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Rac[e]ing Abroad

Exploring Racism in/and U.S. Foreign Policy

By Nikhil Aziz

Introduction¹

“Save U.S. Lives! Drop U.S. Bombs!” Read the banner a woman held at a prowar rally outside the Huskies stadium in Seattle on March 1, 2003. Was the woman not aware that dropping thousands of U.S. bombs—“shock and awe”—would take thousands of Iraqi lives? No. Rather, the underlying sentiment of her statement is that U.S. lives are valuable and worth saving. Iraqi lives are not. The same sentiment is reflected in the response of some students in a course on U.S. imperialism who, when the professor asked in what “moral or ethical universe could the sacrifice of Iraqi civilians be justified . . . responded as if it were just axiomatic that Iraqi lives were not as valuable as ‘our’ lives.”²

These attitudes are possibly more prevalent among the U.S. ruling classes than on Main Street. Take Secretary of State Colin Powell’s dismissal of Iraqi casualties (while serving as chair of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff during the first war on Iraq). “That is not really a matter I’m terribly interested in”³ he said. Or, former secretary of state Madeleine Albright’s response to the deaths of over 500,000 (at that time) Iraqi children under the age of 5 as a direct result of U.S.-directed U.N. sanctions: “We think the price is worth it.”⁴

The war against Iraq and the endless so-called war against terror—both of which are garbed in the rhetoric of saving American lives—are less about saving American lives and more about much else.⁵ As many critics have cautioned, they will only further endanger American lives. Rather, they are



World Social Forum 2003 Kick-off Rally, Porto Alegre, Brazil. Pictures taken by Nikhil Aziz.

essentially about saving the “American Way of Life.” Even though the American Way of Life (AWOL—or as Walden Bello calls it, the American Way of War),⁶ like the wars that are fought to maintain it, has long been taking lives—the lives of people of color in the Third World, and those of people of color and poor people regardless of race in this country. But that is inconsequential to those in power in the United States, as reflected in Bush the elder’s admonishment, during the first U.S.-led war on Iraq that, “The world must learn that what we say, goes.”⁷ In a climate of increased assaults on civil liberties and rights within this country since 9/11/01, it is even more obvious that AWOL has always been less about freedom and more about the free market.

Uruguayan author and activist Eduardo Galeano while speaking to tens of thousands of mostly young activists in January 2003 at the Gigantinho stadium in Porto Alegre, Brazil, remarked that the most commonly heard word one finds in most languages around the world is “I,” whereas among indigenous

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Guest Commentary

Race and Racism on a World Scale

By Howard Winant

What does it mean to understand the globe as a racial stage? How deeply do we want to pursue that insight? Certainly as U.S. soldiers and marines (disproportionately Black and Latino) secure the streets of Baghdad, on their way to making sure that no counterpower can ever challenge the U.S. empire, it is possible to see a scenario of militarized racial power unfolding on a global scale. That the war on Iraq was not designed chiefly to remove Saddam Hussein, much less “democratize” Iraq, is not in serious doubt. The Bush Doctrine of pre-emptive warfare, honed at the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), explicitly seeks to prevent the emergence of any threats to global U.S. dominance. There are two categories of threat: rivals (notably China which could conceivably be an economic and military rival) and rebels (notably Islamists but also those who resist the WTO, the global debt regime, etc). Both rivals and rebels are located in the global South, the postcolonial world, the non-White world.

As the natural wealth of Africa, Asia, and Latin America—oil, metals, wood, agricultural products, fish, biodiverse pharmacological products, water—is sucked northward into the jaws of the North American Moloch, it is easy to see that centuries-long traditions of imperial plunder are still operating, indeed working overtime. As impoverished humanity flows north to Europe and the United States, migrating toward the northern “lands of opportunity,” it is easy to see that the global South is being stripped bare, not only of its material resources but of its human ones.

Many commentators have noted the peculiar revival of 19th century British imperial doctrine in the Bush Administration’s current practice. The Perles, Wolfowitzes, Kagans, and Kristols like to see themselves playing the “great game,” and they are quite willing to destroy governments (and peoples) to do it. Why not, after all? They are the liberators, not the occupiers; they have tutelary responsibilities they are not about to shirk. They have big business interests behind them, and they have the biggest stick in the world: they can pound into submission anyone foolish enough to oppose them. Empire rules.

Empires always roll over the “kaffirs,” “wogs,” and “sand-niggers” that stand in their way. But the ongoing resistance they engender is another matter. Since they’ll have to occupy what they conquer, their current rhetoric of democratization will soon fade away. Then they’ll face problems similar to the ones Johnson and Nixon did: economic pressures and body bags once again. Empire falls.

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peoples' communities, such as the Maya (Guatemala/Mexico), the most commonly used word is "We."⁸ That might very well be true, but Bush I and II, and others like them, also use "we" more often than not. But the "we" in those assertions is racial code for White, Christian, heterosexual men. Addressing the German Bundestag in Berlin on May 23, 2002, Bush the younger remarked:

"In this war we defend not just America or Europe; we are defending civilization, itself.... America and the nations in Europe are more than military allies, we're more than trading partners; we are heirs to the same civilization. The pledges of the Magna Carta, the learning of Athens, the creativity of Paris, the unbending conscience of Luther, the gentle faith of St. Francis—all of these are part of the American soul. The New World has succeeded by holding to the values of the Old.... These convictions bind our civilization together and set our enemies against us."⁹

The statement clearly demarcates boundaries of who is included in that "we" and who is kept out. "There are broad social and cultural parameters to racism [that] center upon notions of the 'nation.' Definitions are constructed about who constitutes the nation and which activities are [American or legal or ours]. The same definitions are used to implicitly exclude those who cannot be part of the nation. Racism, therefore, draws the ideological... boundaries of inclusion and exclusion."¹⁰ No major surprise, then, that most non-Whites in the United States oppose this war, and this is reflected in the opposition to war by the overwhelming majority of the Congressional Black and

Hispanic caucuses.¹¹

That many (White) Americans, since the very beginning of U.S. history, have accepted as providential the creation and expansion of the United States, and propagated with missionary fervor its imperi-



World Social Forum Kick-off March

alist policies as divinely ordained, is not in doubt. In a recent op-ed in the *New York Times*, Jackson Lears makes the connections between the "Manifest Destiny" of the 1840s that led to westward expansion and 19th and 20th century imperialism up through the Cold War and beyond.¹² William Sloan Coffin draws similar connections, citing among others, former senator Albert J. Beveridge, former president Ronald Reagan, and former secretary of

state Madeleine Albright.¹³ Sentiments that are eerily echoed today by George W. Bush and his advisers, and that bear repeating here.

At the turn of the 19th century Beveridge affirmed that, "God has marked the United States to lead in the redemption of the world. This is the divine mission of America."¹⁴ During the Cold War, Reagan, while juxtaposing the United States as the "city on a hill" with the "Evil Empire" of the Soviets,¹⁵ gallingly spoke during his second inaugural of how "Peace is our highest aspiration. *And our record is clear. Americans resort to force only when they must. We have never been aggressors.*"¹⁶ And at the end of the Cold War Albright declared on NBC's Today Show that, "If we have to use force, it is because we are America. We are the indispensable nation. We stand tall. We see further into the future."¹⁷

What is blithely ignored is that like Manifest Destiny, which resulted in the continued genocide of Native Americans and war against Mexicans, the wars of U.S. imperialism have been directed at the non-White peoples of Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Thomas Borstelmann points out that "The growth and consolidation of white power at home and abroad did not seem accidental or unfortunate to most Americans. The legitimacy that white Americans accorded to

notions of white supremacy was reflected in the growth of Social Darwinist thought, which proclaimed Europeans and their descendants as fittest to survive among the races... Such a view of racial categorization around the world *precisely reflected domestic attitudes.*"¹⁸

Rac[e]ing Foreign Policy

Howard Winant writes that, "The pundits and sages don't generally place the



World Social Forum Anti-War March: In step with Che

racial dimensions of the post-cold war world in the center of the picture; usually race is off to the side somewhere. If it is acknowledged at all, it is subsumed within the 'ethnicity' or 'nationalism' categories.... Such formulas aren't exactly wrong; they just fail to take race into account."¹⁹ Additionally, the very term "Cold" war deep freezes our conscience, and the reality of the untold suffering and brutality of the racialized proxy wars fought in the Third World by the two White superpowers. What Winant is arguing in much of his work on race and global politics is that the "new world order"—paradoxically²⁰ advocated by George Bush I during the previous war against Iraq—is in fact "increasingly and complexly a racial order."²¹

Race and racism are similarly white-washed out of any analysis of U.S. foreign policy. Despite the fact that "[t]he foreign relations of the United States... have always involved relations between peoples of different skin colors.... Slavery [mainly impacting Africans/African Americans] and westward expansion [primarily affecting Native Americans/Mexicans/Chicanos] wove together issues of race relations and foreign relations from the very beginning

of American history."²² Yet, it is virtually impossible to find even a mention of racism in/and U.S. foreign policy, let alone an analysis of it from the lens of racism, in any of the major foreign policy and international politics journals or course texts.²³ *irtheory.com*, a website that features an extensive laundry list of classical, cutting-edge, and even some unheard of paradigms, theories, and approaches to studying international relations and foreign policy that are prevalent in the disciplines of international relations and politics, does not include race/racism.²⁴ Racism is similarly absent in much of the popular discourse around U.S. foreign policy, certainly in the mainstream media. Finally, it is in no way acknowledged or addressed by those who actually make foreign policy. Left/progressive groups, especially those of people of color, are often the only ones making the connections between racism at home and racism abroad.²⁵

This article is not about why racism is absent from mainstream foreign policy analysis. Rather, it seeks to foreground race in the discussion of U.S. foreign policy, and to engender further discussion and analysis of U.S. foreign policy from the

lens of race/racism.²⁶ *The Public Eye* (and Political Research Associates) has traditionally analyzed the U.S. political Right. It is far easier to draw distinctions between the Right and liberals in the arena of domestic policy (even though the Democratic Party, the home of liberals in electoral politics in the modern era, has moved dramatically to the right), than it is to draw such distinctions with regard to foreign policy.²⁷ Take for instance the fact that it was the liberal Lyndon B. Johnson, the advocate of the "Great Society" at home, who expanded the U.S. war against the Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians in Southeast Asia—a war that liberally used chemical weapons (of mass destruction) such as

Napalm and Agent Orange. Or, that 8 of the last 12 years of the most inhumane sanctions against Iraq were under the liberal Clinton. In fact, Borstelmann's study of U.S. foreign policy-making from F.D.R. to Bush I documents how racism influenced almost every single one of these administrations regardless of party affiliation.²⁸

The racist imprint is even more indelible on U.S. foreign policy before World War II and desegregation. And it is this part of our history that what scholarship on race/racism and U.S. foreign policy there is in the United States, largely addresses.²⁹ Racism is strikingly evident in the debates surrounding the U.S. acquisition of Spain's colonies in 1898 after the Spanish-American War. As Rubin Weston and Michael Hunt both argue, imperialists and anti-imperialists in the United States were both clearly racist, and made their respective cases for or against U.S. imperialism—the annexation of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba, and as well its interventions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic—on the basis of racist thinking.³⁰ Those who supported annexation "argued that the United States should extend polit-

ical control to these areas without extending the Constitution [and thus all the rights that extending it would imply].”³¹ Their rationale was that “Anglo-Saxon nations had an obligation to civilize ‘inferior’ peoples.”³² This is a case of the classic “White Man’s Burden” syndrome of White men having to save Brown women from Brown men, (or Brown men from themselves)³³—which we see today best represented in George W. Bush talking about how the United States would “be fighting not to conquer anybody but to liberate [the Iraqi] people.”³⁴ This was raised to grotesquely absurd levels in codenaming the U.S. invasion “Operation Iraqi Freedom!” Earlier, a similar argument was coined about saving Afghan women from the Taliban regime. An argument explicitly rejected by the group Women Living Under Muslim Laws (that includes Afghan women), which said that, “This was not a war to ‘save Afghan women’ as illustrated by the case of Sima Samar, the Minister of Women’s Affairs of the Afghan Interim Administration. When a case of blasphemy was recently filed against her it was a clear warning that all those who spoke out for a peaceful, just and democratic Afghanistan would be silenced.”³⁵

The point is not that Brown men do not oppress Brown women (and what about White men oppressing Brown women for that matter?) but rather that this was/is used as a pretext for White imperialism (and colonialism historically) and “national” interest. After all, it was the United States that armed Saddam Hussein for years against Iran and looked the other way at his government’s human rights violations in Iraq. It was the United States that supported the Afghan mujahideen/Osama Bin Laden/the Taliban against the Soviet Union and the then Afghan government. And these are just two of innumerable cases worldwide where the United States aided and abetted ideologically aligned human rights violators. “The point, anyway, is that the imperial power’s relentless focus on the way the target culture treats women is a cynical stunt designed to a) justify the imperial mission and b) camouflage the violence that they themselves are inflicting on man, woman and child [sic] in this country as they take it over. Women can now uncover their faces in Kabul. They also have the opportunity to be burnt up and smashed flat in American air raids, or waste away in squalid refugee camps.”³⁶ Again, with regard to U.S. imperialism

historically, those who opposed annexation then argued that, “the Republic should not be extended to areas not suitable for Anglo-Saxon settlement or to areas already inhabited by peoples of inferior races.”³⁷ Sentiments echoed today by Paleoconservatives and isolationists like Pat Buchanan that argue against the United States playing a role in foreign affairs (especially when it comes to areas outside of predominantly White western Europe), beyond a very narrowly defined “national” interest.

