

# (((i))) Fault Lines

Newspaper of the SF Bay Area Independent Media Center

## WIPE YOUR TEARS AND GET ORGANIZED!

...WITH ALL THE UNCOUNTED PROVISIONAL BALLOTS



PROTESTS IN SAN FRANCISCO ON NOV 3RD

If the extent of fraud in the Bush/Cheney coronation is unclear at the time of this writing, what is clear is that the world and people in the U.S. will be living with an even more destructive and dangerous regime for at least the next four years. The corporate media and the Democratic Party have already concluded that the election is valid, thus averting a repeat of the legitimacy crisis of 2000. The worst immediate effect of all this may be that the people of the world are tempted to give up on the people of the United States. How can the conscious people who live in this country demonstrate to the world that the 59 million people in the U.S. who voted for the Bush regime are not even a plurality, let alone a mandate?

By EDDIE YUEN

The key question is what will the newly politicized anti-Bush legions, who number in the millions, do in the wake of this debacle? Many people in the U.S., unlike people in the global South, have the privilege to retreat into their cocoons of consumption

when things do not go their way. However, there are several reasons why this is unlikely to happen (despite the widespread declarations of intended flight to Canada). The U.S. political and military defeat in Iraq and the grim outlook for the U.S. economy both augur a continued politicization on the part of many

formerly complacent Americans. If Bush follows through on his threats to implement a theocratic social agenda, the mobilization of women, GLBT communities and environmentalists will increase dramatically. It seems quite possible, then, that the usual mass demobilization after electoral campaigns (eg. Matt Gonzalez in SF, Jesse Jackson in 80s, etc.) may not take place on the same scale this time around.

So what forms might this potentially vast new opposition take? Undoubtedly, a huge chunk of it will remain in the electoral arena, particularly in the perennially futile campaign to reform the Democratic party. Given that the Republican Party fiercely mobilizes its base, and that the Democratic Party is scared of its (potentially much larger) base, such efforts are bound to fail. It is likely, however, that thousands of the Anybody But Bush brigades, Move On contributors and Air America listeners will throw themselves into grassroots organizing, alternative media projects, direct action politics, community building and networking, and will be asking themselves some serious questions about how things got to be the way they are. Once the shock of the election subsides, people will begin to recognize that this society is not only polarized, but politicized—a rare moment in U.S. history.

SO, AS DIRE AS THINGS ARE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO PUT THE OPPOSITION OF THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN PERSPECTIVE:

More people voted against Bush than against any president in U.S. history, despite widespread voter intimidation, harassment (6 hour waits) and ballot spoilage.

The numbers of people in the streets exceeds that of the 1960s or any other historical period. The anti-war demonstrations in 2003 were among the largest in U.S. history and the 500,000 people who protested the Republican National Convention in NYC in August, 2004 was 50 times larger than the historic Chicago Democratic Convention protests in 1968. The pro-choice rally in DC in April 2004 was the largest feminist march in U.S. history. The immigrant labor caravan of 2003 was an unprecedented mobilization of

... See *Enduring Democracy*: page 5

## HARASS THE BRASS



A REFUSAL OF WAR ORDERS BY US TROOPS IN IRAQ—IS THIS THE FIRST OF MANY YET TO COME?

By KEVIN KEATING

According to an AP wire story of Oct 16th, the US Army is investigating up to 19 members of a supply platoon in Iraq who refused to go on a convoy assignment, which they described as a "suicide mission." Relatives of the soldiers said the troops considered the mission too dangerous, in part because their vehicles were in extremely poor condition.

A spokesman for the occupation coalition in Baghdad said that "a small number of the soldiers involved chose to express their concerns in an inappropriate manner causing a temporary breakdown in discipline."

The reservists are from a fuel platoon that is part of the 343rd Quartermaster Company, based in Rock Hill, South Carolina. The unit delivers food, water and fuel on trucks in combat zones.

Teresa Hill of Dothan, Alabama, who said her daughter, Amber McClenny, was among the soldiers in the platoon, received a phone message from her early Thursday morning saying they had been detained by US military authorities.

Amber McClenny said that her platoon had refused to go on a convoy to Taji, located north of Baghdad. "We had broken-down trucks, non-armored vehicles and, um, we were carrying contaminated fuel. They are holding us against our will. We are now prisoners," she said.

Hill said Spc. Tammy Reese in Iraq, who was calling families of the detainees, later contacted her.

"She told me (Amber) was being held in a tent with armed guards," said Hill, who spoke with her daughter Friday afternoon after her release. Her daughter said they are facing punishment that could range from a reprimand to a charge of mutiny.

The incident was first reported Friday by The Clarion-Ledger newspaper in Jackson, Mississippi. Family members told the newspaper that several platoon members had been confined, but the military did not confirm that.

On Wednesday, 19 members of the platoon did not show up for a scheduled 7 a.m. meeting in Tallil, in southeastern Iraq, to prepare for the fuel convoy's departure a few hours later, the military statement said.

"An initial report indicated that some of the 19 soldiers (not all) refused to participate in the convoy as directed," the military statement says.

A whole unit refusing to go on a mission in a war zone would be a significant breach of military discipline. The military statement called the incident "isolated" and called the 343rd an experienced unit that performed "honorable" service in nine months in Iraq.

The platoon has troops from Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina, Mississippi and South Carolina, said Hill.

... See *Mutiny*: page 9

## NATIVE AMERICANS LIBERATE THE ROCK

### CELEBRATING THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALCATRAZ OCCUPATION



"WE WILL NOT GIVE UP" OOHOSIS, A CREE FROM CANADA, AND BRENDA, AN URBAN INDIAN FROM THE BAY AREA GIVE THE RED POWER SALUTE ON ALCATRAZ, 1971

By ILKA HARTMANN

On November 10, 1969 newspaper headlines read "Indians on Alcatraz". In the middle of the night, Indians had chartered a boat and 14 of them had climbed onto The Rock

to claim Alcatraz for the Indians. When reading the news in the morning paper, the vast majority of Bay Area residents responded with the expression of the time—"Right On!"

There had been the Civil Rights Movement in the South, then the

Black Power Movement. The Panthers had been formed in Oakland. The United Farmworkers, led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, were organizing in the San Joaquin Valley. At San Francisco State University and UC Berkeley, home of the Free Speech Movement and Peoples Park, there had been "Third World Strikes". Students had demanded and clashed with the police for ethnic studies—Black Study Programs, Chicano-, Asian- and Native American Studies.

NOW THERE WAS RED POWER.

The Indians were the least-mentioned in the demonstrations and now they had accomplished a symbolic gesture that sparked everyone's imagination and created enormous support throughout the Bay Area.

