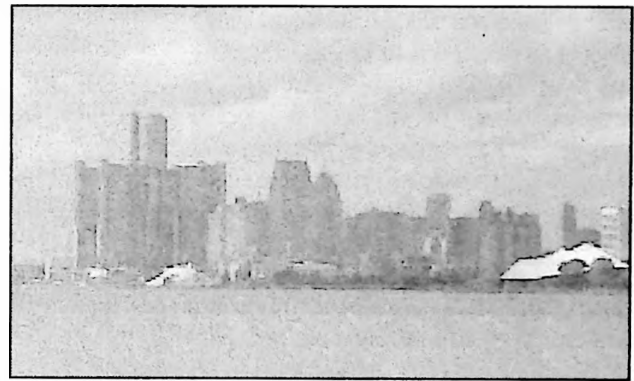
A Fight for Civil Liberties

Among these growing numbers against the war are the people of Metro Detroit. One of the most active

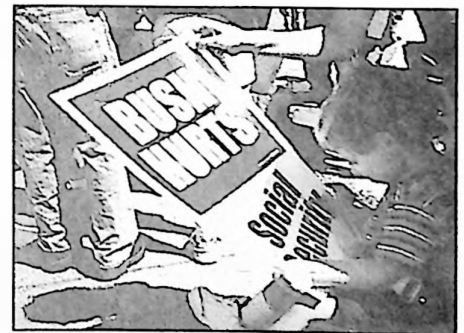
groups is the Ann Arbor Committee for Peace (AACP). Formed just before Bush's war on Afghanistan, this group recently made itself a permanent organization. One of its first accomplishments when the bombing of Afghanistan began was to sponsor a signature ad in the *Ann Arbor News*. Nearly a thousand people signed calling for peaceful ways to solve the conflict and saying that a war would not end terrorism. But Ann Arbor's pro-peace residents found themselves not just involved in the movement for peace but also in defense of the Constitution.

The swift efficiency of the government round up of hundreds of men of Middle Eastern origin shocked Metro Detroit residents and many around the country. Among those arrested was Muslim Ann Arbor-area resident and social

activist, Pastor Rabih Haddad. His neighbors and friends were stunned by the government's accusation that he and his Global Relief Foundation, a charity that supported poor people



Detroit, Michigan.



Protestors at Detroit's Labor Day rally oppose Bush's policies.

Joel Wendland is managing editor of Political Affairs.

Detroit has special economic needs including poverty, homelessness and unemployment that a war would only aggravate.

in a number of Muslim countries, aided terrorism. Some local residents suspected that Haddad's early opposition to the bombing of Afghanistan and his well-respected voice among Christian, Muslim and Jewish community members contributed to the Justice Department's decision to imprison him.

The uncontested passage of the USA PATRIOT Act and Ashcroft's infamous menacing statements against opposition to the war ushered in an atmosphere of repression. In her book, *Silencing Political Dissent*, Nancy Chang compared the months following September 11th to the Cold War period of the Smith Act and the COINTELPRO program. This system of political



Workers' World

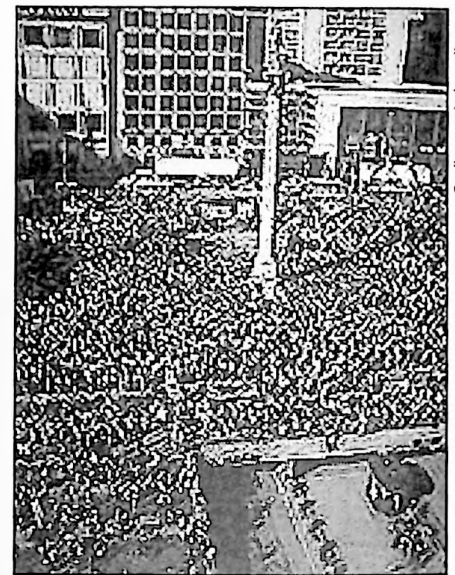
Rabih Haddad: Imprisoned by the Bush administration because of his religious and national background.

repression was characterized by the victim's imprisonment without access to a lawyer or to the evidence against him. Though Haddad is accused of being connected to terrorist organizations, the official charge against him is a violation of immigration rules that, prior to September 11, 2001, were rarely enforced even by Ashcroft's office. Essentially, Haddad's visa had expired while he was awaiting notification of more permanent resident papers that would have allowed him to live and work here longer.

In January of 2002, in coalition with the Muslim community of Ann Arbor, the local ACLU and other human rights organizations, the AACP helped to form the Free Rabih Haddad Committee. They organized a number of demonstrations, letter writing campaigns, lawsuits (officially brought by Congressman John Conyers, civil rights organizations and some Detroit-area newspapers) and visits to congressional representatives. At the first mass demonstration of several hundred people in the January cold, Lynn Rivers, Ann Arbor's former Democratic Congresswoman, reminded the Bush administration that the

Constitution protects all people and guarantees the rights of everyone in this country. The Bill of Rights and other relevant amendments, the former representative pointed out, provides civil liberties and equal protections for all "persons."

By the summer, the movement to free Haddad, had become a national cause, making the *Donahue Show*. Haddad had secured a positive ruling from a

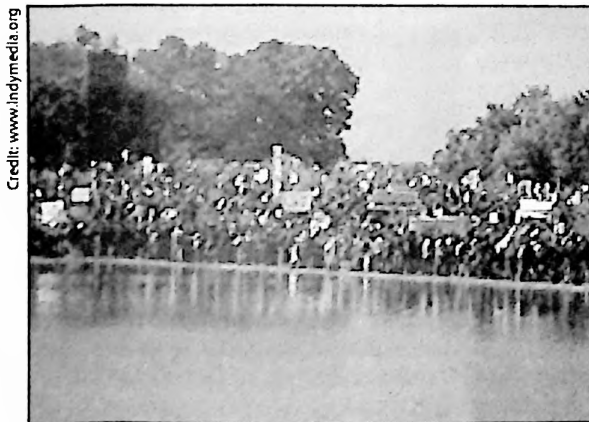


Credit: www.indymedia.org

October 26th peace rally in San Francisco.

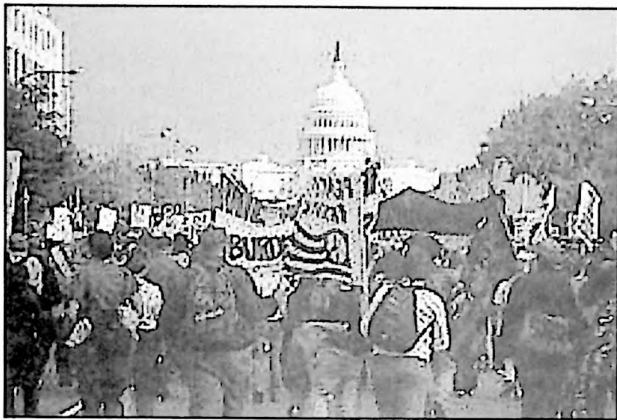
federal judge that ordered public hearings and release of evidence. By the fall of 2002, federal Judge Nancy Edmunds ruled that Haddad be released from custody unless the Justice Department granted an open bond hearing. At the time of writing, Ashcroft's people were still delaying the year-long case.

Given this climate, when union members in Detroit formed the Detroit Labor Committee for Peace and Justice (DLCPJ), a new turn was taken both in the struggle against Bush's wars and in the fight for workers' rights. Over 80 labor union members signed an ad in the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO's *Labor News* (August 16-September 2, 2002) opposing war, attacks on unions, the offensive against civil liberties and imprisonment of Arab Americans and people of Middle Eastern descent. Labor committee members demanded that public resources be used for strengthening public programs such as education, health care and the Social Security trust. "Stimulating the economy and combating unemployment must happen through a program of public works, including the construction of schools, hospitals and a national rail system," they said. Detroit has special economic needs including poverty, homelessness and unemployment



Credit: www.indymedia.org

October 26th peace rally in Washington D.C.



www.indymedia.com

Peace marchers in Washington DC on April 20, 2002.

that a war would only aggravate. DLCPJ urged the labor movement to continue to fight for workers' rights and stand for peace. "George Bush's 'war on terrorism' is only five percent directed against terrorism and 95 percent directed towards promot-

ing a right-wing agenda," read a leaflet distributed at Detroit's Labor Day festivities.

Coalitions Make a Stand for Peace

DLCPJ continued to grow in coalition with community-based organizations such as the US Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Peace Action and labor groups such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women. It has worked within the labor movement to give voice to growing opposition to war by building a broad, united coalition of union members for peace. Although

it remained critical of some union activists who did not make a strong stand against war, it considered its role in the peace struggle also to be supportive of organizations and members who focused on the struggle for workers' rights, collective bargaining and social justice issues.

In addition to union-based activism, community members also became better organized. By October of 2002, the Detroit Area Peace with Justice Network, formed in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks and before Bush's war on Afghanistan, became the main umbrella organization for peace activities in southeast Michigan. As a coalition of over two dozen groups, the Network brought together union members, long-time peace activists, human rights advocates, civil libertarians and social

◆ (continued on page 25)



Check Out Your Marxist I.Q.