The racist legacy of U.S. foreign policy was obvious during WWII as well. John Dower, writing about the Pacific theater of WWII, notes that while “World War Two meant many things to many people . . . To scores of millions of participants, the war was also a race war. It exposed raw prejudices and was fueled by racial pride, arrogance, and rage on many sides. Ultimately, it brought about a revolution in racial consciousness throughout the world that continues to the present day.”³⁸ Further, that “When the struggle in Asia is taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that neither anti-Semitism nor white supremacy in its wider manifestations suffices to illuminate the full impact of racism during World War Two. In the United States

and Britain, the Japanese were more hated than the Germans before as well as after Pearl Harbor . . . They were perceived as a race apart, even a species apart—and an overpoweringly monolithic one at that. There was no Japanese counterpart to the “good German” in the popular consciousness of the Western Allies.”³⁹

Borstelmann argues, in a similar vein that, “World War II was not racial in its origins, but in the Pacific it became for most American soldiers a racially coded conflict. In contrast to most U.S. residents of German and Italian heritage, those of Japanese descent were stripped of their property and incarcerated because of what they looked like—not because of their actions or even beliefs.”⁴⁰ The disgusted reaction of



World Social Forum Anti-War March: The Communist Party of Brazil

an African American resident of Harlem to the racial coding of that war is evident: “All these radio announcements talking about yellow this, yellow that. Don’t hear them calling the Nazis white this, pink that.”⁴¹

The dissonance between the views (on U.S. foreign policy) of the vast majority of Black Americans and the White establishment in the United States has always been pronounced, and was especially jarring when it came to the anticolonial struggles in Africa. Particularly when it came to the antiracist struggles in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Southwest Africa (now Namibia) and South Africa; and the liberation wars against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and Angola. U.S. support, in the first three cases for White settler minority regimes, and in the latter two for colonial Portugal was only partly out of Cold War strategic and economic concerns. This was after all the United States in the era of Jim Crow segregation, and “Delegates [to the United Nations founding meetings] like John Foster Dulles opposed the human rights clause in the charter [that referred to full human equality] out of fears that it could lead to an international investigation of ‘the Negro question in this country.’”⁴²

Borstelmann’s extensive research on the administrations of almost all Cold War presidents from Truman⁴³ down (including well-documented quotes such as Nixon’s mollification of Kissinger, “Henry, let’s leave the ‘niggers’ to Bill [Rogers—Nixon’s secretary of state] and we’ll take care of the rest of the world”⁴⁴), show that racism and the pacification of the domestic antiracist civil rights struggle were major factors that determined U.S. relations with the Third World.⁴⁵ In fact, Mary L. Dudziak has written a series of studies on race/racism and foreign policy that focus on the impact of Cold War foreign relations and the American image abroad on domestic race relations, including the ending of segregation.⁴⁶

That this still persists in the present era was evidenced in the United States impeding the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Forms of Intolerance (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa, in 2001.⁴⁷

Structural Racism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Looking at racism in/and U.S. foreign policy—particularly after the end of official segregation—requires an understanding of structural racism. This is impor-

It is clear to many of us on the Left that to really understand the role of racism in domestic U.S. politics and policy we need to understand structural racism and its role within the United States. U.S. foreign policy and the international role of the United States must be similarly examined within the context of structural racism.

tant because individual prejudice in the foreign policy making of any one particular U.S. president only takes us so far. After all, not every U.S. president is racist in an individual sense. And, in any case, focusing on individual acts of racism require proof of the actor’s intent to discriminate on the basis of race, which is difficult to establish because presidential decisions are often embedded in overarching policies or cloaked as “national interest.” Further, an emphasis on individuals alone “limits accountability,”⁴⁸ because even if the individual’s racism is recognized and addressed, the racist nature of the system s/he is part of is not. It is clear to many of us on the Left that

to really understand the role of racism in domestic U.S. politics and policy we need to understand structural racism and its role within the United States. U.S. foreign policy and the international role of the United States must similarly be examined within the context of structural racism, especially because it is domestic politics and “national” interest that determines a nation’s foreign policy for the most part. And, because a country that is racist in terms of its internal structure simply cannot have a foreign policy that is not racist.

“Structural racism is understood as the complex ways in which historical oppression, culture, ideology, political economy, public policy and institutional practices interact to produce forms of racial sorting that reproduce and reinforce a hierarchy of color that privileges whiteness and marginalizes [other skin colors].”⁴⁹ As the Transnational Racial Justice Initiative’s report on White privilege and U.S. policy states, it maintains “a system that accrues to whites (or European Americans) greater wealth, resources, more access and higher quality access to justice, services, capital—virtually every form of benefits to be reaped from US society—than other racial groups. Conversely, white privilege has resulted in impoverishment and

injustice for the vast majority of those belonging to racial minorities.”⁵⁰

This is clearly understandable within the domestic U.S. context with regard to the continued oppression of people of color. But how does structural racism and White privilege play out on the international field? Especially given that Whites are a minority globally, and that most countries in the world have non-White majority populations with their own institutional and structural oppressions that subordinate women, ethnic or religious minorities, indigenous peoples, “lower” castes, etc. One way of understanding this is to visualize South African apartheid on a global level.



World Social Forum Anti-War March: In solidarity with the Iraqi people

“Global apartheid, stated briefly, is a system of international white minority rule. Race determines access to basic human rights; wealth and power are accumulated and structured by race and place; structural racism is found in global economic processes, political institutions and cultural assumptions; and international double standards are practiced that assume inferior rights to be appropriate for certain ‘others,’ defined by origin, race, gender, or geography. Global apartheid is more than a metaphor. It is a more accurate moniker for the corporate globalization that is now rightfully protested at every international meeting. Global apartheid has evolved as a consequence of an international economic system *built upon the slave trade, slavery and colonialism, and upon centuries of racism and racial discrimination*. Global apartheid has national and local consequences throughout the world.”⁵¹ While this is similar to South African apartheid, it is not dissimilar to structural racism in the United States.

Global apartheid, however, is more than economic racism. While more people would be willing to accept that the current international economic order systematically impoverishes people of color worldwide, less are likely to understand that the current international political order disenfranchises them. After all, in the current system, all countries are sovereign and have a vote in the United Nations General

Assembly. But as is self-evident, sovereignty is situational. It is one thing if you are the United States or China. Quite another if you are Iraq or Afghanistan. Four of the five permanent veto-wielding U.N. Security Council members—and it is the Security Council more than the

General Assembly that really matters on many substantial issues such as war—are White majority nations. How that came to be, in the aftermath of WWII with the 5 major victorious Allies being the engines behind the creation of the new international system, is incidental. The fact is, that 4 out of 5 are White majority countries, all of who have been imperial/colonial powers that invaded and colonized non-White majority countries.⁵²

PRA has consistently argued that subsuming all oppressions—not just racism but sexism, homophobia, etc.—under the framework of White supremacy is not sound analytically or strategically. These dif-

ferent oppressions, while certainly linked in the way they work and affect the oppressed, need to be named for what they are and challenged as such. Further, that while they all need to be challenged, overcoming them can only be through building a united front of substantive and sustainable cross-issue coalitions. None of this is in doubt.

However, much as White supremacy/privilege/racism is a reality inside the United States and is linked to structural racism, it is also true globally on a different level. Non-White countries (and thus peoples) are independent and sovereign in the international system just as much as non-White Americans are equal citizens in the United States. In theory, and legally, the latter certainly are. Yet, to argue that they are equal in every respect given structural racism in the United States would be foolish. It is the same in terms of the world as a whole.

Because racism has been mostly white-washed in both the conduct and analyses of U.S. foreign policy, it needs to be clearly identified. In much the same way that Cynthia Enloe and other feminists have identified the oppression of sexism in U.S. foreign policy and international politics.⁵³ Further, it needs to be unambiguously stated that structural racism at home (within the United States) and interna-



World Social Forum Anti-War March: In solidarity with the Palestinian people

tionally (global apartheid) has the same effect on people of color within the United States in one instance and outside it in the other—economic dislocation and political disarticulation.

The AWOL which, as argued earlier, is chiefly about maintaining U.S. economic, political, and military privilege and superiority globally, has the unstated effect of maintaining White American privilege globally. As Tim Wise stated, “White privilege and entitlement are at the root of foreign policy in this country.”⁵⁴ How is this so? Domestically, maintaining the AWOL translates as perpetuating the current economic and political system within the United States—a system that systematically and disproportionately disadvantages people of color and the poor through economic dislocation and political disenfranchisement.⁵⁵ Who benefits? Mostly White Americans, and wealthy Americans who are overwhelmingly White.

Internationally, defending the AWOL by extension benefits the same mostly White Americans and wealthy Americans who are overwhelmingly White. In both cases, those whom it harms are mainly people of color, and the poor regardless of race. People of color are disproportionately poor whether in the United States or in the larger world. And people with privilege are not about to begin dismantling a system that works for them.

Imperialist Wars: Hot, “Cold,” and “Cool.”

The so-called war against terror, and specifically, the war on Iraq are about securing the AWOL—even though global insecurity has risen dramatically as a result. While the war on Iraq begun in Spring 2003 is certainly “hot,” as in having casualties on all sides—disproportionately on the Iraqi

side given that imperialist wars these days are “smart”—a “cool” war has been going on since sanctions were imposed on Iraq after the first Gulf War in 1991, which never really ended. Weapons of Mass Destruction have been found in Iraq—but only in the form of deliberately harsh, comprehensive economic sanctions that have crippled and devastated a whole society. Its casualties are in the hundreds of thousands—because “U.S. policymakers have effectively turned a program of international governance into

not immediately met. “U.S. intelligence assessments took the same view” according to Gordon because, as she points out, those consequences were intended. One Pentagon official stated in an article in the *Washington Post* that, “People say, ‘You didn’t recognize that it [bombing Iraq’s electrical grid] was going to have an effect on water or sewage.’ Well, what were we trying to do with sanctions—help out the Iraqi people? No. What we were trying to do with the attacks on infrastructure was to accelerate the effects of the sanctions.”⁵⁹

Besides blocking or interminably delaying humanitarian goods—the holds on these goods tripled between 2000 and 2002—the United States (and sometimes Britain) has blocked other goods it classifies as dual-use. That is, while they can have civilian uses they could also possibly be diverted for military purposes. These have included at various times: vaccines for infant hepatitis,

tetanus, and diphtheria, incubators, cardiac and dialysis equipment, fire-fighting equipment, water tankers, milk and yogurt production equipment, drinking water treatment equipment, water transportation pipes, truck tires, etc.⁶⁰ The United Nations, because of U.S. insistence, has put in place an elaborate and tight monitoring system that tracks each individual item—in the case of chlorine canisters for water purification for instance—from the time of the contract, through the delivery and installation of the item, to its safe disposal. Yet, U.S. blocking of goods has consistently increased.⁶¹

When some of this was made public the United States began pushing for what it calls “smart sanctions” which, like “smart bombs,” are designed really to keep those who deliver them out of harm’s way—rather than civilians or non-military targets.