After the federal prison on Alcatraz closed in 1963, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors began accepting proposals for what to do with the unused island in the middle of the Bay. Adam Nordwall (later Fortunate Eagle), a Bay Area urban Indian leader, made a proposal to one of the supes that the island should be

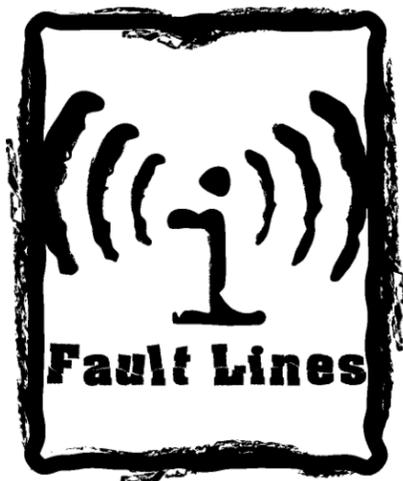
given back to the Native Americans now that the federal government was not using it. There was a Sioux treaty which stated that all federal land no longer used must go back to the Native people from whom it was taken originally. Already in 1964, a group of Sioux Indians went to the island, staked a claim, and had their lawyer file papers in court to back up their claim. Nothing happened. And nothing happened with Adam's proposal either.

By 1969, there was a lively discussion in the papers of the Bay Area about the fate of the island. Newspaper readers even sent in coupons to their paper stating their preferences. A Texas millionaire, Lamar Hunt proposed a 21st century space theme-park on the island; a hideous idea which would have transformed Alcatraz to a bizarre commercial piece of real estate.

Then, the San Francisco Indian Center burned down and the many Indians in the City no longer had a place of their own. They were now without a gathering place where they could meet other Indians, speak their native language and come together for

... See *Alcatraz*: page 6

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**About Indybay**

The San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center is a non-commercial, democratic collective of Bay Area independent media makers and media outlets, and serves as the local organizing unit of the global Indymedia network.

**Fault Lines  
 Mission Statement**

Fault Lines, the newspaper of the San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center, aims to give all communities the opportunity to actively participate in a collective process of media production and distribution. By operating with transparency, this newspaper hopes to achieve the goal of allowing the public, not corporate conglomerations, to set the agenda for news coverage. Our mission is to train and empower marginalized voices. This publication was created to be used as a tool for radical change in our communities by exposing the stories and raising the issues that the media plutocracy seeks to suppress. We are the people, we are the media and we are dissenting from the ground up.

**Get Involved**

The IMC has an open door. You can write for Fault Lines, film events and rallies, self-publish articles to the web, take photos or just help us run the office. As an organization relying entirely on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print working group reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

**Fault Lines Volunteers**

Carolyn Kraus, Liam O'Donoghue, Ali Tonak, Kelah Bott, jankyHellface, Jamie Hurlbut, David Morse, Mark B., Matt Fitt, Francisco McGee, Gabriela Reardon, Carwil James

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We'd also like to thank everyone who has donated to Fault Lines, those who have subscribed, and the organizations and small businesses that have advertised within these pages. Your support helps make this happen.

**Union Bug**

# A CALL FOR JUSTICE FROM THE ANGOLA 3

## FORMER BLACK PANTHER HERMAN WALLACE HAS BEEN LOCKED IN SOLITARY FOR 32 YEARS- BUT HE CAN'T BE SILENCED



HERMAN WALLACE (LEFT), ROBERT KING WILKERSON (CENTER), AND ALBERT WOODFOX (RIGHT).

INTRODUCTION BY SCOTT FLEMING

The following letter is from Herman Wallace, one of the "Angola 3," three men—all former Black Panthers—incarcerated at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. Wallace and Albert Woodfox have been in solitary confinement for 32 years. Robert King Wilkerson, the third member of the group, was released from prison in 2001 after 29 years of solitary confinement. Wallace and Woodfox were falsely convicted of murdering a white prison guard in 1972, at a time when the Louisiana State Penitentiary was a cauldron of racism, violence, and rape, and known as the "Bloodiest Prison in America."

Despite demonstrable and growing evidence of their innocence, Louisiana's racist and conservative courts—the state's elected judges run for office on tough-on-crime, pro-death penalty platforms just like other politicians—have so far refused to consider their appeals. Because they are politicized black men who refuse to acquiesce to their own oppression, the Louisiana penal system hopes to torture them until they die, despite the fact that they are two of the kindest, most principled men one could ever meet.

The prison itself is a former slave plantation, named "Angola" after the national origin of the slaves who were kidnapped and taken there. After the Civil War, the plantation became a prison and is operated on the plantation model to this day. 80 percent of the 5,000 prisoners there are African-American, and 80 percent are serving sentences that will keep them there until they die. Most spend their days in the fields, working for pennies an hour to harvest produce that the state sells at a profit. Louisiana incarcerates a higher percentage of its population than any other state.

In prison, Wallace and Woodfox are subjected to constant harassment and retribution from the mostly white administration. For the past few years, the guards have repeatedly slammed Wallace with phony conduct charges that have resulted in two years in Camp J, the prison's punishment unit. Among these charges are the possession of "gang materials"—any books or papers pertaining to African-American history or the Black Panther Party can be labeled "gang material" at the whim of the retrograde officers. Just this month, Wallace was taken from his cell and charged with destroying state property after officers found a scratch on the glass light fixture in his cell. The fact that the prison's own maintenance staff say the scratch has been there longer than Wallace has been assigned to the cell hasn't helped so far. If Wallace is found guilty, he could be sent back to Camp J, where he will be locked in his un-air-conditioned cell for 23 hours a day, have all his property confiscated save two books (and a Bible, of course), and be forced to exercise in an outdoor cage with his hands shackled to a chain around his waist. Wallace is now 63 years old.

Wallace and Woodfox receive dozens of letters every day from people around the world. You can write to them at:

Herman Wallace #76759 CCR U/D #4 Louisiana State Penitentiary Angola, LA 70712

Albert Woodfox #72148 CCR U/B #13 Louisiana State Penitentiary Angola, LA 70712

For more information about this case, visit [www.angola3.org](http://www.angola3.org).

### Dispatch from "The Hole"

By HERMAN WALLACE

My name is Herman Wallace. I am one of three men who have spent and continue to spend more than 32 years in solitary confinement at Angola State Penitentiary. I have witnessed and been a victim of torture all my life. I find it quite amusing how white America can be so naïve in their thinking that acts carried out by the accused al Qaeda are simply acts of Terrorism as opposed to acts of retaliation. The United States built its strength with the use of terrorism. The "Founding Fathers" of this country who were treated with love and respect by the Indians used biological weapons (blankets saturated with smallpox) to weaken and kill off the Indians to weaken and enslave them.

African men, women and children were transported here and forced to do the labor that the founding fathers could not do themselves. African men who tried to escape were flogged, feet decapitated and worked like mules. In some cases African pregnant women were tied to trees, their stomachs cut open, and as their babies fell to the ground, the white slave master would stomp the head of the African baby. These were the rights given to the white property owners by their own government.

Time brought change, revealing itself during the Civil War—and after the Civil War, the white government created the "Black Code" laws and allowed the Klu Klux Klan to lynch African men and women, burn their homes, and imprison many to strike fear so as to keep them in their place.

For the past 45 years this government has threatened other nations who dare to do business with Cuba and would jail its own citizens who would dare to give as much as an aspirin to the Cuban people.

Today prison has become a neo-slave method for domestic control with a focus on white supremacy.