Each month we will pose five questions from the Marxist classics. This month they are from Volume One of Marx's Capital, chapters two and three.

The questions:

1. Marx says that the people he writes about on the economic stage, capitalists, workers, peasants, nobles, are [a] real flesh and blood humans motivated by their needs and desires [b] basically fictional beings created to make a point [c] personifications of the economic relations that exist between them [d] legal entities determined by property relations.
2. In the 18th century, Marx says, people were unable to account for social relations so they ascribed to them a [a] historical origin [b] conventional origin [c] religious origin [d] mythical origin.
3. According to Marx, the way in which real contradictions are reconciled is by [a] sweeping away inconsistencies [b] overcoming opposites [c] arriving at mutually exclusive conditions [d] developing a form in which they can exist side by side.
4. Marx says the ancients denounced money as subversive of the economic and moral order of things because [a] slave societies are not based on a money economy [b] money allowed social power to become private power [c] its accumulation allowed the Roman Empire to dominate the world [d] there was no standard by which different coinages could be universally valued.
5. For Marx, price is the money name of [a] the value realized in a commodity [b] the social utility realized in the commodity [c] the labor realized in a commodity [d] the measure of social production realized in the commodity.

See page 24 for the answers!

Cashing in on Terror

By Michelle Ciarrocca

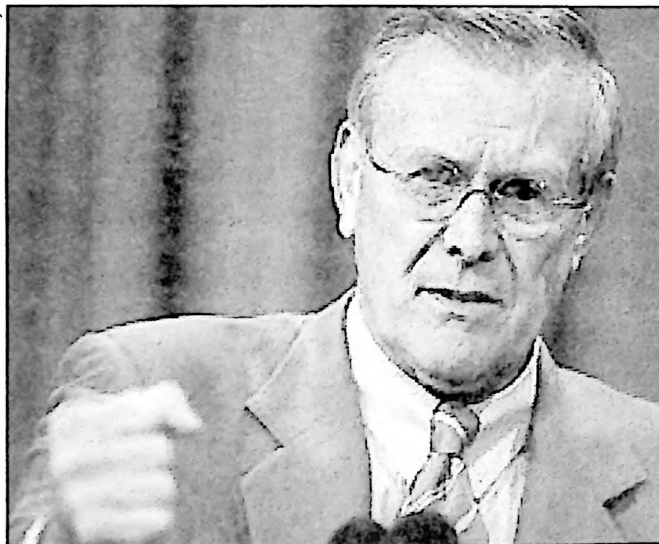
President Bush's military budget increase and the wartime "unity" on Capitol Hill have created an environment in which weapons makers can enjoy the best of both worlds – continuing to make money on the weapons systems of the cold war while reaping the benefits of a wartime bonanza of new defense contracts.

In order to replace weapons used in Afghanistan and in preparation for possible military action in Iraq, many US weapons makers have increased production. Boeing added a second shift of workers to boost production of its Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) – the most widely used smart bomb in the Afghan war. Raytheon, best known for its Tomahawk missile, added a third shift and announced that production for its laser-

guided bomb has been accelerated by five months "to support the warfighter in the war on terrorism." Alliant Techsystems, the largest supplier of ammunition to the US military, was awarded a \$92 million contract to make 265 million rounds of small-caliber ammunition for the Army.

Additionally, with the new influx of money for homeland defense (\$38 billion for FY 2003), virtually all of the big defense contractors – Boeing, Lockheed Martin and Raytheon – have adapted their marketing strategies and are repackaging their products for use in domestic security. Boeing is looking into how its sensors designed to track enemy missiles could be used to locate and identify hijacked planes. Lockheed is trying to adapt military simulators to train local emergency

Credit: Al-Ahram Weekly



Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld has helped set the stage for unprecedented military spending and big profits for military contractors.

The big boost in the defense budget is good news for major Pentagon contractors, who were among the few companies to show increases in their stock prices when the market reopened after the September 11 attacks.

Michelle Ciarrocca writes for Foreign Policy in Focus.



The Bush administration has used fear of terrorism to fuel huge expenditures on conventional weapons.

response teams. And Raytheon is pitching its hand-held thermal imaging devices, designed for the military, as useful for firefighters searching through collapsed buildings.

But it's not just the traditional military contractors who are fighting for a piece of the Pentagon pie. Smaller companies, too, are "dusting off old domestic security proposals and developing new ones in an attempt to cash in on what they hope will ultimately be hundreds of billions of dollars in new spending on homeland security," according to the *Wall Street Journal*. Air Structures is introducing fortified vinyl domes for quarantining infected communities in the aftermath of a potential bioterror attack, Visionics is looking into designing facial recognition technology, and PointSource Technologies is developing a sensor to detect biological agents in the air or water.

Raytheon showcased its role in missile defense and precision strike munitions. Boeing exhibited its tried-and-true 767 tanker transport, its C-17 Globemaster, and its JDAM – all of which have been on display in Afghanistan. TRW, Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin and Boeing all focused on new approaches to developing unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), another star weapon of the Afghan war.

The big boost in the defense budget is good news for major Pentagon contractors, who were among the few companies to show increases in their stock prices when the market reopened after the September 11 attacks. Among the top gainers for the week of September 17-21, 2001, were military and space contractors like Raytheon (up 37 percent), L-3 Communications (up 35.8 percent), Alliant Techsystems (up 23.5 percent) and

Northrop Grumman (up 21.2 percent).

As of May 1, 2002, *Aviation Week's* Aerospace 25 stock index had climbed past the level at which it was trading in May 2001 and compared favorably to the 5.4 percent decline for Standard & Poor's 500. Northrop, Boeing and General Dynamics all reported better-than-anticipated earnings for the second quarter of 2002, due to increases in weapons spending and homeland security. And with expected annual increases in defense spending of 10 percent or more, most analysts are banking on a gradual, long-term boost for the defense industry. As Loren Thompson, a defense analyst with the Lexington Institute remarked: "The whole mind set of military spending changed on September 11. The most fundamental thing about defense spending is that threats drive defense spending. It's now going to be easier to fund almost anything."

Despite a slowing economy and Bush's \$1.35 trillion tax cut, notions of fiscal conservatism have been brushed aside to fund the fight against terrorism. Boeing Vice Chairman Harry Stonecipher got to the heart of the matter when he told the *Wall Street Journal* that "the purse is now open," so the Pentagon will no longer have to make "hard choices" among competing weapons projects. Unfortunately, no hard choices were being made in the first place.

The highly anticipated *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR), an assessment of the nation's defense needs mandated by Congress, was released September 30, 2001. But as Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin (D-MI) quickly noted, the QDR "seems to me to be full of decisions deferred." None of the weapons systems mentioned as a candidate for elimination during the Bush campaign was canceled. Instead, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld set the stage for major increases in military spending, arguing that "the loss of life and damage to our economy from the attack of September 11, 2001, should give us a new perspective on the question of what this country can afford for its defense."

Defense spending for FY 2002 totaled \$343.2 billion, a \$32.6 billion increase above 2001 levels. Congress just recently finished the FY 2003 defense bill and sent it to President Bush for his signature. When all defense-related bills are added up, this year's military budget will reach almost \$400 billion. Long-term plans envision the national defense budget increasing to \$469 billion in FY 2007, 11 percent higher than the cold war average.

The most widely used items in Afghanistan to date have been Raytheon's Tomahawks, Boeing's JDAMs and Northrop Grumman's UAVs. But only about \$3.2 billion in the president's budget request will go for

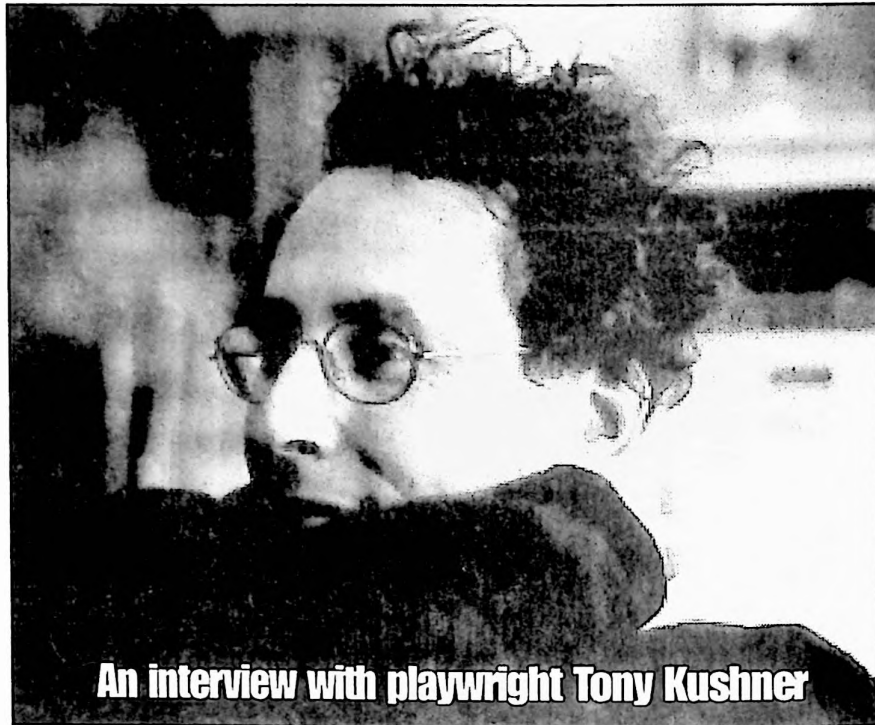
◆ (continued on page 29)