World Social Forum Anti-War March: No to Foreign Debt! Yes to Socialist Revolution! The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Argentina)

a legitimized act of mass slaughter.”⁵⁶ Since the sanctions began, it is estimated by the United Nations that over 500,000 Iraqi children under the age of 5 have died as a direct result of the sanctions.⁵⁷ This is genocide, yet again.

Based on extensive research, including secret U.N. documents obtained through foreign diplomats, Joy Gordon, has shown how in Iraq the “United States has fought aggressively throughout the last decade to purposefully minimize the humanitarian goods that enter the country. And it has done so in the face of enormous human suffering, including massive increases in child mortality and widespread epidemics. It has sometimes given a reason for its refusal to approve humanitarian goods, and sometimes given no reason at all...”⁵⁸ In 1991 itself, the U.N. warned of catastrophic consequences if basic human needs were

The “smart sanctions” while ostensibly aimed at the Iraqi political and military leadership rather than civilians were a detracting ploy to absolve the United States of direct blame for the blocking of goods. “Under the new proposal, all the categories of goods the United States ordinarily challenged would instead be placed in a category that was, in effect, automatically placed on hold. But this would now be in the name of the Security Council.”⁶² To ensure that other veto-wielding members did not reject the proposal, the United States lifted holds on contracts involving companies from their countries. Russia, however, vetoed it, and this led to the United States immediately blocking “nearly every contract that Iraq had with Russian companies.”⁶³ Later, when Russia approved a newer version of the proposal the United States vacated its holds on Russian contracts, “even though the State Department had earlier insisted that those same holds were necessary to prevent any military imports.”⁶⁴

No wonder then, that as Arundhati Roy writes, “In most parts of the world, the invasion of Iraq is being seen as a racist war. The real danger of a racist war unleashed by racist regimes is that it engenders racism in everybody—perpetrators, victims, spectators. . . . There is a tidal wave of hatred for the US rising from the ancient heart of the world. In Africa, Latin

America, Asia, Europe, Australia. I encounter it every day. Sometimes it comes from the most unlikely sources. Bankers, businessmen, yuppie students, and they bring to it all the crassness of their conservative, illiberal politics.”⁶⁵ As Ayeda Naqvi points out, “the Americans have unleashed a force they may not have reckoned for. With each day of fighting, something is changing. There are no Shias or Sunnis anymore, even borders between countries are slowly losing their significance Cen-

turies ago in the desert of Kerbala, a sacrifice was made that changed the course of history. Today it is happening again, in the same place. The Americans may or may not realise this but this is not Gulf War II—this is Kerbala II.”⁶⁶

Conclusion

U.S. imperialist wars, whether cold, cool, hot, or lukewarm, and its foreign policy in general are about a lot of things. This war against Iraq certainly is: It is about the Christian Right’s self-righteous messianic apocalypticism and demonizing of Islam and Muslims and Arabs.⁶⁷ It is about macho militarism and the burying of the Vietnam Syndrome and the testing of new weapons on non-White peoples. It is about the Neoconservative plan of achieving and maintaining global hegemony. It is

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about securing and controlling oil and servicing the multinational oil corporations and global capital, and redrawing the map of the Middle East to do it. It is about colonialism with a new face. It is about diverting our attention from the sinking U.S. economy and increasing domestic inequality and repression. And it is essentially aimed at securing and perpetuating the AWOL.

But wars and sanctions are just one element of U.S. foreign policy that need to be

analyzed from the perspective of race/racism: U.S. arms sales and transfers to friendly regimes in the Third World, and the overt and covert interventions against governments that were/are opposed to a Pax Americana; the Plan Colombia and War on Drugs; the foot-dragging and/or refusal to sign international treaties, including those banning landmines or greenhouse gases, and the International Criminal Court; the militarization of the globe through the setting up of bases in Third World countries; the pushing of neoliberal economic policies on the Third World and free trade agreements like NAFTA, CAFTA, FTAA, TRIPS, the WTO; immigration and refuge/asylum policies and practices that differ for different countries; and more, all need to be viewed from this lens. And, all of these policies cannot be viewed in iso-

lation from domestic policies that adversely affect working people, especially people of color, in this country: the ever-growing military-industrial complex that holds this country, and particularly regions like the South,⁶⁸ hostage because of its economic clout; the Wars on Drugs and Crime that disproportionately punish and incarcerate people of color, particularly Black and Latino men; the deregulation of industry that imposes harsher working conditions for working people, and the dumping of toxic waste in predominantly people of

color neighborhoods and Native American reservations; the crackdown on immigrants of color especially since, but long before 9/11; and so on.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., explicitly drew those connections in speaking out against the war on Vietnam in April 1967,⁶⁹ connections that progressive people of color in this country are increasingly redrawing now. As Libero Della Piana writes, “After the September 11 terrorist attacks, it became immediately clear that

people of color would suffer the consequences of a dramatic shift in foreign and domestic policy. The 'war on terrorism' is not just a war in the classical sense, but a set of domestic, foreign, and military policies purportedly aimed at curbing terrorism against the U.S. and its interests worldwide. People of color in the U.S. are likely to bear the brunt of many of these policies."⁷⁰ Further, groups like Racial Justice 911 are defining war to include a broad array of acts of aggression beyond bombing and invasions, including economic sanctions, environmental destruction, debt, low-intensity warfare, and increased military spending.⁷¹

Howard Winant writes that, "Today in all the advanced countries, the established working classes [largely White] are fearful and resentful. In the US, this is the 'angry white male' phenomenon; elsewhere it focuses more particularly on immigration, or on Islam, but these are largely superficial differences. The 'angry white males,' the nativists, believed for a long time that their race, their gender, their religion more or less guaranteed them a middle class standard of living, a well-paying job, a secure home in a safe neighborhood, access to quality education and health care, paid vacations, a comfortable retirement. These prospects are slipping away."⁷²

The Bush/Cheney/Wolfowitz/Rumsfeld/Powell/Libby/Perle/Rice Doctrine hatched by the Neoconservatives, blessed by the Christian Right, and supported by the Neoliberals is fundamentally racist in how it aims to maintain American (and by default White American) privilege and dominance—economic, military, and political—globally. The Neoconservative think-tank Project for the New American Century's (PNAC) 2000 report, "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century" clearly states: "At present the United States faces no global rival.

America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible."⁷³ This is the underlying principle of both the Defense Planning Guidance conceived in the last days of the George H. W. Bush Administration and the 2002 National Security Strategy of the George W. Bush Administration which endorse pre-emptive first strikes against "rogue" states that obtain or seek to obtain weapons of mass



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destruction that could endanger the United States (and the AWOL).

Tom Barry and Jim Lobe point out that, "The PNAC agenda is at once an ideology and a vision for America. Its core principle is U.S. supremacy—a transcendent superiority with diplomatic, cultural, economic, and military dimensions. It is a messianic belief arising from America's Puritan roots and sense of God-given mission . . . Americans have been raised and educated in the belief that the political, moral, religious, and social manifestations of American culture are superior to those of other cultures. More than just superior, U.S. culture—its free market democracy—is said to embody the culmination of Western civilization and as such represents what Francis Fukuyama has labeled the 'end of history' . . . In the 1990s, the mandarins of New Right thought increasingly made the connections between the internal and external threats to U.S. culture and Judeo-Christian values. Paralleling the cultural

wars on the domestic front (where fundamentalists face off against secularists, creationists attack evolutionists, etc.) they see a global conflict—a clash of civilizations in which Western society is being undermined, weakened, and attacked by what Samuel P. Huntington called the 'rest' in his *Clash of Civilizations*. For those right-wing ideologues espousing U.S. cultural supremacy, China and the Islamic world are often cited as the main threats to Western culture."⁷⁴

Such beliefs, it is vital to remember, are rejected by the overwhelming majority of people around the world and, as yet, hopefully, even in the United States. There is global resistance despite the overwhelming odds and the sheer brute force of those in power. As Winant argues, "The global racial situation, then, is fluid, contradictory, contentious. No longer unabashedly white supremacist, for the most part the world is, so to speak, abashedly white supremacist. The conflicts generated by the powerful movements for racial justice that succeeded WWII have been contained, but not resolved . . . Racism has been a crucial component of modernity, a key pillar of the global capitalist system, for 500 years. So it remains today. Yet it has been changed, damaged, and forced to reorganize by the massive social movements which have taken place in recent decades. In the past these movements were international in scope and influence."⁷⁵

In the present, they are as well, and in fact even more connected than before. Walda Katz-Fishman and Jerome Scott of Project South point out with regard to the western hemisphere that, "The historic reality of brutal US imperialism and militarism throughout the hemisphere and the current moment of economic devastation have created a shared bond among oppressed and exploited peoples within the US and those across our borders. The moral unity of our struggles is rooted in these very real and concrete ties of US

empire beyond our borders and of ruling class privilege, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and other oppressions at home.”⁷⁶ These bonds transcend not only our borders but also our hemisphere. The antiwar movement is resoundingly global, as is the anti-corporate globalization movement. The human rights movement is international, as is the environmental movement. The women’s movement and the movements of indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, and oppressed castes are all transnational. While they mobilize to confront their local oppressors they also organize to challenge global domination—whether it is by multinational corporations or by hegemonic rogue states like the United States. Their success will lie in linking their struggles and visions, and in being led by those who *are* the oppressed.⁷⁷ At the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre this year, 100,000 people representing almost every single country around the world came together. Fundamentally, they came together to challenge the AWOL.

End Notes

¹ The author would like to thank Sarah Finn for research assistance; Abha Sur and Peter Rosenblum for access to books at MIT and Harvard; Aashish Mewada for Joy Gordon’s article; Chip Berlet, Linda Butenhoff, Pam Chamberlain, Kate Cloud, Cynthia Enloe, Richard Falk, Deborah Gerner, Jean Hardisty, Suzanne Pharr, William Robinson, Nikhil Pal Singh, Stephen Van Evera, Howard Winant, and Adriene Wing for suggestions or comments.

² Email from Nikhil Pal Singh, Department of History, University of Washington.

³ See Ibish, Hussein. “Orwell would revel in ‘Collateral Damage’.” <http://www.commondreams.org/views01/0409-03.htm>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ For a partial list of U.S. invasions and interventions see Grossman, Zoltan. “A Century of U.S. Military Interventions: From Wounded Knee to Afghanistan.” <http://www.zmag.org/CrisesCurEvs/interventions.htm>

⁶ I use the acronym AWOL here to also signify an America absent With Out Leave from the global community in terms of its disdain for international law and world forums such as the United Nations as well as multilateral conferences and treaties. Tram Nguyen, editor of *Colorlines* cites Bello in her editorial in the Spring 2002 issue. See *Colorlines* Vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 2002.

⁷ See “A Shining City on a Hill: What Americans Believe.” <http://www.bluecorncomics.com/amvalues.htm>

⁸ The original text of Galeano’s comment reads “¿Cuál es la palabra que más se escucha en el mundo, en casi todas las lenguas? La palabra yo. Yo, yo, yo. Sin embargo, un estudioso de las lenguas indígenas, Carlos Lenkersdorf, ha revelado que la palabra más usada por las comunidades mayas, la que está en el centro de sus decires y

vivires, es la palabra nosotros.” See <http://www.biodiversidadla.org/noticias7/noticias831.htm>

⁹ See “We are Building that House of Freedom.” http://www.zeit.de/reden/Weltpolitik/bush_berlin_2002_22.html. Emphasis added.

¹⁰ See Fewster, Darren. “Racist Violence, Structural Racism and the Impact of Legislative Measures to Confront Racism.” http://www.law.ecl.uwa.edu.au/elawjournal/Volume%201/Articles%20Vol_1/racistviolence.pdf

¹¹ See Washington, Wayne. 2003. “Racial division seen in war backing.” *Boston Globe*, March 20, p. A33.

¹² Lears, Jackson. 2003. “How a War became a Crusade.” *New York Times*, March 11. Retrieved March 11, 2003 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/11/opinion/11LEA.R.html?ex=1048397905&ei=1&en=8cb6ea3d3835aef8>)

¹³ Coffin, William Sloan. “The Dangers of Self-righteousness.” See <http://www.fccb.org/sermons/s99/sr990214.html>

¹⁴ Cited in *ibid*.