The White majority has accepted the illogical concept that what their forefathers did to the Indians and Africans in this part of the world has nothing to do with them and that all their accumulated wealth stems from hard work and will destroy anyone who threatens to remove or attempt to nationalize that wealth. Even when this government is clearly wrong, the white majority will support it in its entirety. The attack upon Iraq was based on lies and now that the truth has been revealed showing that Saddam had nothing to do with 9/11 the Bush Administration claims the world is better off without Saddam. From my perspective, it appears the world is in far worse shape without Saddam. If there are no WMDs in Iraq and Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11—why is America still turning it into a graveyard? Why are the great majority of White Americans supporting this illegal war? The abuse of Iraqi people in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay is enough in itself to shake the consciousness of White America—but then again White America is used to sticking its head in the sand when interests of its own economy are at stake.

I do not sanction the killing of non-combatant women and children as was done on 9/11, as well as the slow death of the Cuban people through economic woe, but what happened on 9/11 is the fault of All Americans. Just because 9/11 took place under the Bush Administration does not mean this is where it started—it's America itself. Freedom in the eyes of White America is slavery in the souls of others, it is the will of the white majority. In Gore Vidal's latest book, *Imperial America* he correctly states "We have only one political party in the United States, the property party, with two right wings, Republican and Democrat." In order to be true leaders of the world with respect to all countries, America must change its foreign and domestic policy.

What is so hypocritical is how White America could be in so much shock at the news of torture in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay while knowing all along of its torture practices in America's own prisons. 32 years of solitary confinement for any human being is an act beyond the scope of torture and what makes it worse is the fact that I'm an innocent man. Not only because I say I'm innocent, but because all evidence in my case points to my innocence and I'm not alone. None of America's faith can be realized through the eyes of the Republicans and Democrats, but rather through the fairness of all its people—cut your losses and get out of Iraq, out of Afghanistan, out of Cuba, and out of Haiti. End the death penalty and free all political prisoners and prisoners of war: When you commit to these goals, only then will you be able to enjoy true prosperity.

## Contribute to Fault Lines

*Fault Lines* encourages our readers and members of the community to get involved in making media. Our goal is to train and empower marginalized voices to reclaim our lines of communication and speak truth to power. If you want to write an article, review, or news blog for Fault Lines, please contact the editors at [editors@faultlines.org](mailto:editors@faultlines.org) to begin a collaboration and get our submission guidelines. Submissions of relevant and timely photos and artwork are encouraged as well. Your feedback about what we are (or are not) covering is necessary in creating a news source that truly is a voice of the people. Suggestions regarding our design and readability are also greatly appreciated. In an age when information and news are so tightly managed and con-

trolled by the corporate media, industry and government, free, independent and alternative press is essential for any hope of creating a just world.

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# The Middle East Cauldron The Next Five Years



BAGHDAD, IRAQ, JUNE 28, 2003, WOMEN WAITING IN LINE FOR TREATMENT AT A CLINIC RUN BY DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS IN SAD'R CITY. SAD'R CITY IS HOME TO OVER 2 MILLION PEOPLE, AND IS ONE OF THE POOREST AREAS OF BAGHDAD. SINCE THEN DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS HAS WITHDRAWN FROM IRAQ DUE TO THE LACK OF SECURITY.

©Andrew Stern/AndrewStern.net

WHOEVER IS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE BASIC POLITICAL DILEMMAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WILL BE THE SAME IN THE COMING FIVE YEARS. THERE ARE THREE LOCI OF CRUCIAL HAPPENINGS AND PROBABLE MAJOR SHIFTS IN THE COMING PERIOD: IRAQ, IRAN, AND ISRAEL/PALESTINE.

BY IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN

The issue in Iraq that will have most impact on the future of Iraq, the Middle East, and the world is when and under what circumstances U.S. military forces will quit the country. At this point, the U.S. military presence has come to be a surgical graft that the Iraqi body is rejecting, and rejecting definitively. Sooner or later, U.S. forces will have to leave entirely, including from the prospective permanent bases. There are only three manners in which U.S. withdrawal can take place: as an early autonomous decision of the U.S. government; at the later request of the Iraqi authorities; or ultimately chased by Iraqi insurgents.

The first alternative is undoubtedly the one which would serve U.S., Iraqi, and world interests best. It is also the least likely to occur. The U.S. President will find this impossible politically to do in 2005 or 2006 because it would be interpreted, first of all at home in the United States, as a major political defeat for the United States. And it would be. Antiwar sentiment in the United States is growing, but it is not yet at the point where members of Congress would willingly endorse such a move. Even those in the military who think the entire Iraqi invasion was a grave error would regard withdrawal now as a slap in the face of the U.S. military. And those leaders in other countries who have backed the U.S. fully—Blair, Berlusconi, Howard—would equally be dismayed, because it would have very negative political consequences for them in their countries.

The second alternative—being asked to withdraw by the Iraqi government—is more plausible. Of course, it depends to some extent on political developments within Iraq. The elections of January may well take place, even if participation in many areas will be fitful or even virtually nonexistent. The elections are likely to take place because a number of important actors are at the moment committed to them: the U.S. government; the interim Iraqi Prime Minister Iyad Allawi; the Kurdish leaders; and Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani, who sees the opportunity for a legislature dominated by religious Shia.

But this does not ensure a legitimate regime after January. For one thing, the U.S. incursion into Fallujah, has not only guaranteed Sunni non-participation in the elections but has also ignited new eruptions in Shia areas, since Moqtada al-Sadr has committed himself to full support of Fallujah resistance. And if, despite such eruptions, the elections take place, it is by no means clear whether Allawi would be able to consolidate his control of the central government or would be displaced by a figure closer to al-Sistani and less dependent on the United States.

But whatever the makeup of the Iraqi government in

2005, its prime and most immediate concern will be to secure popular support and legitimacy. What can such a government offer a population that is unhappy with American military presence, massively insecure because of the insurgency and the U.S. response, and in great economic difficulty? Such a government will have only two choices: moving much closer to the U.S. proconsul and his military forces, or distancing itself considerably from them.

Closeness has not paid off thus far, either in deepening legitimacy or in getting significant material support from the U.S. It follows that, at some point, the likelihood is that the Iraqi government will turn against the U.S. They will certainly be encouraged to do so, for different reasons, by all their neighbors—Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Iran. Even if they have deep reservations about each of these neighbors and their governments, the pressures coming from them plus the pressures coming from their populations plus the undoubtedly erratic behavior of the United States will probably be enough for the Iraqi government to shift its basic position vis-a-vis the United States.

But if they don't, because they fear an inability to survive without U.S. military support, then it will be the insurgency that will grow stronger and stronger, and become the de facto government of the country. When that happens, Iraq is headed towards a Tet offensive scenario. And the U.S. may have to evacuate its personnel from the Green Zone in helicopters. This will be a far greater defeat than autonomous withdrawal in 2005.

Meanwhile, in Iran, the government will join the nuclear club in this same period. Iran is a major power in the region, heir to a very ancient civilization, a Shia state beside a largely Sunni Arab world, a country surrounded by nuclear powers. It needs nuclear weapons to realize its full weight as a regional power, and it will do what it takes to get them. It has three obstacles in its path. The most public is the opposition of the U.S. and the European Union to this breakdown in observance of the non-proliferation treaty. This is the most public and the least important obstacle, since in fact neither the U.S. nor the EU can do very much to stop Iran.