DRAMATIC Revisions and Socialist Visions

Editor's note: Tony Kushner, a Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright and a gay activist, has written a number of plays, including *Angels in America, Part 1: The Millennium*, *Angels in America, Part 2: Perestroika, Slavs!*; *Thinking about the Longstanding Problems of Virtue and Happiness* and *Homebody/Kabul*. In addition, Kushner has received grants from the New York State Council on the Arts, the NEA, the Whiting Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. He also received a Lila Wallace/Reader's Digest Fellowship and a medal for Cultural Achievement from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture. *Angels in America* is being made into a HBO film directed by Mike Nichols. Kushner's new play, *Caroline or Change*, will open on Broadway in September. Kushner was interviewed by Joe Sims.

PA: *You emphasize the need to speak the truth and advocate an art that is engaged and committed. You also suggest culture is partisan. But, in theater and in the cultural world, many say that culture should not be political. Why is this?*

TK: I think in general there is a powerful tradition of denying the existence of politics in art. The easiest answer is what Roland Barthes or Bertolt Brecht says, that the denial of ideology is an ideology – a bourgeois ideology. The way you protect your interests is by pretending you are not speaking from a historically determined or dialectical place, but rather from some position of immutable



truth that lies beyond history and critical thinking. And we like to pretend – since we pretend these truths exist – there are means of getting at those truths. Religion is one example, it is supposed to be a discourse that lies completely out of the historical framework, and art is another.

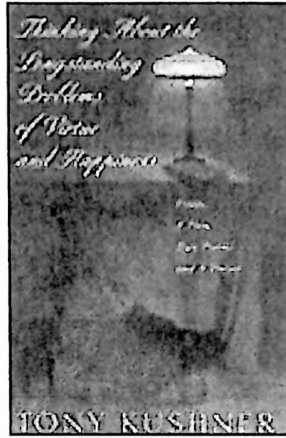
There is an anxiety that generates an attack on the notion that art is political, that art is partisan. It is a fantasy of being able to protect the purity in art, a fantasy of being able to outlast the vicissitudes of the present moment, a way of guaranteeing immortality in art, which of course increases its market value. Something that can be thought to have a life of 50 or 100 or 500 years must be worth more than something that is only of value for an instant. We know a 600 year-old statue is more valuable than one made the other day.

For American artists specifically, it's a conservative gesture that seeks to deny the extent to which democracy has succeeded. One of the ways it succeeded is in the creation of people who think politically, who have a deeply bred political common sense and an understanding of political struggle. By creating the arena of civil rights, we made public a certain kind of struggle that in other countries, even democratic countries, is hidden or in a nonpolitical arena. In America, it is all in the courts, the legislature, out on the streets. It's a civic event; it's part of the life of the state. And I think when artists deny politics a place in the theater, a place in the museum, it's a way of denying what is powerful and important as an accomplishment of American constitutional democracy.

PA: *Is McCarthyism still a factor in this denial?*

TK: Yes, I think McCarthyism is still certainly alive. We just had an example of it in political life rather than artistic life with the Not in Our Name statement against the war in Iraq. A journalist, who I think is actually rather well-meaning, discovered the Not in Our Name statement was organized by a group called Refuse and Resist, which was organized, although not exclusively, by people who are part of the RCP [Revolutionary Communist Party]. So an alarm was sent out, and an article appeared in *Salon* saying, "Are you aware that Not in Our Name is a front for the RCP?" [This] is a) completely untrue and b) red-baiting in the grand old McCarthy tradition. There is still this notion of guilt by association. I think McCarthy, the HUAC and that whole period of the red scare traumatized this country. We haven't completely recovered.

I imagine it is also operative in art. There is a fear maintained to this day that government funding for the arts is used as a tool of censorship. It's not censorship where artists are arrested and hauled off to prison. One knows certain kinds of expression simply aren't going to get funded. If you make a decision to say certain things, you realize you are probably



going to be denied funding.

PA: *Setting aside the problem of funding, at one point there was a broad left movement in theater, literature and Hollywood. Wouldn't you say that if the organized left wants*

to have influence it must engage in the arena of broad popular culture?

TK: Yes, and that still goes on. For instance, with the gay and lesbian struggles, we've triumphed on a cultural level primarily through the medium of popular entertainment. When the Christian right accuses Hollywood of peddling a homosexual agenda, they are completely correct. This is, in fact, the only thing that we've triumphed in. We've failed totally legislatively. Every time we try to pass a lesbian or gay rights or an anti-discrimination bill and certainly in the struggle to get married, we've endured terrible defeats. We are going to continue enduring them until we get a federal government that rises to its historical role, as the protector of minority rights.

But on a political level we have failed to make common cause with other groups. On a cultural level, you can't turn on television without

running into lesbians and gay men. There's an enormous amount of progress that is changing this country and the world. But it's not of the organized left.

When you talk about the organized left, it's hard to know exactly what that means. I think the most activist people on the left, the people with the most radical disenchantment with capitalism, with the deepest belief there must be another way of organizing human relationships, people with a really deep understanding, a lived understanding, have fallen in love with a marginalization and a powerlessness.

PA: *They've fallen in love with marginalization?*

TK: I think so. People on the left constantly decry the lack of identifiable left voices on television, and in some mainstream discourse. We have been shoved to the side, and it's really a debate between the center and the far right.

That certainly is the case in legislative bodies. I don't believe that's simply a conspiracy of giant corporations. We also have lost the ability to speak in a way most people understand. There has been a drifting apart of left intelligentsia and "the people," the middle class and the working class. We've become irrelevant and in a certain sense become comfortable with that. It allows us to spin fantasies that have no need to be reconciled with reality, which is an easier thing than to have to actually take responsibility for changing the world. To be a critic of the world is an easier thing than to be an activist. In a way, we have gone back before Marx and abrogated the fundamental tenet: philosophers are felt to understand the world, the point is to change it.

I worry we have drifted away. Because of the crisis of theory, because of various other kinds of crises, we have become less capable, and more and more used to being not capable.

We also have lost the ability to speak in a way most people understand. There has been a drifting apart of left intelligentsia and "the people," the middle class and the working class.

PA: Let's talk about the crisis in theory. There is a character in your play the "Oldest Living Bolshevik" who decries the lack of a theory. Do you think that the left feels it can't proceed for lack of a grand explanation for moving forward, particularly in light of what happened in the Soviet Union?

TK: Yes. I think it's complicated, because I don't know that a meta-theory can really ever have credibility again. I don't know that it ever should. In my play, *Homebody/Kabul*, I found myself surprised in arriving at [that conclusion]. Any theory that seeks to explain all of history, and offers a single prescription for the incredible variety and the complexity of human behavior, has to rest on an oversimplification of people. Human beings are both communal beings and individuals, and to lose sight of one or the other is problematic. On the other hand, I think that in the absence of some grand theoretical ideas that can assist people in the interpretation of their own lives and suggest directions for change, we become lost.

I still believe deeply in the socialist tradition, which has taken many, many forms over the last 1000 years. But it's the notion of economic justice, something like social justice, something like a recognition finally of the communal as well as the individual, the communal basis of wealth as well as property rights. These are powerful ideas that have persisted for centuries and clearly aren't gone. There is clearly great value in them. I think [what is needed is] an articulator, someone who redeems Marx from the mess Stalinism made of Marx, and in a sense Marxism made of Marx, or a group of



Scene from Kushner's award-winning play, *Angels in America*.

theories that will in a sense replace what Marx once was, because it was a theory.

PA: But did it ever claim to be all-encompassing or to be the truth?

TK: I think, in a way, yes. Because it is dialectic, in a way it proclaims to be the truth in the sense that Kant and Hegel claimed the truth. It's a methodology for arriving at an unfixed and constantly changing truth. The truth is not a fixed object that lies in the past waiting to be discovered and held on to forever. The dialectical method is a way of extending reason to its absolute limits and discovering that its limits extend much farther than one would have ever imagined. It is a way to think one's way out of the nightmare of history. I think to that extent it's intended to be a grand scheme. Marx had those kind of protean ambitions,

in the same way that Freud did and other thinkers of the 19th century – it was a time for that kind of thought.