¹⁵ Cited in Lears, op. cit. Reagan was of course paraphrasing John Winthrop, whose ship diaries written aboard the *Arabella* are an important part of the U.S. founding myth, reinforcing it (the United States) as an example for the rest of the world. Winthrop himself was drawing on the New Testament, Matthew 5: 14 which reads, “Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be laid.”

¹⁶ Emphasis added. Cited in Coffin, op. cit.

¹⁷ Cited in *ibid*.

¹⁸ Borstelmann, Thomas. 2001. *The Cold War and the Colorline: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. P. 12. Emphasis added.

¹⁹ Winant, Howard. 1997. *Double Exposure: Poverty and Race in America*. Edited by Chester Hartman. Armonk, NY: M.E.Sharpe. This citation from the web at <http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/comprac.html>

²⁰ Paradoxical because the term “new world order” was initially coined by non-aligned Third World nations demanding a new world order that was more egalitarian, and a change from the post-WWII IMF/World Bank dominated global system created after the Bretton Woods meetings; and quite the opposite of the Bush I (or II) order. And also, because it set off alarm bells among sectors of the U.S. Right that are suspicious about the “new world order” as a façade for a U.N.-led world government that would supplant U.S. sovereignty.

²¹ Winant, 1997, op. cit. See also, Winant, Howard. 2002. “Durban, Globalization, and the World after 9/11: Toward a New Politics.” “After Durban” Symposium in *Poverty & Race*. Jan./Feb. 2002. This citation from the web at http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/WCAR-WTO_essay.html ; 2002. “The Modern World Racial System.” in *Rethinking Anti-racisms: From Theory to Practice*. Edited by Floya Anthias and Cathie Lloyd. New York: Routledge. This citation from the web at http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/World_Racial_System.htm

²² Borstelmann, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

²³ These journals include *Foreign Policy*, *World Politics*, *Review of International Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *Millennium Journal of International Studies*. See also, Johnson, Loch K., and Kiki Caruson, 2003. “The Seven Sins of American Foreign Policy.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* Vol. XXXVI, no. 1, pp. 5-10. The seven sins comprising ignorance, lack of empathy, isolationism, unilateralism, precipitate military action, presidential imperialism, and arrogance do not include racism. *Africa Today* and the *Bulletin of Con-*

cerned Asian Scholars were often lone voices in academia. Winant, op. cit., and Borstelmann, op. cit., along with the following are some of the few exceptions in terms of books. Du Bois, W.E.B. 1996. *The Oxford W.E.B. Du Bois Reader*. Edited by Eric J. Sundquist. New York: Oxford University Press; 1945. *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*. NY: Harcourt Brace; [1947] 1976. *The World and Africa*. Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization; Weston, Rubin Francis. 1972. *Racism in U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893-1946*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press; Kiernan, Victor, G. 1978. *America: The New Imperialism: From White Settlement to World Hegemony*. London: Zed Press; Hunt, Michael, H. 1987. *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Dower, John W. 1987. *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon; Aptheker, Herbert. 1987. *Racism, Imperialism, & Peace: Selected Essays by Herbert Aptheker*. Edited by Marvin J. Berlowitz and Carol E. Morgan. Minneapolis: Marxist Education Press; Robeson, Paul. 1988. *Here I Stand*. Boston: Beacon Press; Marable, Manning. 1996. *Speaking Truth to Power: Essays on Race, Resistance, and Radicalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; Robinson, Randall. 1998. *Defending the Spirit: A Black Life in America*. New York: Dutton (Penguin). See also Student (Advisory) Committee on International Affairs. 1972. *Racism: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Student (Advisory) Committee on International Affairs. Another angle on race/racism and U.S. foreign policy looks at the impact of foreign relations during the Cold War and the American image abroad on domestic race relations, including the ending of segregation. See for e.g., Dudziak, Mary L. 2000. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Authors who look at U.S. foreign policy from the perspective of ethics and human rights often do not consider race/racism. See for e.g., Lefever, Ernest, W. 1957. *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy*. New York: Meridian Books; Rubin, Barry, M. and Elizabeth P. Spiro, eds. 1979. *Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Boulder, CO: Westview; Shue, Henry. 1980. *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Walden, George. 1988. *The Shoeblick and the Sovereign: Reflections on Ethics and Foreign Policy*. New York: St. Martin’s.

²⁴ The following is the list compiled at the website irtheory.com. Balance of Power Theory; Behavioralism; Collective Defense; Collective Security; Complex Adaptive Systems Theory; Complex Interdependence Theory; Complexity Theory; Constitutive Theory; Critical Social Theory; Cultural Internationalism; Defensive Realism; Democratic Peace; Dependency Theory; Deterrence Theory; Empirical Theory; Evolutionary World Politics; Feminism; Fourth World Theory; Functionalism; Game Theory; Globalization; Globalism; Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention; Hegemonic Stability Theory; Incrementalism; International Political Economy; International Regime Theory; Just War Theory; Legal Positivism; Liberalism (Liberal Internationalism); Marxism; Modernization Theory; Neoliberal Institutionalism; Neorealism; Neotraditionalism; New War Theory; Normative Theory; Nuclear Utilization Theory; Offensive Realism; Peripheral Realism; Pluralism; Policy-Relevant Theory; Postinternationalism; Postmodernism; Power Transition Theory; Prisoner’s Dilemma; Rationalism; Realism; Social Constructivism; Traditionalism; Transnational Historical Materialism; Transnationalism; Two-World Order; Virtual Theory; World Capitalist System; World-Systems Analysis. “IR Paradigms, Approaches and Theories” from <http://www.irtheory.com/know.htm>

²⁵ While Left scholars and authors such as Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, William Robinson, and writers in the

Nation and elsewhere have been continuously critical of U.S. foreign policy, that analysis has largely been explicitly anti-imperialist. See for e.g., Chomsky, Noam. 2001. *9-11*. New York: Seven Stories Press; Zinn, Howard. 2002. Edited by Anthony Arnove. *Terrorism and War*. New York: Seven Stories Press; Robinson, William I. 1996. *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, U.S. Intervention, and Hegemony*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Harrison, Thomas. "Only a Democratic Foreign Policy Can Combat Terrorism." 2001. *New Politics*. Vol. 8, no. 4; Falk, Richard. 2002. "The New Bush Doctrine." *Nation*. July 15, 2002. [Nation. July 15, 2002. <http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20020715&s=klare>. Some notable exceptions apart from Winant, op. cit., include Barry, Tom and Jim Lobe. 2002. "U.S. Foreign Policy—Attention, Right Face, Forward March." *Foreign Policy in Focus*, April 2002 \(which uses the language of cultural supremacy rather than racism\), see <http://www.fpf.org/papers/02right/>; and the *Colorlines* Spring 2003 issue published by the Applied Research Center and Center for Third World Organizing in Oakland, CA. See especially Della Piana, Libero. 2003. "War's Racial Edge." *Colorlines* Vol. 6, issue 1. \(Spring 2003\), pp. 20-22. See also, Hanania, Ray. 2002. "Racism drives American Foreign Policy." <http://www.mediamonitors.net/hanania50.html>; and Schurr, Kristen. 2002. "Racism in Reporting, Jingoism as Foreign Policy." <http://www.mediamonitors.net/kristenschurr1.html>. Also, some of the authors who address the role of the U.S. military in bases abroad like Cynthia Enloe, Aurora Camacho de Schmidt, and Christine Wing address the racism associated with U.S. servicemen treatment of mostly Asian women in Gerson, Joseph, and Bruce Birchard, eds. 1991. *The Sun Never Sets... Confronting the Network of Foreign U.S. Military Bases*. Boston: South End Press.](http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20020715&s=falk; Klare, Michael T. 2002.)

²⁶ A major impetus for this article was a retreat jointly organized by Political Research Associates and the Highlander Center for Research and Education in November 2002, where the participants drawn from a diverse range of groups from across the United States resolved to put race front and center in their work and analysis. I'm especially thankful to Suzanne Pharr of Highlander for her initiative in this regard.

²⁷ The distinctions are hard to draw even within domestic policy in certain areas such as Criminal Justice and Welfare where New Democrats like Bill Clinton moved the party rightwards to be more "tough on crime."

²⁸ Borstelmann, op. cit.

²⁹ See particularly Du Bois, Weston, Hunt, and Kiernan, op. cit.

³⁰ See Weston and Hunt, op. cit.

³¹ Weston, op. cit., p. 1.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Gayatri Chakravorti Spivak made this, now famous, statement regarding British colonial/imperial rationales for colonialism/imperialism. See Chakravorti Spivak, Gayatri. 1985. "Can the Subaltern Speak?: Speculations on Widow Sacrifice." *Wedge* 7/8: 120-130.

³⁴ See "US will liberate Iraq, says Bush." 2003. BBCNews World Edition January 3. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2625981.stm

³⁵ See Women Living Under Muslim Laws. 2002. "WLUML Statement on the First Anniversary of September 11th." <http://www.wluml.org/english/new-archives/wtc/11-sep-2002-wluml-statement.htm>.

³⁶ See "The Plaid Adder's CRITIQUE OF THE WEEK: This Week's Target: How American Bombs Are Saving Afghani Women From Afghani Men." See <http://www.plaidder.com/spivak.htm>

³⁷ Weston, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁸ Dower, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Borstelmann, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴⁵ See Dudziak, Weston, and Borstelmann, op. cit.

⁴⁶ See Dudziak, op. cit.

⁴⁷ This was repeated at the Bali PrepComm (preparatory committee) meeting in May-June 2002 for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in August 2002, where the general feeling was that "the United States government is bound and determined to undermine, overthrow, and sabotage any international treaties, agreements, and conferences that it believes restrict its sovereignty in any way as the world's rogue superpower... an angry UN official, thinking his microphone had been turned off, was overheard lamenting, 'What are we going to do about the United States?'" See Mann, Eric. 2002. "Bulletin from Bali: What Are We Going to Do about the United States?" <http://www.fpf.org/commentary/2002/0207wssd-prep.html>

⁴⁸ Transnational Racial Justice Initiative. 2001. *The Persistence of White Privilege and Institutional Racism in US Policy: A Report on US Government Compliance with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*. (Oakland, CA: Transnational Racial Justice Initiative), p. 15.

⁴⁹ See Aspen Institute Roundtable on Comprehensive Community Initiatives. "Project on Race and Community Revitalization." http://www.aspenroundtable.org/Project_Summary.html

⁵⁰ Transnational Racial Justice Initiative, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵¹ See <http://www.antiracismnet.org/arn/worldconf/africaaction1.htm>. Emphasis added.

⁵² This includes the Russian Republic, successor to the Soviet Union which itself was the successor to prerevolutionary imperial Russia that colonized and settled Central Asia, Siberia, the Caucasus region, etc.

⁵³ See for instance, Enloe, Cynthia. 2001 (updated edition). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. See also Peterson, V. Spike. 1992. ed., *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner; Sylvester, Christine. 2002. *Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press; Tickner, J. Anne. 1992. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press, among others.

⁵⁴ Wise, Tim. 2003. "Little White Lies." Talk on Affirmative Action and White Privilege given at Northeastern University School of Law, March 31, 2003.

⁵⁵ Some seminal examples of works pertaining to this include, Transnational Racial Justice Initiative, op. cit.; Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2001. *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*. New York: Henry Holt and Company; Collins, Chuck and Felice Yeskel with United for a Fair Economy. 2000. *Economic Apartheid in America: A Primer on Economic Inequality and Insecurity*. (Boston: United for a Fair Economy); West, Cornell. *Race Matters*. 1993. Boston: Beacon Press; Guinier Lani, and Gerald Torres. 2002. *The Miner's Canary: Enlisting Race, Resisting Power, Transforming Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Pharr, Suzanne. 1996. *INTHE*

TIME OF THE RIGHT: Reflections on Liberation. Berkeley, California: Chardon Press.