There are two more serious obstacles. The first derives from Iran's internal politics. The government in power has been losing popular support and legitimacy for more than a decade because of its repressive and fundamentalist politics. It is not that the opposition forces would really be against Iran acquiring nuclear weapons but rather that, should they be able to create turmoil, the government might not have the energy to move forward on the nuclear front. However, at this point, the opposition seems too weak politically to disrupt, and the gov-

ernment's strong stand on nuclear weapons would probably be a popular move at home.

The third and most serious obstacle is the Israeli threat to bomb Iranian nuclear facilities. There is little doubt that the Israeli government would like to do that. There are, however, three questions about an Israeli attack. Can Israel do it in such a way that the attack would really cripple Iranian capacity? Can the Iranians retaliate in such a way that Israel would really be hurt? And would world (including U.S.) opinion swallow such an attack as they did the Israeli bombing of Iraq in 1981, or would they react by turning Israel into a total pariah state?

I doubt Israel can cripple Iran because I believe that

**"ISRAEL HAS ALREADY LOST A LOT OF LEGITIMACY IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS...THE LESSON OF SOUTH AFRICA IS THAT IT IS POLITICALLY EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO SURVIVE AS A PARIAH STATE"**

Iran has scattered its facilities already enough to prevent this. I also doubt that the Iranians could retaliate with sufficient strength to hurt Israel seriously. But the weak point for Israel is world opinion. Israel has already lost a lot of legitimacy in the last four years, and this could be the last straw. The world's geopolitics are quite different today than in 1981. The lesson of South Africa is that it is politically extremely difficult to survive as a pariah state.

Finally, there is Israel/Palestine. Israel has tied its fate

to that of the United States in the Middle East. A defeat for the United States is a defeat for Israel. At the moment, Sharon is trying the ploy of a unilateral Gaza withdrawal which would enable him effectively to foreclose a meaningful Palestinian state on the West Bank. But it doesn't seem to be working. Hamas is unalterably hostile and unappeased. And the Palestine Authority, which might have been willing to negotiate such an arrangement, has been excluded from its implementation, and therefore has to be ultra-reserved as well. In any case, due to Arafat's death, the PLO may splinter into many parts, to the probable benefit of Hamas.

Meanwhile, among the Israelis, the refusal of the right-wing settlers to envisage even this tiny concession has led to a virtual split in the Likud party, and an implicit threat of total implosion of the Jewish state. Gaza withdrawal will never really come about. But in the process of trying to do it, Sharon might reunite the Palestinians and fatefully divide the Israeli body politic in ways that have never occurred up to now. And this division among the Israelis themselves might be the final blow to their political strength within the United States. Israel/Palestine might finally lose its status as an untouchable U.S. political issue and become a matter of public debate within the United States. This would bode ill for Israel's survival.

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HOTEL LOCKOUT UPDATE

SF Hotels have continued the lock-out of approximately 3,500 UNITE HERE Local 2 hotel workers that began on Oct 13. Union negotiators and the Multi-Employer Group (MEG) have been negotiating a new contract with many fallouts and disagreements. According to Union officials, under the contract being offered by the MEG "hotel workers would end up paying an average of \$860 in higher health care costs." Other disputes remain regarding the length of the contract and pension contributions from hotels.

Kaiser Permanente and UNITE HERE Local 2 president recently announced that Kaiser Permanente will be extending benefits to workers free of charge for an additional two months. Workers and union officials were worried that Local 2 members would lose coverage Dec 1 because of a decision to cut health-care benefits made by the MEG.

Among the recent community support actions, the Halloween critical mass of 3000 bicyclists circled hotels in solidarity with the locked out workers and anti-war protests have visited the picket lines on numerous occasions. More recently, supporters and hotel workers joined together to picket the Vienna Gloriosa -- a gala event that was held at the Palace Hotel benefiting the Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra. The Orchestra refused to cross the picket lines, but, the event still took place. Socialite guests were treated to picketers dressed up in French colonial garb spreading a banner saying "The Revolution is Now". Flying pickets have, and will continue to be held, every Sunday at 7 p.m. starting in Union Square.

TANKS DISPATCHED TO LA ANTI-WAR PROTEST



On November 11, armored tanks (Marine APCs) showed up at an anti-war protest in front of the federal building in Westwood, Los Angeles. The tanks circled the block twice, the second time parking themselves in the street and directly in front of the area where most of the protesters were gathered. Enraged, some of the people attempted to block the tanks, but police quickly cleared the street.

OAKLAND'S NEW CROWD CONTROL POLICY

On November 5, 2004, the Oakland Police Department agreed to enact a crowd control policy, which will establish, for the first time, a uniform protocol for the OPD to use in handling crowds. The policy will apply equally to protests or spontaneous celebrations.

The wording of the policy favors and protects crowd members and their right to assemble. As Michael Haddad, a civil rights lawyer who helped implement the guidelines stated, it is important, because prior to this, the OPD "had no policy. Their policy was anything goes."

Efforts to implement this policy were inspired by the incident on April 7, 2003, where police indiscriminately fired wooden bullets, sting ball grenades and shot-filled bean bags at hundreds of non-violent anti war activists during an organized demonstration at The Port of Oakland. The protesters were expressing their opposition to Iraq war profiteering by Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) and American President's Line (APL). Protesters were not given adequate warning to disperse before being fired at. The OPD's use of overwhelming force resulted in at least 58 people being injured by various projectiles. Among the victims were

*continued on opposite page*



By TIM REDMOND

The *Bay Guardian* filed suit Oct. 19 against the *SF Weekly*, the *East Bay Express*, and New Times Newspapers, the Phoenix-based chain that owns the two local weeklies, charging that the nation's largest alternative newsweekly chain had illegally sold advertising below cost in an effort to put the family-owned *Bay Guardian* out of business.

The suit, filed in San Francisco Superior Court, marks the latest step in a lengthy struggle to stop the New Times papers from using predatory pricing to injure the *Bay Guardian*.

"We don't dislike competition. We thrive on it," *Bay Guardian* editor and publisher Bruce B. Bruggmann said in a statement. "But we believe that competitors should play fair—and New Times, like many big corporate chains, is breaking the law and using its considerable national resources in an effort to destroy a locally owned competitor so it will have the San Francisco alternative market to itself."

The *Bay Guardian* is represented by E. Craig Moody and Richard P. Hill of the San Francisco firm Moody and Hill.

Specifically, the lawsuit alleges that New Times has repeatedly sold ads at less than the cost of producing them—a violation of California Business and Professions Code Section 17043. The *Bay Guardian* is also charging that New Times offered secret deals to some advertisers in an effort to keep them from advertising in the *Bay Guardian*—a violation of B&P Section 17045.

The state's unfair-business-practices law, which dates back to the 1930s and has its roots in the progressive-reform era of Gov. Hiram Johnson, was designed in part to prevent this exact sort of behavior. "Since the competitor who will lose in any price war is the smallest competitor, and the ultimate loser is the consumer, this variation of the profit motive cannot be tolerated," University of San Francisco law professor J. Thomas McCarthy wrote in a seminal

# BAY GUARDIAN SUES NEW TIMES CHAIN FOR PREDATORY PRICING

1968 USF Law Review article titled "Whatever Happened to the Small Businessman?"

The law bars companies from selling any product "at less than the cost to the vendor for the purpose of inuring competitors or destroying competition." It allows for treble damages.