The French deconstructionists are right to point out that there is a consonance between colonial ambitions and empirical empire-building ambitions, and the giant continental-sized theories of the grand thinkers of the 19th century.

It's extremely difficult to grope one's way back to what was there originally. But the work is still immensely powerful, and all you have to do is read history to see that astonishing power, the articulation of not just Marx but also Rousseau, Hegel, Kant, and what these people did by naming something. Before Rousseau, people fought for freedom but didn't know what it was they were fighting for. By giving them the name, he created the preconditions for the French Revolution. Naming is a tremendous power.

There are still principles that are so utterly irreplaceable and international. It really takes us back to 1917, and earlier of course, to look at where things went wrong. In a certain sense they went wrong in exactly the way Marx warned they would: there can be no socialism, no Communism in one country; national socialism, national identity, and national boundaries are the problem.

Effective internationalism and solidarity are so unbelievably important. The labor theory of value still holds; the notion of profit being unpaid labor is still critical.

So it's how do you get all that and rescue it from the bloodbath it became mired in by Stalinism, and how do you look through it to find where it went wrong. A lot of the voices of those big battles at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century [need to be listened to]. The voices of Antonio Gramsci and Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky even, who knew exactly, at least on paper,

All the problems of democracy can only be solved by more democracy.

what the errors of judgment were in Leninism. I think there is a lot of reinvestigation and reformulation that needs to happen.

PA: *We have been discussing how to create a socialist alternative in the wake of these difficulties. It is like the question you posed at the end of your play Slavs, What is to be done? So how, as an artist and an activist, do you see moving forward?*

TK: I was on a panel on Saturday with two Russian playwrights. The moderator read this quote from Stanley Kunitz, who I think is one of our greatest poets ever. Kunitz said that it's always the job of the artist to oppose the state. I thought about it and said I wasn't sure if that was entirely the case.

We are in a very complicated moment. It seems to me there are two areas of judgment, one is the notion of a revolutionary vanguard party that will pave the way and a rejection of democratic norms. I have a deep conviction that democracy is a good idea.

All the problems of democracy can only be solved by more democracy. If there is hope, it lies in a radical vision of democracy as a universal enfranchisement. I think the big question of revolution versus evolution, which was so much a part of what 19th century political theory was about, speaks directly to the question of violence itself. I'm not a pacifist, but I wrestle all the time with my reasons for not being one. The question is about the tempo of change. Is it tolerable for current circumstances to remain the same, and how abruptly must they change? Speed is obviously necessary to save lives. But is it so necessary that a revolution is justified? And what does one make of the history of revolution, which is unfortunately a very depressing history?

So those are the questions. I think there is a question of a revolutionary fantasy and an anarchist fan-

...there is still an immense amount of work to do to find a left that actually wields power....We want to be able to say, "You are not going to bomb, because we won't let you."

tasy. And I think that an exploration of those things that are problematic is what I want to work on, both as an artist and also as an activist.

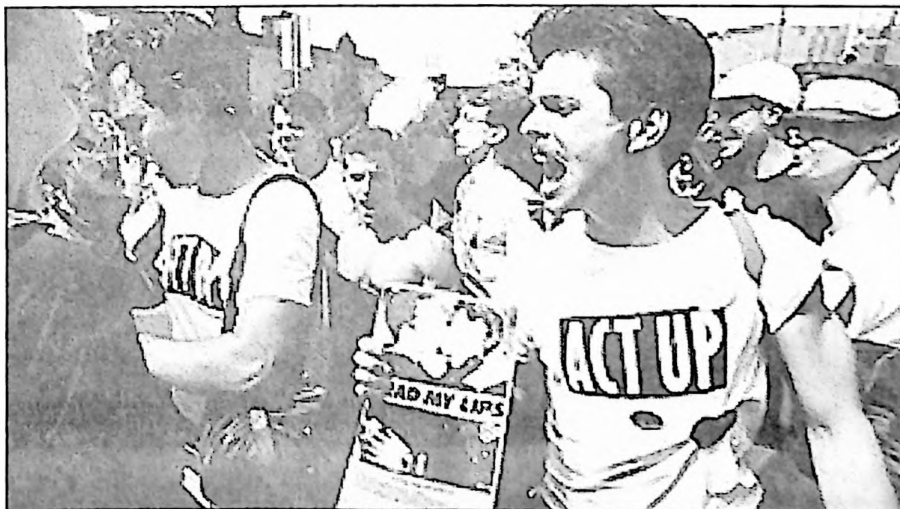
What is the role of the left now? It is going to be very bad for everyone if the Republicans get hold of the Senate. The Democrats have behaved appallingly, but why is the Democratic Party, which I believe is not identical to the Republican Party, behaving so badly? Again, who is to blame? There are a huge number of progressive people in this country. Why are our voices not being heard? In part it's because we tell ourselves, and teach each other, that the machinery of American constitutional democracy is of no value. Consequently we abdicate the field of legislative and presidential power to the middle and the right. We gave up at some point on constitutional democracy. That was a mistake.

PA: *But don't you think that there is a growing movement in the unity between the left and center in the labor movement and in the peace movement? Over 100,000 people marched against war last April. Compare that to the beginning of the Vietnam War.*

TK: We learned from [the Vietnam War] and we remember it. The right is caught up in fantasies of WW II and has skipped over that. On the left when [we] think of war, [we] still [are] thinking, as we should, of Vietnam. So we are starting out having learned a lot, and there are changes and positive signs. But there is a lot of work to be done.

I mean take the globalism movement, the anti-globalism movement

◆ (continued on page 29)



ACT UP activists demand more money for AIDS treatments.

The Sick Stay Poor

By David Lawrence and Phil E. Benjamin

The year 2002 was a year of both victories and losses for the health care of people across the United States. In this article we remember and comment on just a few of these.

In the summer of 2002, the prestigious Commonwealth Fund released a letter to health professionals documenting the failure of the US health care system:

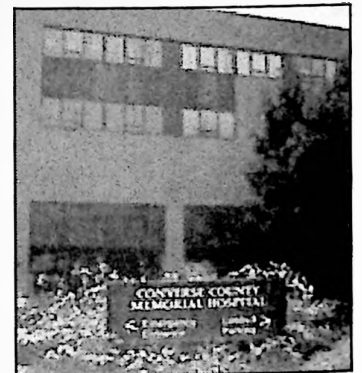
A new five-nation survey of public attitudes toward health care reveals that the United States has the highest share of residents facing access problems, driven in large part by the difficulty many face in paying for care. At least one of five Americans reported problems paying their medical bills, filling prescriptions, getting medical care when they had a problem, or getting a physician-recommended test. Americans with below-average income reported more health care access problems than their counterparts in the other four countries.

The Fund's study, done in conjunction with Harvard researchers, examined health systems in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the US.

Most of these countries have largely public systems with a limited role for private interests.

This is not just an international embarrassment, but also a serious problem. As millions in the US are suffering unnecessary increases in premature mortality and increased morbidity, and as Congress and the White House have failed once again to act on this crisis, the labor and people's movements are moving in a different direction.

A *USA Today*, Gallup public opinion poll in the summer of 2002 showed that President Bush's main weaknesses are in the area of social policy. His attitude toward health care in general, and toward abortion in particular, were high on the list of weaknesses. The polls also showed broad support for a strengthened Medicare



The Bush administration's policies have made access to hospitals more difficult.

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Phil Benjamin and David Lawrence are members of the health commission of the CPUSA.

program with a strong prescription drug benefit.

The failure of the US system to deliver decent health care continues to be the focus of a number of national institutions able to exert a strong influence on the health care policy debate. One of the most vocal critics of present policy is Dr. Arnold S. Relman, Professor Emeritus at Harvard and former editor of the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine*. In 2002 he told the Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology that our present system is "expensive, inefficient and inequitable."

An important aspect of Relman's testimony was that he pointed to the quest for profits as the reason for this failure. "I am now at work on a book that surveys the present unhappy condition of the US health care system, with particular attention to the role of private enterprise," he told the Senators, adding:

The US may be a world leader in medical science and technology, and its major medical centers may provide some of the best and most sophisticated care available, but taken as a whole, our health care system is failing and will need major reform very soon.

Relman said the US had "tried private for-profit markets, first in hospitals, in ambulatory care facilities and services, and in nursing homes, and then more recently, in the ownership of insurance plans, and the experiment has failed." Relman was not a lone voice crying in the wilderness. A study last year by the Commonwealth Fund, based on a review of 150 studies and reports, found a "lack of preventive care, medical mistakes, substandard care for chronic conditions, disparities in care" and other major problems in the US health system.

In another study, the National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine (IOM) confirmed a seemingly obvious but important fact: "Being uninsured can be bad for your health," the Academy said. "If you lack health insurance coverage you're going to have a poor health status, greater chance of dying early and your quality of life is not going to be as good because of poor health care," said Mary Sue Coleman, co-chair of the IOM committee that produced the report. The report also found that people who have even a relatively short interruption in coverage tend to have a decline in their health.