⁵⁶ Gordon, Joy. 2002. "COOL WAR: Economic sanctions as a weapon of mass destruction." *Harper's Magazine*. November 2002. See http://www.harpers.org/online/cool_war/?pg=1

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Roy, Arundhati. 2003. "Mesopotamia. Babylon. The Tigris and Euphrates." *Guardian*. April 2, 2003. See <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,927849,0,0.html>

⁶⁶ See Naqvi, Ayeda. 2003. "The Killing Fields of Kerbala." *Daily Times*, April 4, 2003. See http://www.daily-times.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_4-4-2003_pg3_5

⁶⁷ See PRA's website for more articles and links to U.S. foreign policy and war rhetoric as well as Christian Right messianic beliefs that fuel its engagement in Middle East politics.

⁶⁸ In the United States, the South is one of the most militarized regions in terms of being the site of the most bases, numerous defense industries and contractors, and as a supplier of recruits to the armed forces. This has to be seen within the context of the South being one of the most impoverished regions in the country, where working in the defense industry or on the bases, or joining the military, is often a matter of economic survival. See Pharr, Suzanne. 2003. "Opposition to Bush's War." *Highlander Reports*. January-March 2003, pp. 1-3. <http://www.highlandercenter.org/pdf-files/HighlanderReports-03-03.pdf>

⁶⁹ See King, Jr., Martin Luther. 1967. "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence." April 4, 1967. <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/058.html>

⁷⁰ See Della Piana, op. cit., p. 21.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁷² See Winant, op. cit.

⁷³ See, Donnelly, Thomas with Donald Kagan and Gary Schmitt. 2000. "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century." Project for the New American Century: Washington, DC. <http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>

⁷⁴ See Barry and Lobe, op. cit.

⁷⁵ See Winant, Howard. 2002. "The Modern World Racial System." In *Rethinking Anti-racisms: From Theory to Practice*, edited by Floya Anthias and Cathie Lloyd. New York: Routledge. This cite from http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/World_Racial_System.htm

⁷⁶ Katz-Fishman, Walda, and Jerome Scott. "Building the Peoples' Hemispheric Movement in the Midst of a Growing Police State." 2003. *As the South Goes*. Vol. 11, issue 1. Atlanta: Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty & Genocide, p. 1.

⁷⁷ See the open letter addressed by people of color activists to the largely White leadership of the antiwar movement. Bloom, Steve, et al. 2003. "Open Letter on Movement Building." February 21, 2003. See <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=30&ItemID=3100>

Homeland Security

Low-Intensity Conflict Targets Non-Citizens

By Matthew Lyons

Introduction

Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, the so-called war on terror has provided the U.S. government with a rationale for dramatically increasing state repression. This repression, linked with an upsurge of nationalism and nativist scapegoating, affects everyone in the United States but most sharply targets Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian immigrants, especially non-citizens.

In the name of fighting terrorism, the federal government rounded up thousands of Middle Eastern and South Asian men, many of whom were held incognito for months and reported being beaten or denied basic necessities. The government established programs to photograph and fingerprint hundreds of thousands of non-citizens and a military intelligence project to track individuals by collecting and analyzing massive quantities of personal information. New laws and executive orders have seriously weakened freedoms of speech and association, freedom from unreasonable searches, the rights to legal representation and a speedy and public trial, and many other basic rights—above all for non-citizens.¹

Much of this dynamic is not new. Many of the United States' previous wars—such as the First and Second World Wars, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the U.S.-backed wars in Central America in the 1980s—have seen upsurges in domestic repression, and many of these crackdowns have focused most heavily on foreigners or immigrants.

The current crackdown, however, blurs the line between war and repression more than ever before. Pointing to the September 11 attacks, which targeted the centers of U.S. financial and military power and



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killed thousands of U.S. civilians, federal officials have told us that terrorism must be fought both outside and inside U.S. borders. “The war on terrorism,” as one critic has put it, “is a war without boundaries, belligerent nations and time limits.”² In this war, we are told, the front line can be anywhere and there is no clear line between combatants and civilians. Exploiting popular fears and legal ambiguities, the government has staked out a large gray area between military and police work, where it has moved aggressively to tighten control over large sections of the civilian population.

There is a name for this kind of operation: low-intensity conflict (LIC). While low-intensity conflict is usually associated with U.S.-backed operations overseas—such as in Central America or Southern Africa—LIC principles have long guided border enforcement policies within the United States itself. These policies have focused largely on controlling immigrants.

The post-September 11 crackdown builds on this recent history of militarized border enforcement. The connection is dramatized by the integration of three

leading border enforcement agencies—the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the Customs Service, and the Coast Guard—into the new Department of Homeland Security.

What is Low-Intensity Conflict?

U.S. military planners apparently coined the term “low-intensity conflict” in the early 1980s, although its roots are much older. LIC has encompassed many different types of operations, including counterinsurgency (such as El Salvador in the 1980s), anticommunist insurgencies (the Nicaraguan Contras in the same period), punitive strikes (the 1986 bombing of Libya), and so-called peace-keeping operations (Somalia in 1992-1993 or Bosnia since 1995).³

Low-intensity conflict seeks to minimize U.S. troop deployment and military casualties and focuses on controlling targeted civilian populations rather than territory. It generally involves the coordination or integration of police, military, and paramilitary forces, as police become militarized and the military takes on law-enforcement



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and other unconventional roles. In addition, LIC often combines open force with propaganda campaigns and seemingly benign projects such as community development and civic reform efforts, as a way to win civilian support. In this sense of a multipronged military, political, economic, and psychological offensive, one military officer described low-intensity conflict as “total war at the grass-roots level.”⁴

Iraq has been a constant, major target of U.S. low-intensity warfare since 1991. Before the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Republican and Democratic administrations alike used a combination of economic sanctions and periodic air strikes to “contain” the Iraqi government—at the cost of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi lives.⁵ In this and almost all other cases, the United States’ LIC operations have overwhelmingly targeted people of color.

Militarizing Border Enforcement

Ever since the 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts, the U.S. government has persecuted immigrants and foreigners repeatedly. For the past quarter century, undocumented immigrants (and those suspected of being undocumented immigrants) have

faced an increasingly powerful repressive federal apparatus, especially in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Growing anti-immigrant racism, an aggressive foreign policy focus on Central America, the War on Drugs, and the end of the Cold War all helped define border enforcement as a national security issue. By 1998, the INS had more armed agents than any other federal law enforcement agency. Since 1994, largely as a result of harsh border control policies, 2,000 migrants have died trying to enter the United States from Mexico.⁶

As sociologist Timothy J. Dunn argues, U.S. border enforcement policy since 1978 represents an application of low-intensity conflict doctrine within the United States.⁷ Dunn examines a number of developments in border control policy since 1978 that, in combination, embody LIC principles:

- INS funding grew steadily, with a disproportionate share of increases awarded to the Enforcement Division (which includes the Border Patrol) at the expense of services.
- The Border Patrol more than tripled in size and became increasingly militarized in its weaponry and equipment and in its creation

of elite “special forces” units. The Border Patrol’s power to conduct searches and make arrests expanded dramatically.

- The INS became increasingly geared toward long-term, punitive detention of suspects.
- The INS engaged in a variety of efforts to coordinate and integrate forces with other federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. The INS placed intelligence operatives in Mexico and Guatemala and shared intelligence with the CIA, the State Department, and the Pentagon.
- The military became increasingly involved in domestic police work. Although barred from making arrests, searches, and seizures, the military increasingly provided civilian agencies with equipment, training, and intelligence, and took on a leading role monitoring the inflow of illegal drugs into the United States.
- The INS planned and carried out large-scale roundups of civilians, such as the 1989-1990 arrest and deportation of thousands of Central American refugees in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. In 1992, the INS rounded up and deported at least 700 undocumented immigrants during the Los Angeles upheaval that followed the acquittal of Rodney King’s police attackers.

To some extent, these changes have been fueled by right-wing hate campaigns against “illegal aliens.” But both liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans, have supported the militarization of border enforcement.

Low-Intensity Conflict Goes National

The growth of state repression since September 11, 2001, intensifies low-intensity conflict and extends it throughout the United States. The War on Terrorism blurs the line between external and internal threats and between combat and law

enforcement, involving both military and civilian agencies in a comprehensive effort to control Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian non-citizens and immigrants.

President George W. Bush himself drew the connection between fighting terrorism and low-intensity conflict almost immediately. In October 2001, within days of appointing Tom Ridge to head the new Office for Homeland Security, Bush gave Secretary of the Army Thomas White two new jobs: Defense Department interim executive agent for Homeland Security and acting assistant secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict.⁸

The recent crackdown has incorporated many of the same LIC elements seen in border enforcement—this time on an even larger national scale: mass round-ups and punitive detentions, expanded powers of arrest and surveillance, integration and militarization of civilian law enforcement, and growing involvement of the military in domestic intelligence and police work.

The round-ups began first. In the weeks after September 11, 2001, the FBI and INS detained at least 1,200 non-citizens from Middle Eastern and Muslim countries. The vast majority of them were held for alleged immigration violations, often secretly and under conditions that Amnesty International described as “harshly punitive” and a violation of basic rights. Many of them were deported; almost none were charged with any crimes connected with terrorism. In December 2002, the INS began a new round of mass arrests as part of a program requiring young men from Arab and Muslim countries to register with the government.⁹

Through executive order and statute, the federal government has sharply expanded its own repressive powers. The USA Patriot Act—which passed the Senate with only

one dissenting vote—gives the executive branch unprecedented latitude to conduct searches, wiretapping, and other surveillance, and to share information between criminal and intelligence operations. The law creates a vague new crime of “domestic terrorism,” which encompasses illegal acts “dangerous to human life” if they “appear to be intended...to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion.” The Patriot Act comes down hardest on non-citizens, who may now be detained virtually indefinitely without due

tional students, and urged Neighborhood Watch groups—in the name of terrorism prevention—to report on people who were “unfamiliar” or who acted in ways that were “suspicious” or “not normal.” FBI officials, meanwhile, openly discussed ways to coerce arrestees into talking, “using drugs or pressure tactics such as those employed by Israeli interrogators”—i.e., torture. Such developments, not surprisingly, have brought a pervasive climate of fear to many Muslim and Arab American communities.¹¹

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), signed into law in November 2002, embodies the trend toward integrating and militarizing civilian law enforcement. With 170,000 employees and a budget initially estimated at \$37 billion, DHS is the third-largest federal department. DHS has subsumed 22 federal agencies, including the INS, the Coast Guard, Customs, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Secret Service, the Transportation Security

Administration, the Department of Agriculture’s Animal and Plant Inspections division, the Energy Department’s Environmental Measurements Laboratory, and many others. These agencies must now subordinate their diverse missions and priorities to the War on Terrorism.¹²

Within the INS, the increasingly militarized Enforcement Division has long been favored over the services branch. In its new DHS home, the INS is being split in a way that increases this disparity. Enforcement has been placed in the Bureau of Border and Transportation Security—by far the largest and most heavily funded of the DHS’s major divisions. The services branch of the INS has been isolated as the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration



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process and deported for almost any association with political groups the government defines as terrorist.¹⁰

Acting in the spirit of the Patriot Act, Attorney General John Ashcroft issued a new rule, nullifying attorney-client privilege. Now the Justice Department may, without judicial oversight, wiretap conversations between prison inmates and their attorneys when there is “reasonable suspicion to believe” that such conversations “further facilitate acts of violence or terrorism.” The Justice Department also subjected thousands of young Arab men to “voluntary” questioning based solely on their gender, national origin, and time of entry into the United States, sought to use student advisors to investigate interna-

Services, a much smaller division that will probably have little clout within the department.

The Coast Guard has changed in parallel ways. Before September 11, the Coast Guard's top priorities were stopping the depletion of fisheries and protecting the environment. After September 11, the Coast Guard heavily increased funding for its counterterrorism operations and assembled several "maritime SWAT teams," while funding for non-homeland security programs stagnated. The Coast Guard's move into DHS cements this shift.