New Times, the *Bay Guardian* lawsuit notes, has a "history of intentionally undertaking anticompetitive actions." In 2003 the U.S. Justice Department and the attorneys general of California and Ohio charged that New Times and Village Voice Media had conspired to shut down competing papers in Cleveland and Los Angeles and create illegal monopoly markets.

A year earlier the *Bay Guardian* formally warned New Times that it was engaging in illegal predatory pricing.

"The *Weekly*, using the money and power of a national chain, is trying to crush a locally owned competitor so it can have the San Francisco alternative-weekly market to itself," the *Bay Guardian* wrote at the time.

Thomas Burke, an attorney with Davis Wright Tremaine, detailed the problems in a Jan. 11, 2002 letter to *Weekly* publisher Troy Larkin, which noted that "the evidence ... demonstrates, vividly and unambiguously, the degree to which *SF Weekly* and *New Times* remain desperate to drive the *Bay Guardian* out of business."

The letter listed a series of specific instances in which the *Weekly* had offered steep discounts to advertisers, selling ads at far below the normal market rate, in an effort to keep them from advertising in the *Bay Guardian*.

The warning followed a legal agreement in which a former *Bay Guardian* sales manager agreed to pay the *Bay Guardian* \$10,000 to settle charges that she stole proprietary sales information from the paper after she was secretly hired by the *SF Weekly*. The June 2001 agreement put New Times and the *Weekly* under a permanent injunction barring them from using the stolen information (see "The Predatory Chain," 10/13/02 *Bay Guardian*).

But the *Weekly's* anticompetitive behavior hasn't changed, the lawsuit asserts. For the past four years, it states, the *Weekly* (and later the *Express*, after its purchase by New Times) has sold ad space at a loss in an effort to undermine a local competitor. "The defendants ... knew that by offering and selling advertising space at below-cost prices, they could cause the *Guardian* to lose money on its advertising space and eventually be forced out of business, while

defendants would be able to subsidize their own losses caused by that practice through profits derived from other newspapers in the New Times publishing chain that do not face significant competition," the complaint charges.

New Times owns alternative papers in 11 cities—Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Fort Lauderdale, Houston, Kansas City, Miami, Phoenix, and St. Louis as well as San Francisco and Berkeley—and owns a national advertising sales firm, the Ruxton Group, which sells ads for 28 alternative papers around the country. The chain's total revenues in 2001 were approximately \$104 million, according to the U.S. Justice Department complaint.

This is not the first time the *Bay Guardian* has taken legal action to fight anticompetitive behavior. In 1970, on the day after President Richard Nixon signed into law the Newspaper Preservation Act exempting daily newspapers from the antitrust laws, the paper filed suit against the San Francisco Newspaper Agency, which at the time ran the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner* under a joint-operating agreement. The JOA allowed the two papers to fix prices, pool profits, and share markets, eliminating daily newspaper competition.

The suit challenged the legality of the JOA and asserted that the monopoly daily combine was using its market power to destroy smaller competitors. The JOA paid \$500,000 to settle the suit, money the *Bay Guardian* used to go from twice a month to weekly publication.

Bruggmann said the *Bay Guardian* simply can't tolerate this sort of illegal activity any longer. "For years, we have warned New Times, repeatedly, that if this anticompetitive behavior does not stop, we will have no choice but to take legal action," he said. "The *Bay Guardian* has been a part of this community for 38 years, and is a leading voice for small, locally owned independent businesses, and we take this step as part of the ongoing struggle to prevent chain domination in the news media."

"We are confident the courts will find New Times in violation of state law and will order the chain to start playing by the rules of fair competition."

The suit does not specify damages, but Bruggmann said New Times' liability could be well into the millions of dollars.

Neither Michael Lacey, executive editor of New Times, nor Jim Larkin, the chain's CEO, returned calls seeking comment.

Tim Redmond, the executive editor of The *Bay Guardian*, can be reached at tredmond@sfbg.com. This article originally appeared in The *Guardian's* 38th Anniversary special on October 20.

# RETHINKING THE THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

By WILLIAM KATZ

Since 1621 and Governor William Bradford of the Pilgrim colony of Massachusetts, Thanksgiving Day has been a political holiday. Usually wrapped in warm family and patriotic values, our rulers have shaped it to meet their needs. A Presidential Proclamation announces Thanksgiving each year and relatives and friends sit down to turkey feeling they are participants in a moment rich in tradition and worthy of celebration.

But is this tradition something to celebrate? In 1620, Pilgrims from England aboard the *Mayflower* came ashore in Massachusetts. They were able to avoid disaster and starvation when the Wampanoag Nation brought them gifts of food and offered advice on planting, hunting, and fishing. Since half of the world's crops had been planted by Native Americans and were unknown to Europeans, the Wampanoags brought the Pilgrims something of a miracle.

In 1621 after surviving their first winter, Pilgrim Governor William Bradford ordered a celebration. But Pilgrim thanks were not extended to the Wampanoag hosts but to their white God and deep Christian faith. If the Wampanoags were invited by the newcomers who viewed them as inferiors and servants, it probably was to have them bring the turkey, corn, and other delicacies, or serve the food.

If the Pilgrims learned any lessons about interracial co-operation in 1621, they were soon forgotten. In 1637 Governor Bradford, who saw his colonists locked in mortal combat with dangerous Native Americans, ordered his militia to conduct a

night attack on the sleeping men, women and children of a Pequot Indian village. To Bradford, a devout Christian, the massacre was imbued with religious meaning:

It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same and horrible was the stink and stench thereof. But the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice and they [the Massachusetts militiamen] gave praise thereof to God. Reverend Increase Mather, Pilgrim spiritual father and still a hero in most US textbooks, asked his congregation to give thanks to God "that on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell."

Other English colonists had landed in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and almost immediately had trouble with their Indian neighbors. In 1619, a Dutch ship sold 19 African laborers at Jamestown, and the rulers of Jamestown treated both Africans and Native Americans as untrustworthy inferiors. In 1622, the year after the first Thanksgiving in Plymouth, patience ran out for Virginia's Native Americans. They staged a massive attack on Jamestown that took 350 lives, historian James H. Johnson reports: "The Indians murdered every white but saved the Negroes." Even at this early date two peoples of color showed a willingness to unite.

In 1789 Thanksgiving was revived when George Washington as first President asked the US Congress to make it a national holiday. By using the holiday's mythology of generosity and cooperation, he sought to unify diverse ethnic and racial groups behind the new political experiment called the

United States.

Thanksgiving then was forgotten until the Civil War again sorely tested the nation. President Abraham Lincoln had to deal with many northern citizens who refused to support the war effort and his new emancipation policy. Pioneer feminist Sarah J. Hale, editor of a famous woman's magazine, had little trouble convincing the embattled Commander-in-Chief that a unifying, humanitarian holiday could serve his political goals.

Thanksgiving again disappeared until 1939 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt—seeking to unify Americans threatened by a Great Depression at home and fascist aggression abroad—called on the country to honor the holiday. In 1941, the year the US entered World War II, Congress decreed the fourth Thursday in November a Thanksgiving holiday.

Born and reborn as a unifying political symbol, Thanksgiving has glorified the European invaders, and accepted their oppression of people of color. But instead Thanksgiving could honor those Native Americans and African Americans who became our first freedom-fighters and the unity these two peoples often forged during five hundred years of resistance. Their rich history of heroism and unity deserves a Thanksgiving holiday.