This last fact is particularly important as the rolls of unemployed rise. Many, if not most, of the newly unemployed cannot

The Florida AFL-CIO passed a resolution ... lending "strong support" to efforts to encourage non-binding referenda on universal health care

afford the price – ranging from \$600 per month and up – of continuing the health care benefits they are entitled to. The only solution to this crisis is rejecting the for-profit ideology that Dr. Relman has documented as the culprit. The first step is to call for support of Universal Health Care Access legislation, such as the concurrent resolution introduced by Rep. John Conyers (D-MI), and to make health care a priority in upcoming elections.

Internationally, 2002 saw a renewed push to preserve and expand public health care systems. For example, an editorial in the British medical journal, *The Lancet*, poked some fun at those opposed to increased public spending on the National Health Service (NHS). The plan to double government health spending over 10 years, the editorial says, "has been hailed as a return to the red-blooded socialism of tax and spend."

The editorial continues:

Chancellor Gordon Brown's budget is being seen as the centerpiece of a renewed old Labor strategy that puts social justice before the needs of business. To be sure, this welcome financial commitment to the health service will reverse decades of corrosive neglect. The principle of universal access to care, free at the point of need, has been dramatically reasserted.

The new direction of the NHS will focus on primary care, patient input, information management, dramatic increases in the workforce – 35,000 more nurses and 15,000 more physicians – and an increase in attention to public health. Although there is not such debate for national health legisla-



Privatizing health care coverage and other important public services are main goals of the Bush-Cheney regime.

Worker and union activists hoped that passage of the ADA would be a valuable tool in forcing employers to make workplaces safer.



Credit: Service Employees International Union

Health care workers have improved the delivery of health care services by improving their own working conditions through unions.

tion in the US as is taking place in the UK, there may well be in future elections.

Florida provided a case in point in 2002. The Florida AFL-CIO passed a resolution at its 2001 convention lending "strong support" to efforts to encourage non-binding referenda on universal health care on ballots in several counties for the 2002 elections. This was a major contribution to the effort "to build a campaign to place a universal health care constitutional amendment on the 2004 Florida ballot." The federation promised to "collect a portion of the 480,000 signatures required to put the amendment on the 2004 ballot." If approved, the measure would effectively eliminate insurance companies and HMOs from the state's health care system.

Meanwhile, the national campaign for universal, affordable and comprehensive health care recently came to New York with an appearance of Rep. Conyers, the principal sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 99. The resolution, introduced on April 4 with the support of 27 other members of Congress, "[d]irect[s] Congress to enact legislation by October 2004 that provides access to comprehensive health care for all Americans." Others appearing with Conyers included Democratic Reps. Major Owens, Jerrold Nadler, Anthony Weiner and Gregory Meeks, all from New York City.

A flyer calling for universal health care noted that "polls show most Americans favor universal health care. In all other industrial countries this sentiment led to creating publicly controlled health systems that have less paperwork, guaranteed coverage, and overall better quality care than we have in the United States."

While the struggle for universal health care continues, victories in more focused aspects of health care did occur in 2002. Historic action was taken in California to establish the maximum number of patients a hospital can assign to a nurse. This action by the legislature would not have taken place without the militancy and

determination of nursing unions and members. Nurse-to-patient ratios are crucial to forcing shortsighted administrators to put patient care first. Now, national action is needed to make the California law a federal requirement.

These new regulations were established at the same time that a national nursing shortage endangers patient care in hospitals. Insurance companies and their HMOs are requiring more outpatient care and limiting in-hospital care. This has created a situation where doctors and nurses have to face an in-hospital population that is far sicker than ever, and where each patient requires more, not less, attention.

The answer to this crisis is to dramatically increase the number of registered nurses. That will require more training programs and will meet with resistance from existing nursing schools and their related hospitals. A state-by-state, piecemeal approach cannot solve the fundamental problem. Rather, federal action by Congress is required.

Under existing law the Public Health Service Corps program has the ability to handle this training load. The program pays full tuition of all nursing students. The repayment commitment of matriculating students is an agreement to serve in a geographic area of need. The program has been cut in the past decades, but the apparatus is still intact and can be regenerated with the infusion of federal dollars. All labor unions, professional organizations and community groups concerned about patient care should make sure that Congressional representatives support the expansion of the Public Health Service Corps and its nursing training programs in 2003.

In the summer of 2002 President Bush rejected a Senate financing bill to protect the rescuers and victims of the September 11 disaster. In doing so, he repeated a mistake made by previous Republican administrations. They showed their arrogant class interests, and the vot-

ers eventually tossed them out.

His actions will cause death and long-term disabilities. He rejected a spending package that would have given New York City firefighters the kind of communication system that, had it been in place on September 11, would have saved scores of firefighters from death. That would have cost the federal government \$100 million. In addition, Bush rejected a \$90 million medical screening program that would have made it possible to screen every person – those assigned to work at the disaster site and volunteers – for physical and mental health damage. Of that \$90 million, \$25 million would have gone directly to New York City firefighters.

The Mount Sinai Occupational Health Clinic has been the recipient of \$12 million to screen rescue and recovery workers. This is only enough to cover about 8,000 workers. The other \$90 million would have covered almost all of the remaining 30,000 workers. This would have been a nationwide program, since many volunteers came from all over the country. All of these workers would be tracked to make sure that they would be covered for all expenses from illnesses resulting from the September 11 disaster. This kind of medical screening and tracking would also ensure that workers' compensation rights are not lost.

Last year, studies by the New York Academy of Medicine revealed that the children of World Trade Center victims have been suffering severe mental health distress. These children would have been covered as well.

What was Bush's answer to questions about his veto of those spending measures? You guessed it. "I chose not to spend the \$5 billion [the full appropriation] because, one, we didn't need to and, two, it is important for this country to be fiscally disciplined as our economy begins to recover." Within 24 hours, Bush appropriated \$30 billion to Brazil to try to head off the election of a progressive into leadership of that country, and he now anticipates spending hundreds of billions in a war on Iraq.

During 2002, Bush went after the safety net for all other injured and potentially injured workers. Early in January a *Wall Street Journal* article warned: "Workers' Comp Insurance Now Harder to Get." Coupled with the ongoing coal operators' attempt to gut coal miners' black lung benefits, this highlights the failure of this crucial social insurance system. During 2002 the problems became worse.

The *WSJ* article referred to the workers' compensation claims that might be filed stemming from the World Trade Center disaster. Rather than making sure that all

workers and their families receive their legal and financial (including death benefit) rights, the carriers have been looking for ways to avoid their responsibilities.

Workers' compensation laws were established precisely to take care of these kinds of disasters without the need for further legal action. Some comp carriers are now looking to exclude terrorism from workers' compensation coverage. Some already do. In the New Year, you can imagine employers and their carriers trying to pin regular work-related accidents and illness on a "terrorist" attack.

Finally, as another example of a year of attacks on the health of working Americans, a Supreme Court decision in 2002 gave employers a free hand to exclude workers who may have a preexisting health condition. In this case the preexisting health condition might be one which could become worse from the chemicals that the employing company may be exposing workers to.

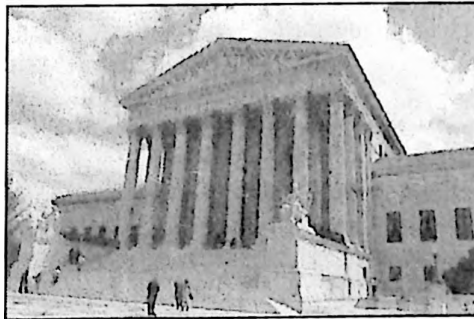
For example, if a worker is found to be sensitive to the fumes from an industrial solvent, and complains that the solvent causes severe breathing problems, the employer can refuse to change the solvent. It is up to the worker to put up with the chemical danger, or find another job.

The attorneys who appeared before the Supreme Court for Chevron Texaco Corporation actually said that not allowing the employer to refuse work to these workers would make the company "complicit in a suicide attempt." Attorneys for Jackson Lewis, the most notorious anti-union law firm in the US, said if the Supreme Court ruled on behalf of the worker, it "would have created a head-on collision with OSHA." They were right, but for the

wrong reasons.

What the companies in this case were saying, although not openly, is that occupational health problems brought on by chemical exposures in production are not going away. Worker and union activists were hoping that passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) would be another valuable tool in forcing scofflaw employers to fix their workplaces for employees. Further, the ADA would mean that employers have to make the factories and offices of our country safe for everyone.

In the new year constitutional and labor advocates need to analyze this decision, pick it apart and begin the process of entering another case that limits its impact. The Chevron Texaco case cannot be left standing as is, and may require special congressional legislation to reverse this trend. ■



Recent US Supreme Court decisions have allowed employers to escape financial responsibility for workers' health.

Credit: DOJ



MELISSA CHADBURN
is a law student and member of the YCL.

¿TIENES HAMBRE?