Pentagon Operations on the Home Front

Especially characteristic of low-intensity conflict has been the U.S. military's growing role within U.S. borders and in law enforcement. In April 2002, the Pentagon announced creation of the Northern Command (NORCOM) to consolidate all of the military's homeland security duties. NORCOM is responsible for military defense of North America and providing aid to civilian authorities in counter-drug operations and in response to natural disasters or terrorist attacks. While noting that the military is legally barred from acting as a domestic police force, NORCOM head General Ralph Eberhart said that he "won't hesitate to propose changes" to such rules "if we...see something we think will tie our hands."¹³

Even without such rule changes, the Pentagon has stepped up its domestic spying efforts. The Defense Department's Total Information Awareness (TIA) project, headed by retired admiral and former Iran-Contra defendant John Poindexter, seeks to track individuals by compiling and analyzing massive amounts of data from diverse sources, including financial, med-



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ical, travel, and communication records, as well as intelligence data. In February 2003, a new law placed a partial moratorium on TIA—but allowed its use against the millions of immigrants who are not U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents.¹⁴

Further blurring the line between combat and civilian functions, the War on Terrorism also gives the military a judicial role. In November 2001, President Bush authorized the creation of military commissions to try non-U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism. These commissions lack basic constitutional protections: trials will be conducted in secret, defendants will not be able to choose their own attorneys, normal rules of evidence will not apply, and verdicts will be rendered by judges appointed by the secretary of defense, with no appeal available to an independent court.¹⁵

Non-citizens are the primary (and most vulnerable) targets of such measures—but not the only ones. At least two U.S. citizens designated as "unlawful enemy combatants"—Yaser Esam Hamdi and Jose Padilla (Abdullah Al Mujahir)—have been held incommunicado in military detention without being charged and without access to their lawyers. Building on these precedents, the Bush Administration has considered setting up military detention camps for U.S. citizens labeled as enemy combat-

ants, and has argued that federal courts have no say in the matter. A district judge has ruled that Padilla can appeal his status as an "enemy combatant" in federal court and has a right to counsel until his status is decided. But in Hamdi's case, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that courts must defer to the president on these matters during wartime¹⁶—an as yet undetermined and indefinite period given the "endless" nature of the war

on terror.

Preventive Repression

The post-September 11 crackdown is a means for the U.S. government to establish control over civilian groups it regards as actually or potentially disloyal. A number of critics have argued that many homeland security measures are misdirected and badly designed because they fail to zero in on the "real" terrorists. But U.S. officials have for years defined terrorism broadly, precisely in order to marginalize and criminalize a broad range of dissident political groups and activities. The Reagan Administration's official task force on terrorism, for example, defined it as "the unlawful use of or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives."¹⁷ The USA Patriot Act follows directly in this tradition.

In discussing the implications of low-intensity conflict in the border region, Timothy Dunn notes that its effect "can be interpreted as 'preventive repression,' enacted...to impede the development of critical ideologies and social movements among subordinate groups in a crucial region that was vulnerable to instability."¹⁸

Dunn's comments about preventive repression point to a larger strategic shift

by security forces in the United States and abroad. A 1998 European Parliament committee report warned about the rise of “pre-emptive policing,” in which law enforcement agencies gather massive quantities of data in order to track “certain social classes and races of people living in redlined areas before crime is committed.” Ken Lawrence has argued that the U.S. government moved toward preventive repression after the upheavals of the 1960s, when older, more reactive models of repression proved inadequate. Where once U.S. rulers regarded insurgency as “an occasional, erratic idiosyncrasy of people who are exploited and oppressed,” Lawrence asserts, elites now view insurgency as a permanent reality that security forces must actively combat at all times. The State’s new strategy of “permanent repression” involves penetrating and disrupting oppositional forces *before* they reach the stage of open insurgency.¹⁹

The United States is waging an open-ended global war against “Islamic extremism” and has led the full-scale invasion of a major Arab state, Iraq. In this context, many Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian immigrants—like undocumented immigrants in the U.S.-Mexico border region—represent subordinate groups with a real potential for “disloyalty” to the U.S. government and political order. This makes them prime targets for preventive repression. Repression against them, furthermore, encourages unity and obedience among other groups by providing a shared scapegoat—and by showing what happens to those whose loyalty is suspect.

Conclusion

The U.S. government’s current crack-down against Middle Eastern and South Asian people is not only rooted in a sudden nativist upsurge, or even in a long history of racist bigotry. It is also rooted in a quasi-military system of control developed steadily over decades. This system is being rapidly expanded and deepened, and there is no reason to assume that the current main targets will be the last. The U.S. government’s low-intensity conflict operations at

home both echo and strengthen its military aggression against Iraq and other countries. We need to highlight this connection, not fall into the trap of treating “war” and “civil liberties” as separate issues. The problem is not only specific leaders or policies. It is a political and social order that preaches freedom while using force and fear to protect elite power.

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Book Review

Janice M. Irvine

Talk About Sex: The Battles over Sex Education in the United States. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Ellen Messer-Davidow

Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

By Jyl Josephson

Talk About Sex is an extremely interesting and readable book. Everyone with an academic or an activist interest in strategies of right-wing organizing around issues related to sex, sexuality, and gender should read this book. Based on extensive interviews with sex education activists and their right-wing opponents as well as an extensive review of the existing records (including the archives of Political Research Associates), Irvine argues that sex education was a powerful issue for right-wing organizing. She suggests that part of the power of the contemporary Right is derived from their very successful organizing and mobilization around the issue of sex education. Especially, Irvine shows that sex education was an important issue bridging Old Right and New Right activism. And she shows that this was possible precisely because of the powerful reaction of the American public to the politics of sexual shaming. Rejecting the idea of “sex panics” as too imprecise, Irvine tells a more complicated “story about politics, sex, and words.” (p. 3)

The first part of the book chronicles the story of the formation of SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States), as well as the organization of right-wing opposition to sex education and SIECUS. Irvine notes the optimism of sex education advocates in 1964; the early activists believed that they had the opportunity to transform the

conversation and teaching about sexuality in schools and elsewhere. In retrospect, it is difficult to believe that no one foresaw the role of the Right in opposing these efforts, but Irvine argues that in 1964 this role was not easy to anticipate. By 1968, however, everything had changed: the John Birch Society and other conservative groups including religious organizations were running active campaigns against bringing sex education into the school curriculum (p. 35).

Irvine notes that the Christian Right has engaged in this debate about sex education and public discussion of sexuality



in both oppositional and participatory ways (p. 11). That is, the Christian Right actively opposed efforts to bring comprehensive sex education into public schools. At the same time, beginning in the 1970s, they also “built their own alternative sexuality industry” (p. 82). One of my favorite, in a book full of interesting bits of information about right-wing organizing, is: Tim and Beverly LaHaye of the extremely popular *Left*

Behind series began their publishing career writing sex manuals for Christian couples, including a 1976 book in which they urged Christian couples to “put Jesus at the center of their sex lives” (p. 81). Among the claims made by the LaHayes and their colleagues: that “Christians have better sex than non-Christians” (p. 85). Interestingly, by the 1990s, one of the claims being made in the anti-gay literature of the Right is that gay and lesbian sex is dangerous and must be sanctioned precisely because it is so much more pleasurable than heterosexual sex.¹

But more significant for the long-term effects of this participatory involvement is the passage of the Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA) in the 1980s. Designated as a program to fund research and prevention of adolescent pregnancy, AFLA provided a vehicle for the Christian Right to import their sex education materials into government policy and publications. Through the programs funded by AFLA, Christian Right materials that were rigidly anti-abortion and emphasized abstinence became government policy. Despite a successful lawsuit challenging the program on the basis of the establishment clause, the damage had been done:² as Irvine puts it, AFLA “prompted major institutionalization of evangelical sexual morality as public policy” (p. 102). If you are wondering about the origin of the current “abstinence only” sex education programs, you need look no further.

This is a battle with numerous casualties, including harms to individual teachers and advocates of sex education who were branded as deviants and ostracized in local controversies. The second half of the book looks at these local controversies, and how national Christian Right groups successfully responded to and helped to shape local community debates. The strategies used included the successful use by local right-wing activists

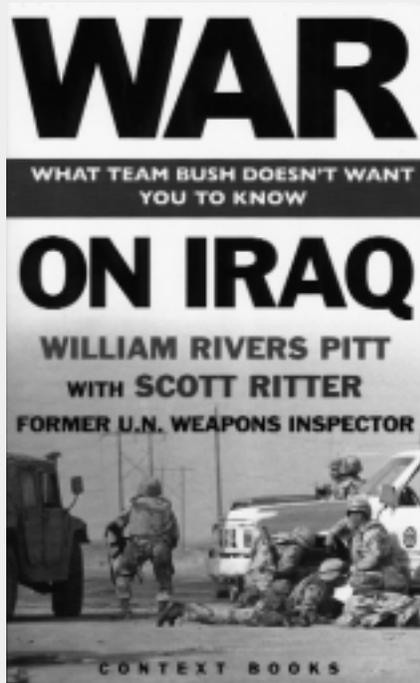
of sexual stigmatization. One teacher Irvine interviewed noted that the rumors that were circulated about her included that she had told her ninth grade students that, “she and her husband used chocolate syrup as a lubricant” (p. 124). The rumors were untrue, but as the teacher related, such rumors were impossible to refute and took on a life of their own. These incidents and others illustrate the successful use of the sexualization and public shaming of any one who advocated comprehensive sex education. But, as Irvine argues, such strategies were not really possible or available to those who advocated for sex education (p. 124).

Sometimes, as in Merrimack, New Hampshire, right-wing strategies backfired. The school board chair pushed through the most restrictive anti-gay “no promo homo” provision in the country, despite the fact that no parent had raised any concerns about this issue, nor was there any instruction in the schools related to homosexuality. The restrictive policy made national and international news, and led to “the first gay rights rally in Merrimack’s history,” held in the parking lot of the school (p. 163). In the next election, the Christian Right members lost their seats, and the policy was overturned.

Chapter eight chronicles the rise of advocacy for making schools safer places for gay and lesbian youth and for discussion of issues related to sexual orientation. As Irvine notes, programs that address these issues in schools are not merely about school safety, but are controversies “over which sexualities and which citizens are valued as legitimate” (p. 167). It is unsurprising, then, that such programs were a central target of Christian Right organizing in the 1990s. Christian Right groups rank opposition to gay rights at the top of their list of priorities, and their strategies for opposing these programs are as coordinated as their earlier opposition to sex education.³

Irvine notes the irony that those who wish to prohibit talking about sex must talk about sex—and therefore create more

public sex talk—in order to make arguments in opposition to public sex talk. One of her more interesting claims is that the Right has successfully used a certain kind of postmodern move to its own advantage. Irvine suggests that part of the rhetorical power of right-wing anti-sex education strategies is their suggestion that talking about sex *is* sex. Thus, simply to tell students how to use a condom (for example) is depicted as being the same as demonstrating the use of the



condom in class (and there is no shortage of stories that the latter is what actually occurs in sex education classrooms). Interestingly, this is very similar to the rhetoric used regarding safe schools programs for LGBT youth: right-wing opposition arguments often focus on the “teaching of homosexuality” in schools in their opposition to these programs.

Irvine does note that one way of interpreting the public reaction to the Clinton impeachment is that there was some recognition on the part of the American public of the ways that sex and talk about sex was being used in an attempt to manipulate public opinion. But this does not mean that she sees evidence of

a cultural shift—talking about sex is still dangerous. And she notes that even when parents may not have believed the most hysterical right-wing rhetoric about sex education, they often went along with right-wing arguments. The use of sexual shaming still has cultural and political power. And, she is suggesting, it has power in part not simply because the Left doesn’t have the same arsenal, but because moderates, even when they disagree with the Right, are unwilling to oppose the politics of sexual shaming.

In the literature on social movements, there is increasing interest in the role of emotions in social movements, and Irvine successfully draws on this literature to discuss the importance of emotions in talk about sex and sexuality. A significant aspect of this is the impulse to protect children from any discussion of sexuality. Irvine sees the romanticization of childhood, along with narratives that emphasize sex talk as pollution of innocence, playing an important role in the emotions mobilized on this issue. As the title indicates, Irvine is concerned about how we talk about sex, and how that public talk is circumscribed and shunned. This is especially powerful, of course, when there is a perceived threat to children, and this is precisely why the Right was so successful in organizing around these issues. She suggests that a more liberatory “talk about sex” that opposes stigma and sexual shaming might provide an opening for a different discourse and politics around sex education and sexuality. But this will not come about by itself; it will take the active and difficult advocacy by those who seek a broader definition of sexual citizenship, and a healthier discourse about the role of sex and sexuality in the lives of democratic citizens.