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Reprint from Global Black News

# U.S.-APPROVED CARNAGE GRIPS HAITI

## PRO-ARISTIDE MAJORITY BRUTALLY SUPPRESSED BY MILITARY OCCUPATION



Photo: Haiti Information Project

Haiti began 2004 celebrating the 200th anniversary of the defeat of Napoleon's army and French slavemasters, but it quickly became a year of misery and terror for the Caribbean island's long suffering people.

By CHARLIE HINTON

Beginning last spring, a U.S.-sponsored incursion of former military and death squad members led to the overthrow and kidnapping of democratically-elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. On February 29, U.S. military personnel forcefully escorted the president to the Central African Republic, concluding a carefully orchestrated destabilization campaign begun after Aristide's election in 2000. The campaign included U.S. and French funding of phony opposition groups; blocking disbursement of an Inter-American Development Bank loan destined to improve schools, health, roads and water; and a smear campaign by both corporate and so-called progressive media and NGOs such as Amnesty International.

In addition, the U.S. and French governments received the United Nations' blessing for their occupation of Haiti. The UN recognized the rule of former Supreme Court justice, Alexandre Boniface, and of Gerard Latortue, a former official of the 1988 General Prosper Avril junta regime. Both men are strong opponents of Aristide.

Nature brought floods in April that killed hundreds of people; tropical storm Jeanne killed several thousand in September, and a year-long all-out attack on President Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas Party have all added to the death toll. Hundreds of homes have been burned and tens of thousands of people were forced to abandon their families and communi-

ties to live underground, fearing for their lives.

The Haitian majority, which passionately loves President Aristide, have never accepted the legitimacy of the U.S. and now UN-imposed occupation government. In April, Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas Party rejected participation in an electoral council to plan new elections. It cited the grounds that Haitians have twice elected a president, only to see him militarily overthrown each time. As President, Aristide had designated voodoo an official religion, sought to collect taxes from the wealthy, doubled the minimum

**"WE OPENED FIRE ON DEMONSTRATORS; SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN KILLED, OTHERS INJURED, AND STILL OTHERS FLED."**  
**-HAITIAN PRIME MINISTER GERARD LATORTUE, COMMENTING ON SEPTEMBER 30 MURDER OF ARISTIDE SUPPORTERS**

wage, disbanded the army, and opened relations with Cuba.

When Lavalas leaders announced they would demonstrate to call for Aristide's return on May 18th, Haiti's Flag Day, U.S. marines responded by arresting folk singer and voodoo priestess Anne August (So Anne). The Haitian police attempted to stop the march by shooting into the unarmed crowd, killing at least nine people, while U.S. occupation forces watched. It is common practice for police to steal murdered bodies, preventing burial and an accurate count of the dead.

Lavalas then announced actions to commemorate the 1791 slave insurrection on August 14. The presence of international observers and a letter writing campaign to the UN may have helped the marches proceed relatively peacefully, and Lavalas announced more demonstrations for September 30, the anniversary of the first coup against Aristide in 1991. On that date, units from the National Police opened fire directly into a crowd of at least 10,000 people marching in capitol city Port-au-Prince, killing several people while UN peacekeepers watched. The next morning, Latortue boasted at a press conference: "We opened fire on demonstrators; some of them have been killed, others injured, and still others fled."

On October 2, police arrested three Lavalas leaders at Radio Caraibe after they criticized the occupation government on the air. Later that day police officers raided the offices of the Confederation of Haitian Workers (CTH) labor union and arrested nine union members, all without a warrant. The official justification for the arrest was that the defendants were "close to the Lavalas authorities." Hours later masked men in military attire attacked the office of the Committee for the Protection of the Rights of the Haitian People (CDPH).

Some two weeks later, on October 13, authorities violently arrested Father Gerard Jean-Juste, a beloved priest, activist and pacifist, as he served food to 600 hungry children in his parish, wounding three of the children during the arrest. They have arrested hundreds more and killed more than 85 people since September 30. In one of the most sickening examples, an entire household of 13 people were murdered execution-style on October 26. Two days later, four young people with hands tied were similarly executed. Police have sealed off popular neighborhoods such as Cite Soleil and Bel Air and conducted house-to-house searches, often destroying everything of value in the process. Latortue was overheard saying the regime may have to kill 25,000 people in Port-au-Prince alone to purge it of Lavalas.

Besides the terror brought upon the Haitian majority, the unconstitutional removal of President Aristide sets a dangerous precedent for Latin America and for the world, and neither the Caribbean CARICOM countries nor the Organization of African Unity have recognized the occupation government. In 1804, Haiti became the only successful revolution of enslaved people in the history of the world. The United States refused to recognize this new government for 60 years, until the end of the Civil War, and has worked ever since to prevent true independence and self-determination for Haiti. The 2004 coup against President Aristide continues this brutal imperialist policy.

Charlie Hinton is a member of the Haiti Action Committee, [www.haitiaction.net](http://www.haitiaction.net), and GCIU Local 388M. He works at Inkworks Press, a worker-owned and managed union printing company in Berkeley, CA.

several legal observers and nine dock workers who had shown up for work. Many serious injuries occurred as a result, some of which required hospitalization.

Scott Bohning of Oakland was at the docks on April 7. He was hit five times by projectiles, including one shot, which hit him in his nose. In response to the new crowd control policy, Bohning said, "I think I will feel safer going to demonstrations." He added, "I hope that this policy can set examples for other cities." (Jen Rene)

### RIOTS IN CHILE AS BUSH SET TO ATTEND APEC SUMMIT



On November 18, Chilean anti-riot forces and student protesters clashed in the streets, three days before President George Bush's arrival for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC). According to Valparaiso Indymedia, "Police fought street battles for a second straight day today with university students protesting the summit and the weekend arrival of US President George W. Bush. Protesters in downtown Santiago were sprayed with tear gas from jeeps and knocked to the ground with blasts from water cannon trucks."

**U.S. GOVERNMENT: "WE SEIZE, YOU CAN'T COMPLAIN"**

On November 9, the U.S. government responded to the Electronic Frontier Foundation's (EFF) Motion to Unseal the court order that led to the seizure of two hard drives that hosted more than 20 Indymedia websites. The government claims that the order to Rackspace should remain secret because: (1) EFF and their Indymedia clients lacked "standing" (the legal right to initiate a claim) to contest the seizure, (2) the request came from a unnamed foreign government pursuant to a Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT), and therefore was not subject to the protections of the Bill of Rights; and (3) disclosure would endanger "an ongoing criminal terrorism investigation." EFF intends to oppose these arguments and will file a legal brief responding to the government's letter. It's then up to the court to decide whether the court order should be unsealed or not. Meanwhile, more than 10,000 individuals have signed the Indymedia solidarity statement and at least 17 of the downed websites are back up and running.

### DRASTIC CLIMATE CHANGE IN POLAR REGIONS

Several recently released studies confirm that the Arctic and Antarctic are experiencing severe climate change. The Arctic ice cap is melting at an unprecedented rate due to human-induced global warming, according to one new study conducted by 300 scientists and elders from Native communities in the Arctic. Over the last 30 years the ice cap has shrunk 15-20 percent and in 2003, the Ward Hunt Ice Shelf, the largest in the Arctic, broke into two pieces. With the build up of greenhouse gases, primarily carbon dioxide, the trend is set to accelerate with forecasts that by the summer of 2070 there may be no ice at all.