¿Tienes hambre?
Tengo comida en papel
There will be rhymes for the hors d'oeuvres
Books for the main course
And poems for dessert
Our days will last a hundred years
And nights a decade longer
For we'll shield ourselves against demise
With our endless hunger
And when your plate is good and empty
You may say, "Mami can I have some more?"

And to this plight I'll respond
For every bite you take my dear
I'll distribute four
The streets will scream with bureaucrat's cries
And the Po-Po's cans of mace
But we'll take our knowledge
Slowly chew
And spit it in their face!!

◆ (continued from page 31)

Letters ◆ (continued from page 4)

containing an article entitled "Imperial America" by James Chace. Chace opens with the telling question, "Who can doubt that the United States is an imperial power?"

Who, indeed.

It is time to put aside the speculative and diversionary musings of Hardt and Negri and get on with the urgent task of opposing US imperialism and its adventures.

Greg Godels



**More on US Imperialism
Trenton, NJ**

I am writing to you know what a great magazine you publish. The articles are timely and very informative. I have one suggestion at this time of national peril. I sincerely wish you would publish more critiques of American imperialism. For example, recently I read an excellent article in this month's *Monthly Review* entitled "Iraq, Imperialism, Oil, and Washington's Unipolar World." The article is an excellent expose of Washington's (and US capitalism's) lies about why Iraq should be invaded. I suggest you review this article.

I also would suggest you review Lenin's

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism. I recently read an edition published by Pluto Press. The introduction to this edition related Lenin's analysis to modern globalization is excellent. In closing, keep up the good work.

Gary DeSantis

**CHECK OUT YOUR
MARXIST I.Q.**

The answers to the questions on page 13:
1) A, 2) A, 3) D, 4) A, 5) C

Each question is worth 20 points.

How to score yourself:

- 0-40: You need to go to a re-education camp.
- 50-60: You are unprepared to withstand bourgeois revisionism.
- 70-80: You qualify for a medal.
- 90-100: You should be writing articles for PA.

BE PREPARED: Next month the quiz will be on Marxist theory of the national question.
- 'You are what you read.'

Motown ♦ (continued from page 13)

justice groups. The Network also stressed its reliance on the tradition of non-violent civil disobedience of the American civil rights movement. In a press release written before the first major Detroit-area demonstration against Bush's war drive, Al Fishman, a spokesperson for the Network, said, "Our message is a peaceful one – we do not support

a war against Iraq. Consequently, we also do not support messages of hate or violence, and disruptive activities by any individuals, as part of this demonstration."

Since its founding, the Network has organized teach-ins, demonstrations and brought together hundreds of activists. It built on the efforts of Detroit-area Women in Black, who have organized monthly protests since the war on Afghanistan began. The Metro Detroit Gray Panthers made another significant contribution by leading a campaign calling for universal health care and opposing the privatization of Michigan's current health coverage system. They set in motion the first call to mobilize for the April 20th demonstration. The Michigan District of the US Peace Council held widely attended lectures on international issues related to the Middle East and South Asia and spearheaded a postcard drive to take opposition to Bush's war on Iraq to Michigan Senators. The Peace Council called Bush's war drive "an act of aggression," regarding it as an attempt to undermine the role of the UN.

What has been the result of these efforts? The most visible effect was that the Democratic delegation from Michigan to Congress, except one, voted against Bush's war resolutions.



Over 1,000 people attended the October 26th peace rally in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Credit: www.indymedia.org

In mid-October, the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO central labor body voted to write a letter of gratitude to the delegation. Their resolution read in part:

Resolved that the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO central labor body send a letter thanking the US Senators from Michigan and those from the Michigan Congressional delegation who, like they do for the union movement and working people in Michigan, stood for a more peaceful world and voted "NO" on the President's Pre-emptive Strike on Iraq initiative.

At a meeting called by the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO to defend Social Security from privatization and strengthen Medicare, Congresswoman Carolyn Cheeks-Kilpatrick linked the struggle for peace to the fight to strengthen the social safety net. A war, Cheeks-Kilpatrick told the union activists, would mean that we would not have the \$200 billion for strengthening Social Security, funding a good Medicare prescription drug plan, for public education or other pressing needs of working people and seniors. And considering that Bush simply could not prove what he said about Saddam Hussein, this was too much to just sit back and take.

Some important aspects of this story slide under the radar of the cor-

porate media. Though 133 members of the House and Senate voted against the war resolution, often claiming the cost in lives and resources as a main reason, the October vote on the Senate version of the defense bill shows some major contradictions. 93 Senators approved an unnecessarily huge \$393 billion budget. Seniors and working-class people

with little access to adequate health care coverage are still wondering if they will receive a prescription drug benefit that does not hold them hostage to insurance and pharmaceutical companies. Public school advocates wonder still about increases in funding; they even are becoming skeptical about whether the federal government will uphold its financial responsibility for certain public school programs. Unemployment continues to be a life-threatening problem, no matter how many times the White House dismisses it. So as the new congressional session opens, the peace movement will continue to say no to lining the pockets of military contractors at the expense of working people, seniors and public education.

In the changed political climate following September 11th, Detroiters helped to deliver a blow to the Bush administration's domestic agenda by making a stand for peace. By fighting to turn back his attacks on unions, immigrant workers, civil liberties and efforts to undermine public programs, they have tried to stop a senseless war. And though Bush is threatening to ignore the growing and solidifying international opposition to aggression against Iraq, the peace movement continues to believe that it will overcome. ■

Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City, 1842-1949,
Stella Dong, HarperCollins, 2000.

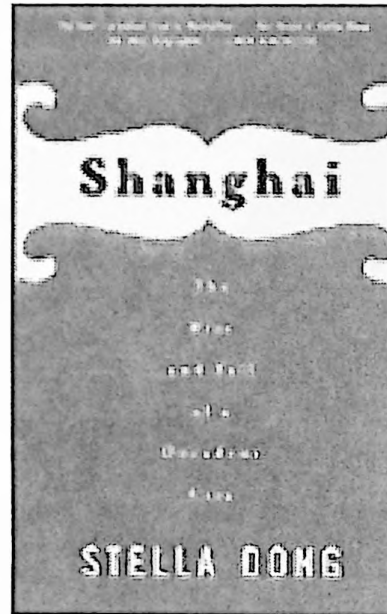
Reviewed by Eric Green

For people interested in the current situation in China, I can heartily recommend that they read about China's past, especially the city of Shanghai. Historical analysis is useful in understanding the decisions being made by the Communist Party of China.

For centuries, actually millennia, China has been a major country in the world's economic and political development. Its geographic size and population coupled with its early development has continually placed it at the center of world activities. No one book can fully capture the history of the Chinese people and its socio-economic and political development. The questions now being asked about China's new economic plans, which focus on particular relations with industrial countries, can be better understood by reading this book.

The book starts with the Treaty of Nanking that ended the First Opium War between Britain and China in 1842. This treaty granted economic/trading concessions in Shanghai to the European powers. Stella Dong carefully takes us through the next 107 years in a very easy to read, informative and thought - provoking way. The merchants who inhabited Shanghai over this period were a mixture of British entrepreneurs, Russian émigré's (after the Russian revolution), Sephardic Jewish merchants, German spies during the 1900s and, of course, the homegrown Chinese warlords and their related gangs. How these groups interacted to rip off the wealth of China is an interesting part of the book.

If you think that organized crime in the US is complex, i.e., the typical television gangsters as pictured in the HBO series, *The Sopranos*, the Enron criminals and the everyday corporate crooks who steal from the Medicare and Medicaid systems, you meet their predecessors in



Shanghai. It is clearly true that the system of capitalism breeds a cast of characters who repeat themselves around the world, regardless of their nationalities and backgrounds.

But, Stella Dong's book is different than most books written in this manner. You get to know the different groupings active in this period as if you were reading a novel or a mystery. Interest never wanes. She did not write a partisan book supporting a progressive, left or communist viewpoint, but she is reporting history as it developed. What is very unusual for this kind of book is that she states that it was not

until the rise of the Chinese Communist Party that a clearly anti-corruption, anti-warlord movement was about to change China forever. Here was a new set of Chinese activists who would not be lured into the opium trade to finance their activities. On the contrary, they were incorruptible.

Dong's descriptions of the activities of nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek, placing his anti-communism and personal financial gain from corruption before the struggle against the Japanese imperialists in the 1930s and '40s, are particularly significant. That the US supported Chiang's occupation of Taiwan is particularly telling of the US government's attitude and blind devotion to anti-communism and corruption.

This book is far more current than its title would suggest. For those in the US who abhor the rise of corporate crime and other capitalist practices, this book rings true for what often takes places here.

A Shanghai missionary once said, "If God lets Shanghai endure, he owes an apology to Sodom and Gomorrah." Let's hope that we can save our country from receiving the same admonition. ■

Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network,
James Der Derian, Boulder, Colorado, Westview, 2001.