Part of the value of Ellen Messer-Davidow’s *Disciplining Feminism* is the author’s location as a participant in the very beginning of women’s studies, and active role in her home discipline in bringing feminist studies into mainstream organizations. In 1974, as a graduate student,

Messer-Davidow was one of two students appointed to the Commission on the Status of Women of the Modern Language Association (MLA). The story of the beginning of feminism in the American Sociological Association (ASA) and the MLA, which the author chronicles in chapter three, is a fascinating read. The beginning of feminist studies in the academy is chronicled in chapter four.

But the institutionalization of women's studies, for Messer-Davidow, is the problem: she argues that, as feminist work became more and more integrated into the mainstream disciplines, the early potential for social change promised by feminist studies lost its political energy. This happened not because feminists misunderstood the institutional power of the academy; it is rather that feminists did not "understand... the power they could exercise by letting us go forward with our projects" (p. 165). As feminists put their energies into establishing and then maintaining new courses, curricula, and scholarly enterprises, their energies were pulled away from the social activism and impetus for social change that originally motivated their work. She argues that in the end, feminists were "thinking in an echo chamber" (p. 212), and that the momentum for social change that motivated the early feminist academics had been exhausted. It is not that feminists became coopted; rather the project of integrating feminist work into academic institutions had more effects on the feminist movement than on the institutions. Thus, the institutions "disciplined" feminism.

Messer-Davidow also attempts to look to the future by comparing the work of feminist and conservative organizations that seek to make change. She notes that the conservative organizations that she visited had clear long-range agendas, and that through the establishment of think tanks and advocacy groups, conservatives had been very successful at establishing the legitimacy of their projects and cloaking them in the language of objectivity. In contrast, the feminist organizations had

much less support and resources, and a much less comprehensive long-term vision (pp. 221-223). She engages (with some hesitancy, as she notes in the preface, given her lack of formal training) in field research, observing the workshops of feminist and conservative organizations. The feminist organizations she observed were the New Jersey Project, a long-term, state-funded curriculum transformation project, the NEW Leadership program at Rutgers University, intended to train young women for political leadership, and the Women's Studies program at a midwestern university. The conservative groups included a meeting of the Heritage Foundation's Resource Bank, and an institute at Georgetown University for college students, sponsored by the Fund for American Studies. Messer-Davidow's analysis of what is included, and what is left out, of the Georgetown institute usefully exposes the conservative agenda of the program, which is couched in terms of academic objectivity. By contrast, the feminist projects tended to raise more questions for participants than they answered, particularly around issues of intersecting identities.

A greater acquaintance with the literature on social movements might have helped *Disciplining Feminism* to provide a more convincing analysis of the institutionalization of feminism in the academy. Comparing the right-wing movement's institutionalization in think tanks and policy advocacy groups to the effort to bring feminist approaches to the academy is truly comparing apples and oranges. The women's movement was not contained solely among academic women. Further, regardless of the goals of a movement for social change, it is often the case that movements to transform institutions are contained and limited by the institutions they seek to change. This does not mean that the efforts are for naught; it certainly does matter that women's studies is present in so many academic institutions, albeit in widely varying forms.

Messer-Davidow is correct that left-wing groups have been much less successful in concentrating their limited resources in the way that right-wing groups have; this was shown by Delgado and Stefancic in *No Mercy*.⁴ But often, as both of these books point out, it is also easier for conservatives to convey their message in sound bites ("no sex in the schools!") than it is to communicate some of the more complicated messages of the Left. Messer-Davidow argues that feminist and progressive organizations need to become more effective through coalition-building, and through using some of the organizational strategies that have been so successful for the Right. Irvine suggests that part of this effort must include changing public discourse about sex and sexuality, so that the rhetorical power of sexual stigmatization can be deflated. Further, Irvine's argument suggests, progressives will need to do this in a way that brings along those moderates who have been coopted by conservative rhetoric. Both of these books provide useful analytic tools for these progressive projects.

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End Notes

¹ See Snyder, R. Claire. 2003 (forthcoming). "Neopatriarchy and the Antihomosexual Agenda," in *Fundamental Differences: Feminists Talk Back to Social Conservatives* Edited by Cynthia Burack and Jyl Josephson. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield. Pp. 157-170.

² See Webber, Julie. 2003. "Capturing Global Social (Ir)responsibility," paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, February 26-March 1, 2003, Portland, Oregon.

³ See Josephson, Jyl. 2003. "The Missing Children: Safe Schools for Some," in *Fundamental Differences*, op. cit., pp. 173-187.

⁴ See Stefancic, Jean, and Richard Delgado. 1996. *No Mercy: How Conservative Think Tanks Changed America's Social Agenda*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

United for a Fair Economy presents
“War and the Economy” Workshop

*Will a war stimulate the economy?
Is military spending taking money away from social programs?
Does militarism increase inequality?
Do we have to spend so much on the military?*

You can get answers in “War and the Economy,” UFE’s newest workshop. We’re presenting it to unions, students, and single moms. People are thanking us for tying together the recession, state budget cuts, and the war... and helping them to make sense of the bigger picture.

You can download it free from www.faireconomy.org and take it to your neighbors. You can also contact Mike Prokosch, mprokosch@faireconomy.org or 617-423-2148 x 24, to find a trainer near you who can lead the workshop. Hard-copy versions are available for \$60 including a trainer’s guide, participants’ packet, and 2-x-3 foot flipcharts. By the end of May a Power Point version will be available on the web.

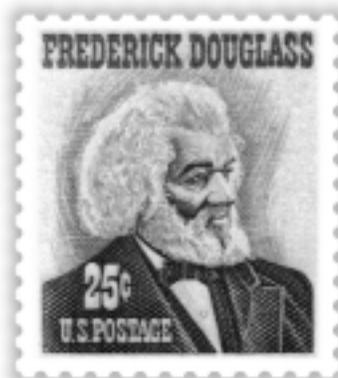
The workshop is designed in modular form. At the core is a set of short presentations, economic charts, and participatory exercises covering these topics:

- ✓ The recession and state budget crises: what’s happening to us?
- ✓ Guns vs. butter: do we have to choose?
- ✓ The “Reagan vise:” using military spending and tax cuts to squeeze out social spending
- ✓ The “Bush vise:” what will it do to us?
- ✓ The war at home (the inequality effects on labor, people of color, women, and the US generally)
- ✓ What we can do

The workshop has multiple audiences. For the large middle ground of Americans who are questioning the Iraq war and rest of the Administration’s agenda, the workshop will “connect the dots” between militarism and the larger agenda of downsizing government while cutting social programs. It raises fundamental choices for our society: between individualism and cooperation, economic inequality and more equality, “growing together” and “growing apart.” Participants will be given conceptual frames that they can apply to many fundamental topics beyond the immediate war.

For peace activists and community economic justice folks, the workshop aims to provide a common analysis of the present moment and a basis for working together. For labor activists it describes Bush’s war on us. We are providing extensive materials, links, and suggestions so that you can shape the workshop to fit your audience.

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Books Received

Compiled by Toby Beauchamp

R. Michael Alvarez and John Brehm
 Hard Choices, Easy Answers:
 Values, Information, and American
 Public Opinion
 (Princeton: Princeton University Press,
 2002), pb, 247pp, with bibliography
 and index.

Hadley Arkes
 Natural Rights & the Right
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 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University
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Tammy Bruce
 The New Thought Police: Inside
 the Left's Assault on Free Speech
 and Free Minds
 (Roseville, CA: Prima Publishing,
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 ing list and index.

Steven M. Chermak
 Searching for a Demon: The Media
 Construction of the Militia Movement
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 and index.

G. William Domhoff
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 annotated bibliography and index.

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E. U. Essien-Udom
 Black Nationalism: A Search for an
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 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield
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*David C. Leege, Kenneth D. Wald,
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 The Politics of Cultural Differences:
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 tion Strategies in the Post-New Deal
 Period
 (Princeton: Princeton University Press,
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 Unholy Alliance: A History of Nazi
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 (New York: Continuum, 2002), pb,
 423pp, with bibliography and index.

Carol Mason
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 Dynamics of Contention
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(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pb, 283pp, with index.

Johnathan M. Schoenwald

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Carol M. Swain

The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration
(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), hb, 526pp, with bibliography and index.

Robert H. Wiebe

Who We Are: A History of Popular Nationalism
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), hb, 282pp, with bibliographic essay and index.

Mary C. Brennan

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Eyes RIGHT

THE RAPTURE AMENDMENT: POSSIBLE NEW CAREER FIELD FOR HEATHENS

“Anaheim, California – Millions of fundamentalist Christians embrace a doctrine called ‘the rapture of the church,’ which literally involves born-again Christians flying off into the clouds to meet Jesus when he comes. Meanwhile, after Jesus takes the believers off to heaven, unbelievers are left behind to duke it out with the Antichrist.

What is to happen with all the property the faithful leave behind—after all, they would be declared missing persons? In many states, the heirs of a missing person must wait five years to receive any distribution of property. In the meantime, state probate courts decide what to do with the property.

Meanwhile, after the rapture takes place the Antichrist would gobble up all the property the Christians left behind. Challenged by this dilemma, Dennis Watson, an Anaheim, California attorney, figured out a way to provide for loved ones who might be left behind. It’s called ‘the Rapture Amendment.’

The Rapture Amendment would be signed, notarized, and attached to a Christian’s revocable trust document. The amendment would not be effective until and unless the rapture occurs. Still, Watson admits, there is no guarantee the amendment would be effective.

‘I think it is important to try and do what we can to help those who will become believers after Christ comes and takes his church,’ Watson said. ‘Revelation 7:14 speaks of a great crowd of people in heaven who will have been killed during the tribulation period [an event that Christian Bible teachers say will come after the rapture]. I hope someone there will be able to thank us for our efforts in assisting him or her to avoid the otherwise

economic necessity of accepting the mark of the beast.’

Of course, one would have to choose a ‘post-Rapture Trustee’—an unbeliever who would be able to take charge after the rapture. ‘I certainly do not envy the job of a post-rapture trustee,’ Watson said, and he suggests that Christians ask an unbeliever ‘whom you have some credibility with’ to serve in such a position. (Source: *Southern California Christian Times*, March 1996).” Any heathen takers—since unbelievers don’t get to romp in the Elysian Fields? Oh wait, but they do—since those aren’t the Garden of Eden.

Source: <http://www.ifas.org/fw/9605/update.html>

COMING CLEAN CAN BE SUCH A ‘BITCH.’

“‘I must admit I had segregationist feelings.’ Rep. Cass Ballenger, R-N.C., quoted in The Charlotte Observer today, as he called for incoming Senate Majority Leader Lott to step down. Asked if he believes Lott is a segregationist, Ballenger said: ‘I’d have a hard time saying he wasn’t ... Basically in some areas of the South, in Charlotte and everywhere else, there are people who get rubbed the wrong way [thinking] ‘We’ve got to bend over backwards; we’ve got to integrate’ and things like that.’ Ballenger admitted he felt similar sentiments dealing with Rep. Cynthia McKinney, D-Ga., known for her liberal politics and combative personality. ‘If I had to listen to her, I probably would have developed a little bit of a segregationist feeling,’ he said. ‘But I think everybody can look at my life and what I’ve done and say that’s not true ... I mean, she was such a bitch.’”

Source: <http://www.newsobserver.com/nc24hour/ncnews/story/2034018p-1963233c.html>

INTERNMENT CAMPS: ROUNDING THEM UP FOR THEIR OWN GOOD

“HIGH POINT, N.C. – A congressman who heads a homeland security subcommittee said on a radio call-in program that he agreed with the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Rep. Howard Coble, R-N.C., made the remark Tuesday on WKZL-FM when a caller suggested Arabs in the United States should be confined. Another congressman who was interned as a child criticized Coble for the comment, as did advocacy groups.

Coble, chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security, said he didn’t agree with the caller but did agree with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who established the internment camps.

Eye
LASHES

“Shock
and
Awe!”

'We were at war. They (Japanese-Americans) were an endangered species,' Coble said. 'For many of these Japanese-Americans, it wasn't safe for them to be on the street.' Like most Arab-Americans today, Coble said, most Japanese-Americans during World War II were not America's enemies.

Still, Coble said, Roosevelt had to consider the nation's security.