In Antarctica, while the interior of the continent is cooling, disappearing sea ice and warmer temperatures around the Antarctic peninsula are causing an 80 percent drop in the numbers of Antarctic Krill. This has caused a severe chain reaction throughout the food chain that has affected fish, penguins, sea birds, whales and other animals, as well as commercial fisheries.

## ENDURING DEMOCRACY?: WINNING THE POST-ELECTION

Election: continued from front page. . .

non-citizen workers.

The opposition to the war and the regime is not only broad but deep. The level of animus against Bush amongst millions of people in the U.S. is at or near apoplectic, and will only increase.

The splits in the ruling class around the Cheney/Bush regime are even more dramatic than during the Nixon era. Many powerful members of the permanent government (CIA officers, State Department officials, military brass) have openly dissented against the disaster in Iraq, and, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, more millionaires oppose Bush than support him. These splits create a climate in which the regime cannot totally suppress popular dissent.

The level of awareness and resistance amongst soldiers in Iraq is increasing at an astonishing rate. Tens of thousands of physically and mentally scarred veterans are returning to the U.S., and they definitely do not have the luxury of returning to "normal" life. Some of them are already speaking out, and their voices are powerful.

In a little more than a year after the post-911 suppression of political speech (remember Ari Fleischer's "People need to watch what they say"), criticism of the Cheney/Bush regime had become ubiquitous. Popular culture is more politicized in an anti-establishment direction than it has been in years. Expressions of dissent which were deeply underground in '80s hardcore punk and Hip-Hop are now mainstream; iconic figures such as Howard

Stern, Jon Stewart and Eminem have enhanced their careers by condemning the regime as harshly as radicals in San Francisco.

This poses a challenge and an opportunity for the radical left, which has been so deeply invested in subcultures for many decades that it has not noticed how many people are now hungry for critique and action.

The corporate media is in a legitimacy crisis, and is unlikely to ever regain its Cronkite era imprimatur of neutrality. Ironically, this is partly due to the success of Fox News, which has persuaded both its detractors and supporters that all media is a form of propaganda. The disintegration of the phony liberal consensus of 20th century corporate media has forced many formerly trusting Americans to acknowledge that there is power embedded in the way news is told.

Unprecedented numbers of people in the U.S. are tuning to alternative media, such as Pacifica's "Democracy Now", radical websites, and countless documentaries and books. Noam Chomsky and Arundhati Roy are on the bestseller list. Growing numbers of people are making their own media, and talking back to the media they engage with.

Since the Battle of Seattle in 1999, it has been possible for the first time since 1919 to utter the words "capitalism" and "imperialism" in an analytical way without being denounced as a "communist". It is increasingly possible to talk seriously about the way the world actually is now that the ideological hegemony of Cold War liberalism has col-

lapsed. More and more people are entering into this conversation.

Opposition movements in the U.S. have powerful allies all over the world. In fact, the accelerated decline of U.S. power since the Iraq invasion has created a space for radically democratic and anti-capitalist movements to thrive, especially in South America. The Cheney/Bush regime has failed utterly in its attempt to characterize opposition to its policies as being sympathetic to Islamic terrorism. The majority of the inhabitants of nearly every nation in the world will cheer on any U.S. opposition.

The legions of disaffected liberals (and conservatives) who mobilized against Bush do not share the familiarity with defeat that characterizes the American Left. Many of these people have a sense of entitlement and are used to getting what they want ("Dude, Where's My Country?"). Unlike leftists, people of color and GLBT folks, many white middle class Bush haters are not accustomed to being marginalized and repressed, and it will be interesting to see how they respond. If history is any indication, nobody is more radical than a newly disillusioned liberal who becomes aware of how bad things really are.

Finally, there is nothing that the Cheney/Bush regime can do to alter the U.S. defeat in Iraq and the diminishing stature of the U.S. in the world economy. No amount of "faith" can change this, although the corporate media will certainly hide these realities from those Americans who still trust it. The next few years will be catastrophic, yet interesting.



## Alcatraz *continued from front page...*

celebrations or practical support.

And then there was Alcatraz Island—unused.

On November 9, 1969 members of the large Bay Area urban Indian population and college students from universities around the state tried twice to take Alcatraz back. The second time, late in the day, 14 Indians made it. They willingly left the island the next day, but the idea was not dead.

On November 20, 1969, 92 Indians crossed the Bay, landed on the island and held it for 19 months.

### WHAT HAD HAPPENED?

That day, the phone rang in a bar in Sausalito. When the bartender answered it, an Indian man was on the line. The caller asked if the bartender and some other skippers could take a group of Indians to an undisclosed destination in the Bay? "Is it Alcatraz?" the bartender queried. "Yes" the Indian man replied. "Terrific!" said the bartender. "Meet us when the bars close."

At 1 a.m., Indians started arriving in Sausalito, more and more of them. The police were beginning to notice them, too. Later, one of the skippers remarked that he had actually seen people make themselves vanish that night. They dissolved into the Sausalito fog and reappeared at the dock! As Indians snuck down to the water throughout the night of November 20, 1969, ferries made repeated trips to the island. The woman skipper actually sailed twice in complete darkness; the motor on the boat she had borrowed did not work.

By morning, there were Indians all over the island, even some kids. They settled in, moved into the Warden's Building, the cells, the kitchen—and the world took notice. That is, the press took notice. Adam Nordwall had good relations with the press. There were Tim Findley, the writer for the *Chronicle*; Brooks Townes, one of the skippers of the Sausalito Indian Navy, who worked as a freelance photographer; the *Chronicle* photographer Vincent Maggiora; and soon, a group of "underground" photographers and journalists.

Now the plight of the Native people of this continent was coming out not only in U.S. papers, but also in Germany, France, Japan and other parts of the world. "Since 1492 to the present, November 9, 1969, the Indian people have been held in bondage. Alcatraz is a release from that bondage," John Trudell later said in one of his radio programs on "Radio Free Alcatraz" aired on KPFA.

On Alcatraz, Indians had a platform. They could speak about the tragedy that had fallen upon their people five centuries ago and which was continuing on the reservations and in the urban ghettos. "They should have killed us all then, so there wouldn't be any of us left today," said John Whitefox, one of the original Occupiers.

### TERMINATION AND RELOCATION

This is how it was for Indians in 1969: There was 75 percent unemployment (reservation and urban Indians combined). The average age of death for men was 40. The suicide rate for Indians was ten times the national average. Alcoholism and crimes committed while drunk were higher than in any other group. There was only one Indian with a PhD in the whole country!

Why were there so many Indians in the Bay Area? With estimates ranging from 10-40,000, they came from everywhere in the United States. As many as 100 different tribes were represented here, the majority from outside of California. The names of the two federal programs that had brought many of the Indians to the Bay Area were 'Relocation' and 'Termination'.

Relocation was a government program that moved

Indians from the reservation to the city and trained them in jobs. Once in the city, over 60 percent grew discouraged and dropped out of the program when no job was forthcoming. The government dropped many others after they had gotten jobs. As soon as that job was over, the Indian was alone in the city. Homesick, lonely, unaccustomed to the urban ways, away from family and friends and the natural world, many Indians ended up in the poorest, most dangerous parts of a city, and many eventually found solace in the Indian bars.