Reviewed by Gerald Horne

The war in Afghanistan has been largely administered from a massive US military base in Tampa, Florida, thousands of miles from the field of action. According to James Der Derian, this remote control of a war-zone is part of what the Pentagon refers to as the "Revolution in Military Affairs." It involves the promiscuous deployment of computers, satellites, "smart weapons," and unmanned aircraft that can take pictures, record video and, if necessary, fire missiles. All of this technology is designed to inflict maximum damage on an antagonist while allowing the US to escape with minimum casualties. Indeed, in his idiosyncratic book, *Virtuous War*, Der Derian asserts:

The speed of interconnectivity that the computer enables has, more than any other innovation in warfare from the stirrup to gunpowder to radar to nukes, shifted the battlefield away from the geopolitical to the electromagnetic. Less obviously, the power of cyberwar comes from its ability to reproduce as well as to deconstruct reality with a real-time verisimilitude that will make future war more a contest of signs than of soldiers.

This feat has been accomplished with the US spending more on the military than the next 9 top-spending nations combined. Actually, the US together with its military allies in NATO and the Pacific account for 85 percent of the world's military spending. This excessive spending is designed to maintain the status



quo indefinitely – imperialism über alles.

If there is a single place to examine in order to understand where this trend is leading, one should look no further than the Institute for Creative Technologies. This multi-million dollar collaboration among the Pentagon, the University of Southern California and Hollywood sees its central mission as reducing 21st century warfare even further toward the kind of games that adolescents now enjoy on SONY's Playstation 2, Microsoft's X-Box and the latest from Nintendo. The ability of a technician in Tampa to operate a "drone" or unmanned aircraft in Afghanistan and fire missiles at unsuspecting foes is just a harbinger of things to come.

This burgeoning "military-industrial-media-entertainment" complex is designed to produce products – as one Pentagon bureaucrat put it – "for the army as well as

for the entertainment, media, video game, film, destination theme park, and information technology industries that are such a key part of the California economy."

This future vision also involves the deployment of robot warriors and even "humanitarian work, like the 'electronic dog's nose' program that seeks to technologically replicate the canine's remarkable capability to sniff out land mines."

Strikingly, there have been "war games" designed to test out these new technologies and concepts on US soil. Again, it was in California in March, 1999, that the so-called "Urban Warrior" simulation took place in the San Francisco Bay Area. "The experiment envisioned a future war of stateless criminals armed with computers, 'Orange County' terrorists with weapons of mass destruction."

This exercise involved "6000 sailors and marines ... joining forces with 300 civilian role-players and a veritable army of defense contractors ... Marines sprouted ultraportable Ericsson, Motorola, and Kenmore radios, integrated GPS receivers with two-meter accuracy, souped-up Toshiba Librettos with wireless LAN, as well as the new MILES 2000, a smarter version of the laser-tag vest that flashes and beeps when a hit leaves you dead, maimed, or merely the walking-wounded. They also carried low-tech Mad Max gear for the close quarters of urban warfare: axes, sledgehammers, gloves and lots of

◆ (continued on page 30)

The Free Trade Scam ♦ (continued from page 7)

controls. When the interests of big business conflict with those of the people of the world, the people lose.

But it is not just the physical environment that is under assault by US imperialism and its allies. The Bush administration, the IMF and the World Bank policies are waging an unrelenting economic and political war against the vast majority of the people of the developing world and the working people of the developed countries.

The average Gross Domestic Product in imperialist countries is, per capita, \$24,430, in the world at large \$6490, and in sub-Saharan Africa \$1450. Why this disparity in per capita income between the imperialist countries and the deliberately underdeveloped countries? The policies of the developed countries, hiding behind the slogan of "free markets," are designed to actually "fix" the markets in favor of imperialism and to exploit the poor countries by transferring capital from them to the imperialist nations.

The method is simple. The poor nations cannot survive without capital from rich countries, which prop them up. In order to qualify for this aid poor countries must deregulate their economies, end subsidies to their own businesses and farms, privatize public services and assets and allow prices to be set by unfair competition with imported goods from rich economies.

Under really free competition, since the cost of production is higher in rich countries, the poor countries would begin to accumulate wealth from the sale of their prod-

ucts both on their home markets and as exports. Poverty would gradually decrease and hundreds of millions would slowly be lifted out of despair. But the multinationals would lose out. What to do?

The US and other developed nations respond by giving subsidies to their farmers and industries and erecting trade barriers they refuse for poor nations. In the process they use tax dollars (or rebates and exemptions) to reduce the cost of production artificially for their own industries. The multinationals can sell their products below production costs due to handouts from their governments.

These artificially cheap products still yield a profit. The multinationals take them to markets in poor countries and sell them cheaper than the local goods, which are not subsidized due to the policies of "free trade" and the end to subsidies insisted on by the IMF.

This system is so outrageous that voices within the World Bank are beginning to protest some of these contradictory policies. According to the *New York Times* (10-1-02) the chief economist of the World Bank, Nicolas Stern, estimated that European cows are subsidized to the tune of \$2.50 a day each. Japanese cows rate \$7 a day. Meanwhile, "75 percent of the people in sub-Saharan Africa live on less than \$2 a day." The Africans are forced to follow the IMF rules on "free" trade. It is impossible to compete against the multinationals. Governments in the richest countries spend \$1 billion a day just on farm subsidies. One of the reasons for African famine is the destruction of domestic food pro-



"Lula" da Silva, newly elected president of Brazil, won on the strength of his critique of neoliberal policies.

ducing capacities by these capitalist policies.

According to the *Times*, Brazil lost \$640 million and India \$1 billion due to these imperialist policies. That is, from these two countries alone, suffering from unbelievable poverty, \$1.64 billion in gross capital was transferred to the imperialists.

Even the IMF would like some, if not all, of these subsidies removed, especially those handed out by the US. The problem is, the IMF does not loan money to the US. The US can do whatever it wants, as the *Times* article points out, and so can US corporations.

The September 27, 2002, issue of the *Times* reports that workers in Bangladesh, who make shirts for the Walt Disney Company, work seven days a week, 14 hours a day, for 14 cents an hour and no benefits. In an hour they make three shirts that sell in the US for \$17.99 each. So for 14 cents the workers allow Disney to take in \$53.97 gross (before deductions of the cost paid to the subcontractor, etc.). These figures could come right out of Vol. I of *Capital*, except the 19th century workers Marx wrote about sometimes got a half-day off on Sunday. ■

"The policies of the developed countries hiding behind a slogan of free markets are actually designed to fix the markets."

Tony Kushner ♦ (continued from page 19)

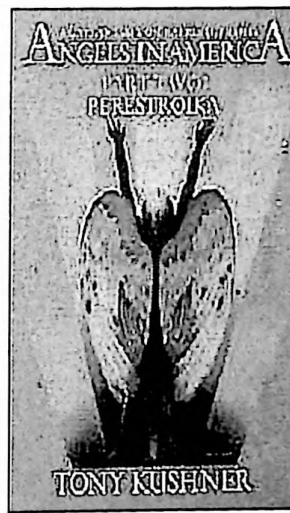
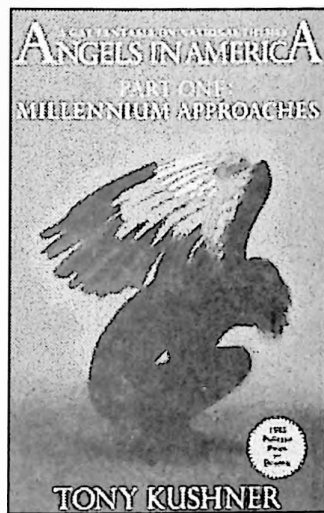
— in a sense it's both — is incredibly exciting. But it is a little bit disturbing. The extent to which it seems, at least in the demonstrations that I've gone on, to be fueled primarily by a kind of an eco-anarchism, is immensely romantic. And I can understand, I mean I'm 46 — I don't mean to be condescending to anybody — but if I was 19, I wouldn't be terribly interested in who won as Senator of Minnesota. It's much sexier to put on a bandana and throw a brick through a Gap window. But where that's going to lead, I don't know.

As an incitement, as an advertisement, as a calling of attention, it is extraordinary. Where it goes from there, I think, is a big question. And I think that what you are saying is absolutely true. There are important connections being made between the left and left of center, between liberals and radicals. But there is still an immense amount of work to do to try and find a left that actually wields power.

We want to actually be able to say you are not going to bomb, because

we won't let you. We can do it because there are enough progressive courageous representatives in Washington to say, "go fuck yourself," when another Bush comes back and says, "I want you to pass this resolution." I believe [we need] like 150 more Barbara Lees, then we'll be somewhere. Until we get that, where are we? Why aren't there 150 Barbara Lees? There are more than enough people who are progressive. By my sort of intuitive estimate, around 30 to 40 percent of the population really is certifiably left, so why do we feel there are six of us?

I was involved in Act Up, and one of the great lessons was that it was only about an achievable agenda, about getting things done. People worked on so many different levels. It was direct action, but it was also incredibly smart infiltration. It wasn't about hanging on to some cherished notion of being on the outside or being in opposition. Because if that's all you are, then when do you stop opposing and start creating? ■



Tony Kushner's Pulitzer Prize-winning play, *Angels in America*.