'Some probably were intent on doing harm to us,' he said, 'just as some of these Arab-Americans are probably intent on doing harm to us.' ..."

Source: <http://www.bradenton.com/mld/bradenton/news/nation/5115825.htm>

THE STUFF OF GREED— OOPS MAKE THAT GREEN

Stuff magazine's November 2002 issue took a peek at the global environment in an article, "Mother Earth Likes It Rough." We're not joking. That is the title of the article by Max Pappas who writes that, "There's only one way to save the planet—and that's to make it your bitch!" Here are some highlights of the real eco-problems—the seven deadly sins we commit, because with all that tree hugging we miss the forest for the trees, which in any case are just "monster weeds." Looks to us like Pappas has some monster "weed" growing in his backyard alright!

"Eco-problem No. 1: There's a global shortage of SUVs. Whatever you're driving now, trade it in for something bigger. If you've got a pickup, get an SUV. Got an SUV? Get a tank. Why? Because if we don't get a little global warming going soon, lots of people are going to die . . . since many more people die of cold-temperature-related illnesses, according to the National Safety Council, than of illnesses related to heat. So chuck the emissions control and save a life.'

'Eco-problem No. 2: We have too many

wetlands and not enough shantytowns. Take a big stretch of impoverished, rural Third World real estate, add water and what do you get? Malaria! In the poorest countries on earth, malaria is a leading cause of death.' Pappas is furious that environmentalists have banned DDT because that would have taken care of malaria. He reports that 'Maintaining a ban on DDT is likened by many experts to genocide.'

'Eco-problem No. 3: We're knee-deep in cats. Felines may be the middle-aged feminist's best friend, but for birds, cats (not DDT) are among the most destructive forces on earth. When the Exxon Valdez dumped 266,000 barrels of crude oil into Prince William Sound, some 250,000 seabirds were killed . . . A quarter-million birds is a lot . . . It's also the number of birds killed by cats every 48 hours in Britain alone.'

'Eco-problem No. 4: We're being overrun by trees. Look around you: down the street, in your backyard, even in the public parks. Trees. They have put down roots, and are multiplying at an alarming rate. Today, there are 100 million more acres of trees than there were in the early 20th century . . . The recent megafires in Colorado and elsewhere were encouraged by mismanaged forests.'

'Eco-problem No. 5: There are too many species, and most of them are creepy. We [are] losing about 2,300 species a *decade* [not 40,000 a year]. And actually only about 1,000 extinctions have been documented since the year 1600. That's out of some 1.6 million species. A million of those species are insects, by the way. If we'd use more pesticides, we'd have more food sold more cheaply. And what would that give us? A steady supply of groceries—and more people to eat them.'

'Eco-problem No. 6: We're going to run out of people. One species we could actually use more of is the human one. The U.N. pre-

HAIKUS

Western culture rules
clash of civilization
emperor's new clothes

The White man's burden
viewed from shadows
underneath
reveals huge hammer

LIMMERICK

Consider our President Bush,
bombs his enemies so that
they crush.
With God on his side,
who cares how they died,
or that freedoms are stomped
into mush?

Chip Berlet

dicts the world's population will level off just shy of 11 billion in 2200, when there'll be a huge percentage of geezers around because of falling birth rates and increased life expectancy. Most of them will be city dwellers; by 2025 97 percent of Europe will be less densely populated than it is now . . . It's a big planet.'

'Eco-problem No. 7: We need more Judases. The claim that our environment is doing well enrages Green Inc. There's a lot of money at stake, so when critics step forward, environmentalists do their best to stomp them out. Greenpeace cofounder Patrick Moore, who now condemns the movement's manipulation of pseudo-scientific facts, is targeted on Greenpeace's Website as a Judas.'"

Source: *Stuff* November 2002, pp. 94-98.

Eyes Right compiled by PRA staff.

Guest Commentary *continued from page 2*

A lot depends on U.S. domestic politics, then. And as always in the United States, a lot depends on the race-consciousness, the antiracist awareness, that opposition movements can develop. I've been impressed with the articles by Aziz and Lyons. I wonder if we can't take the analysis of race and racism deeper. I think we have to understand race as fundamental not only to current inequalities and injustices both at home and abroad, but as constitutive of the modern world and of our sense of identity, of who we are. The present global crisis is, I believe, the most serious one to have emerged since World War II. It imposes particular responsibilities on North American antiracists. I try to sketch out some of the ideas we have to consider if we are going to look at race as a global problem.

You and I have racial identities; the locality and the country in which we live is racially stratified; and global society is too. Racial identities carry weight and convey meaning: yours is good, mine is bad. Yours suggests that you have resources, deserve a respectful hearing, or are possessed of civil and political rights; mine indicates that I am not worthy of the respect of officials, property-holders, or the producers of cultural representations.

Nationally and internationally these patterns also hold true: Black imprisonment rates dwarf White rates in both the United States and Brazil; the same labor (say, working a lathe in an auto-parts factory) is worth a lot more in Ohio than in São Paulo; African indebtedness to the IMF or Citicorp is far more burdensome than, say, Eastern European indebtedness (African borrowers receive much more onerous terms from multinational lenders).

Racism is not so much about privilege (a very American way of seeing it) as it is about deep structure. Historically the darker peoples of the world have subsidized the lighter peoples. This has been going on since the onset of the modern world-system in the 16th century CE. Put another

way, the world's South has been super-exploited by the world's North, and continues to be. The rise of Europe, the development of the capitalist labor-system, and indeed the accumulation of capital itself all depended (and in many ways still do) on processes of "extra-economic coercion" directed by those who dispose of the means of violence against those who do not. That's in the economic realm.

Politically speaking, in the early modern era only the possession of property and rights insured commoners any "voice" in civic affairs (before modernity only nobles had voice). Since those who lacked desirable racial identities also lacked property and rights, they also lacked political voice. In later modernity access to political voice expanded in response to popular demand as slavery was reduced in scope (never really abolished) and colonialism gradually eliminated. Only in our own time, only in living memory, have significant numbers of people with undesirable racial identities achieved any political power at all; the scope and effectiveness of this power remains quite limited. This is not to deny the continuing presence of resistance and the maintenance of agency and autonomy among the racially subordinated, often amidst the most difficult and oppressive conditions. My focus here, though, is on the dynamics of racism.

Culturally speaking, the world was divided into "civilization" and barbarism, again largely by racial identity. Hence race was the most salient component of identity, with the possible exception of sex. To be a slave or a native was to be outside civilization. Civilization had a curious need constantly to define itself in terms of what it was not. As a result of this effort to distinguish itself from the "others," civilization became dependent upon them for self-awareness and cultural representation, to such an extent that at its core there was a void that could only be filled by infusions of cultural significance from without. Just as slavery and colonialism created economic value at the "center," just as freedom

could only be defined as the absence of slavery (and free labor as the power to rent rather than sell your body), so too identity and cultural signification had to be understood as the absence of "otherness": a civilized identity was a disciplined one, which (sometimes sadly or tragically) could not be "natural" or spontaneous, which could not be lazy, childlike, or ecstatic.

In the latter decades of the 20th century it seemed that democratizing tendencies had finally turned the tables. A lot of the post-WWII shift had to do with race: with the end of imperial rule, the defeat of Nazism, the reform of segregation, the onset of the Cold War, the downfall of apartheid, etc. At the same time, the concessions made to the racialized "others" were not so significant that fundamental power structures were displaced. They wobbled, but regained their footing, stronger in many ways for having incorporated significant elements of their previous oppositions. The present rulers (Bush and Co.) are merely the right wing of the long-standing hegemonic bloc, to borrow a Gramscian phrase.

So far they've only been able to gain a mass base through manipulation and manufacture of crisis. They've been confronted with a very powerful antiwar movement, far more effective at this stage of events than the anti-Vietnam war protesters were at a similar moment in that war's trajectory. And there are significant underlying factors of anxiety in the United States about this political direction: these are economic chiefly, but also political and social. As Aziz says, few in the United States are worried about the deaths of Iraqis. Only the deaths of Americans really matter.

If past experience is any guide, an important dimension of U.S. political conflict in the next few years will take shape over racial issues: recession and further erosion of social programs will accompany continuing subsidization of the rich, repression at home, and the burgeoning militarization of the public sphere. Opposition movements will have to forge effective transra-

cial alliances and coalitions. Blacks and Latinos will continue to be the most solid element in the opposition. Most central, and most uncertain right now, will be White adherence to opposition movements.

A new and quite frightening wrinkle is the lurch rightward among large sectors of the Jewish community. Formerly the most progressive (largely) White voting bloc, Jews have been badly manipulated around Middle East issues, such that Israel has become a "third rail" of U.S. politics. A Republican capture of the Jewish vote would be a hard blow for progressive politics.

What will be the response of Whites to repression, assaults on civil rights and civil liberties, nativism and the stigmatization of immigrants (notably Muslims, obviously)? University students, alternative media, progressive unions, feminists, anti-WTO activists (remember them?), LGBT folks, and a considerable number of seniors and antiwar movement people from the 1960s and 70s, will all be crucial. The movement should pay particular attention to race: both augmenting its activities in communities of color, and addressing Whites in the cause of transracial solidarity, democracy, equality, and social justice.

And the movement should take heart at how effective it has already been: operating largely outside the TV screen and off the front page, it has mobilized millions in the United States.

Our movement is here. Let's get busy.

Howard Winant is Professor of Sociology at the University of California in Santa Barbara, and author of The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II. 2001. New York: Basic.

Things YOU can do!

Have the Winter Blues? Well then, Spring into SALSA!

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Feeling trapped? In that case, Movement Beyond Borders is for you!

Attend the Movement Beyond Borders Conference—After Durban: US Communities Building a Multiracial Justice & Human Rights Vision. It's from May 1-4, 2003 at the Marvin Center in George Washington University in Washington DC, and it's being organized by the Third World Coalition and the American Friends Service Committee.

Details?

Contact Shweta Parmar at [AFSC sparmar@afsc.org](mailto:sparmar@afsc.org)

Or go to: <http://www.movementbeyondborders.org>

Have you been to Tennessee lately? No? You really need to see what's shaking at Highlander! That is the Highlander Center for Research and Education, in New Market, TN.

The Young & The Restless youth program this year promises to be even more exciting than in years past.

The folks at Highlander are also holding a Children's Justice Camp from July 13-19, 2003.

August 8-10, 2003 are Visitors Days at Highlander and their homecoming is on September 13, 2003.

Check it all out at <http://www.highlandercenter.org/news.asp>

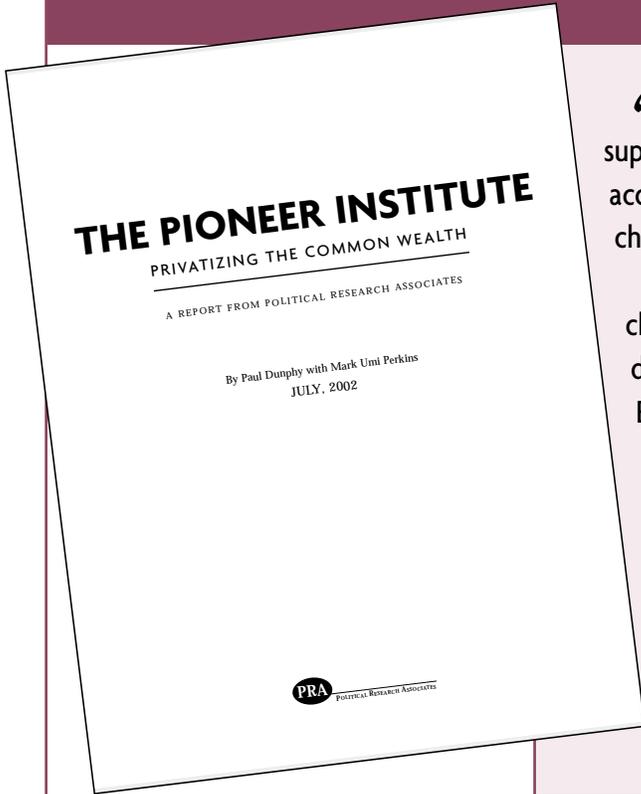
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The recent wave of corporate scandals emphasizes, again, the importance of public accountability, and makes it clear that Pioneer is pushing Massachusetts in the wrong direction.”

– Paul Dunphy, Co-author

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