Cashing In ♦ (continued from page 15)

more of these systems. Much of the new Pentagon funding will be used to bankroll longstanding pet projects of the military-industrial lobby. In fact, more than one-third of the Pentagon's FY 2003 \$68 billion procurement budget will be allocated to big-ticket, cold war-era systems that have little or nothing to do with the war on terrorism.

Although many analysts had assumed that defending against long-range ballistic missiles might take a back seat to other more urgent defense priorities in the wake of September 11, the Bush administration has moved full speed ahead with missile defense.

Spending on missile defense increased by 43 percent in FY 2002, and the Bush administration plans to spend at least \$32.7 billion on the missile defense program between now and 2005. Total costs for the deployment and maintenance of a multitiered system could top \$200 billion over the next two decades.

Despite campaign promises by Bush to "skip a generation" in weapons procurement, all three of the Pentagon's advanced fighter plane programs are moving forward. This year alone, close to \$12 billion will be allocated to the Air Force's F-22 Raptor, the Joint Strike Fighter/F-35 and the Navy's F-

18E/F fighter plane. The F-22 has been described as a costly Cold War relic designed for an enemy that no longer exists. The Super Hornet, as the F-18E/F is known, has not been able to meet key performance goals that were used to justify its development. The JSF (also called the F-35) was viewed as a likely program to be cut or scaled back, but within weeks of September 11 Lockheed Martin was awarded a \$19 billion development contract, and international partners signed on.

The failure of policymakers and defense officials to cancel unnecessary weapons programs is, in large part, due to the undue influence

♦ (continued on page 30)

Postmark Pentagon ◇ (continued from page 10)

standby list to go to Iraq as part of a weapons inspection team.

From Production to Profit

Regardless of whether Wiley or Hatfill were personally involved, it is becoming increasingly clear that the attacks were carried out by skilled scientists who were not only able to obtain or manufacture the quantity and quality of the anthrax used, but were also able to cover their tracks using their knowledge of the law and of any investigation into the incidents. Overlaying all these factors is the recurring connection of the anthrax attacks to the Pentagon and the CIA, a connection that may well be behind the US media's failure to investigate and expose this act of terrorism.

Exposing the Pentagon-CIA connection is critical for at least one important reason. Since the 9-11 and anthrax attacks, government spending on bio-defense programs has received a \$6 billion boost, some of it going directly to the Pentagon's Vaccine Acquisition project. The scandal behind the anthrax vaccines, an

...the recurring connection of the anthrax attacks to the Pentagon and the CIA... may well be behind the US media's failure to investigate and expose this act of terrorism.

aspect of the follow-up to the attacks that received even less attention in the media, has Pentagon fingerprints all over it. Two companies currently hold the US monopoly over the supply of supposed anthrax vaccines – Bioport, owned by a Saudi corporate conglomerate, and Bayer, a German company that manufactures Cipro. Both these companies have had extensive dealings with the Department of Defense for many years. Cipro was promoted as an antidote for the anthrax attacks even though it has dangerous side effects and has not even been tested for inhalation anthrax cases. This promotion has been aided by the Pentagon's repeated use of Cipro during the Gulf War as an anthrax antibiotic. The Bioport facility in Lansing, was originally a

creation of the Pentagon's bio-weapons program, later privatized by the Michigan state government. Since 1998, Bioport has had exclusive license to provide vaccines for the military. The CEO of Bioport, in a statement before a Congressional committee, noted, "Bioport has one customer – the Department of Defense – and one product – anthrax vaccine."

These revelations make it clear that US state-sponsored terrorism was responsible for last fall's deadly anthrax attacks that killed five Americans. And the Pentagon's complicity in this incidence of domestic terrorism is complete and thorough – from production to profit! ■

Cashing In ◇ (continued from page 29)

exerted by the top defense contractors. More than any administration in history, the Bush team has relied on the expertise of former weapons contractors to outline US defense needs. Thirty-two major Bush appointees are former executives, consultants, or major shareholders of top weapons contractors. Seventeen administration appointees had ties to major defense contractors Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman or Raytheon prior to joining the Bush team. These include former Lockheed Chief Operating Officer Peter B. Teets, now undersecretary of the Air Force and director of the National Reconnaissance Office; Secretary of the Air Force James Roche, a former Northrop Grumman vice president; and Secretary of the Navy Gordon England, a former General Dynamics vice president. The theory behind Rumsfeld's reliance on former corporate executives is that they would be more willing to cut costs and try new approaches than the average Pentagon bureaucrat. However, that clearly has not been the case. ■

Virtuous War ◇ (continued from page 27)

padding One of the more bizarre weapon prototypes was a .50 caliber machine gun, a 'Boom Gun'.... Perched atop a telescoping crane, the gun was remotely controlled by an operator in the cab below who could use a mounted video camera to shoot over and around buildings.

"Urban Warrior" was a warning that these new instruments of death are not exclusively designed for wars abroad. Perhaps not surprisingly, these new systems were tried out in California – which has been the site of general strikes and mass insurrections alike.

The attempt by the Bush White House to militarize outer space is an essential component of these diabolical plans. The virtual wars that are being fought and planned are far from "virtuous," and the author is to be congratulated for bringing this simple reality to our attention. ■

WHEN I LISTEN TO COLTRANE

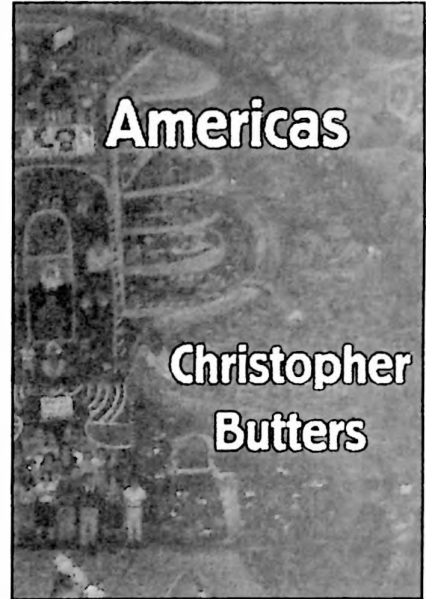
By Chris Butters

For Phil Bonosky

When I listen to Coltrane
the brilliant riffs and changes,
the squawking of that sax,
the backbeat of the drums,
that back and forth between them
like a conversation with all of us
in the darkness,
I don't just rejoice as I dance,
I think as I rejoice
this is it,
this is the heart and the grit,
this is surely the American
classical music,
the song of Naima
the breakthrough of Love Supreme,
though I don't know why
I think that,
whose fingers sailed
the scales of pianos
those Saturday mornings,
since I never did
like classical music.

When I see the workers march
across the bridge,
one foot in front of the other,
their banners against the rich,
after years of being exploited,
by the bosses
in factories and offices,
Black, White, Latino, Asian,
we're fired up
and won't take no more,
the energy of their fists
the rhythm of their drums,
I don't just chant
as I walk alongside them,
the song of truth
the song of justice,
I think as we walk
this is it,
this is the face of God,
the light, the spirit,
the rainbow as we march,
the one for all,
the all for one,
although I don't believe
in God.

CHRIS BUTTERS is a trade unionist and poetry editor for Political Affairs. His book *Americas* was published by Viet Nam Generation, Inc. & Burning Cities Press, Tucson, Arizona.



GARY HICKS is a poet living in Boston, Massachusetts.

the free fire zones of north america

By Gary Hicks

Those who place their faith in fire,
in fire their faith shall be repaid

-gordon lightfoot

the ghosts of those
who walked the trail
of tears, who exodused
from the Southland, who
okied to California
when the land dried out
now stare across wind
swept plains, glorified
by Broadway lyricists,
jeremiad of red-baited
folksingers, and all
on the face of postage
stamps, the kind you
could buy in a federal
building these days.
When the wind comes in
behind the rain, the
odor it brings is not
of wheat but of sweet
disgustingly sweet
carion. Buzzards in
the sky succeed the
hawks, making lazy circles
over the scene of
the crime.
the contractors on our

land who architected
the first hundred days
of this year of continued
misery, who abetted the
well-mannered thugs
of our radio waves, who
danced around the
consequences of the
crimes of my country's
class wars, who mouthed
a mean, evil-spiritedness,
all these now scream
aghast, now feign utter
shock, now find a tone
of sincerity in their
prayers to their
teutonic gods clothed
in Christian garb
as they find blood
already on their hands
now risen to their elbows.

lyrics, songs and poems
cannot begin to express
these days coming fifty
years after that incomplete

victory in Berlin. for
now we know: the enemy
against whom the militia
trained for combat
is we the people, and
the war is right now
at this hour, coming to
claim us where we live.

and this is why
english only will
not do. It does not
express strongly enough
that by which we must
live or die. english
is too impoverished
to cry out:
no pasaran!

◆ (continued on page 24)

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