Termination was a government program to end all Indian reservations by helping Indian people assimilate into the mainstream. Eventually they would have no more rights to receive any help from the same government that had made them lose their previous self-sufficiency and their land.

Not all of the Native Americans whose home now was the Bay Area had just recently dropped into city life. Some grew up here, raised in the urban world. Many did not admit they were Native American because of the prevailing prejudice. Rather, they said they were "Mexican", others married non-Indians and blended into the suburbs.

After November 20, when the word about the Occupation got out to Indian Country, Indians came from all over—for a visit or to stay on the island. Some moved their families to Alcatraz, others came every weekend with their kids.

The Indians who stayed on the island called themselves "Indians of All Tribes". Those from reservations got to know members of other tribes, and the urban Indians learned what it meant to be an Indian. "It was the first time I ever smoked the pipe," a woman from San Francisco said. Much time was spent around the fire talking, drumming and singing. The Occupiers cooked together, repaired equipment and taught each other Indian dancing and beading.

They formed a Council which met regularly to arrange their daily life and create a vision for the future Indian use of the island. They planned a spiritual center, a university, a restaurant with Native food, and an ecology center. A school for young children and a health center were set up quickly. Food, clothing and money was donated by the Bay Area community who broke the blockade the Coast Guard initially tried to keep around the island.

The first spokesperson to emerge among the Occupiers was Richard Oakes, a Mohawk, who came to live on the island with his wife, Annie, and their children. He was an eloquent and charismatic student at SF State, and had first become known to the press when, on November 9, he read the deeply serious Proclamation written by the urban Indian community. Unfortunately, when a terrible event took place on the island—Yvonne Oakes, Annie's and Richard's daughter, fell down several stories in an apartment building and later died—the family left the island, never to return.

La Nada Means (later Boyer), a Shoshone-Bannock, who had been active in the Third World Strike at UC Berkeley also became a vocal defender

**"...this is actually a move, not so much to liberate the island, but to liberate ourselves for the sake of cultural survival..."**

RICHARD OAKES



Photo: Ilka Hartmann

### Waiting for the Boat

that day. They took the Occupiers to the Senator Hotel in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco and paid for one night. After that everyone was on their own; The Occupation of Alcatraz was over.

### THE AFTERMATH

"They lied to us!" John Trudell said. The Indians were negotiating with the government about the title for Alcatraz while the government already had plans to remove them.

On July 8, 1970, President Richard Nixon ended the policy of Termination and Relocation and began the policy of Self-Determination. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land were returned to their original Native American owners.

The Occupation of Alcatraz had a life-changing impact on many Indians and also on some of the local journalists and photographers who documented it. Indians had now been freed to be openly proud of their identity. Across the country, protests for Indian rights followed, and there were a number of land take-overs, including an army base near Davis where D-Q University, a Chicano-Indian college was founded.

Some Indians were inspired to go back home to their reservations and work for their tribe. Former Occupier Dennis Hastings brought back the Sacred Staff of the Omaha from a museum on the East Coast where it had been for a hundred years. Wilma Mankiller was elected Principle Chief of her people, the Cherokee, in Oklahoma. Ed Castillo became a historian and today directs the Native American Studies Program at Sonoma State University. La Nada Boyer received her PhD in Political Science. Many women left their suburban lives and moved into the now vibrant urban Indian community to contribute their talents.

The occupation of Alcatraz was over, but the Native Americans who took the island for that brief time never stopped fighting for recognition.

Sources: Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Heart of the Rock*. Troy R. Johnson, Editor: *Alcatraz, Indian Land Forever*

See more Alcatraz Occupation photos by Ilka Hartman at the California Indian Museum and Cultural Center in Santa Rosa. [www.ilkaartmann.com](http://www.ilkaartmann.com)

**The occupants scrambled ashore, aware of their long journey and the new world that their landing will usher in. Their determined first steps to the higher land and rocks will end the old order and ultimately change their world forever.**

—GEORGE P. HORSE CAPTURE

## Alcatraz Resources

More about the occupation of Alcatraz and the Bay Area urban Indian community:

### BOOKS

*ALCATRAZ! ALCATRAZ!*, by Adam Fortunate Eagle. Photo essays by Ilka Hartmann, Heyday Books, Berkeley, 1992

*ALCATRAZ. INDIAN LAND FOREVER*, edited by Troy Johnson, American Indian Studies Ctr, UCLA, 1994

*YOU ARE ON INDIAN LAND! ALCATRAZ ISLAND 1969-1971* edited by Troy Johnson, American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1994

*INDIAN SELF DETERMINATION AND THE RISE OF INDIAN ACTIVISM. THE OCCUPATION OF ALCATRAZ ISLAND* by Troy R. Johnson, University of Illinois Press, 1996

*"WE HOLD THE ROCK"*, by Troy R. Johnson, Golden Gate National Parks Association - 1997: a companion book to the documentary video.

*HEART OF THE ROCK, THE INDIAN INVASION OF ALCATRAZ*, by Adam Fortunate Eagle, University of Oklahoma Press, 2002

*URBAN VOICES*, The Bay Area American Indian Community, edited by Susan Lobo, University of Arizona Press, 2002

### VIDEOS AND FILMS

*WE HOLD THE ROCK* by Jon Plute and Jim Fortier, showing continuously on Alcatraz Island since 1997

*ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND* by Jon Plute and Jim Fortier, PBS / ITVS documentary, 2002

*LONELY ISLAND, HIDDEN ALCATRAZ*, documentary film on the history of Alcatraz Island produced by KQED and aired frequently since 2002.

### WEBSITES

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

<http://www.nps.gov/alcatraz/indian.html>

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY LONG BEACH

<http://www.csulb.edu/projects/ais/alcatraz/>

PBS - ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND

<http://www.pbs.org/itvs/alcatrazisnotaniland/>

ILKA HARTMANN - photographer

<http://www.ilkaartmann.com>

# Taking Back



Photo: Movimento Sim Terra

# Their Land

## BRAZIL'S INDIGENOUS MOVEMENT WINS KEY ELECTORAL VICTORIES

BY JOHN REARDON

Brazil's municipal elections on October 3 have brought an unprecedented electoral feat for the nation's indigenous communities. The first ever indigenous mayor was elected in the state of Amazonas, where inhabitants are primarily native peoples; the primarily Xakriabá community of the state of Minas Gerais elected its first indigenous mayor to the town of São João das Missões, and other mayoral and local posts were secured by indigenous leaders in the states of Paraíba and Roraima.

The victory of José Nunes de Oliveira as Mayor of São João das Missões is part of a history of struggle of the Xakriabá people. His father, Rosalino Gomes de Oliveira, was killed during the struggle for land in 1987. It was only after Rosalino's murder that Xakriabá land was recognized and ratified as indigenous land by the State. "Sadly, my father had to die for our rights to be recognized," stated the newly elected mayor. The tension, threats, political persecution, physical assault, and media smear campaigns against Oliveira's candidacy made the victory a challenging one.

In addition, a lack of resources made the campaign more difficult. "We fought for the mayoral seat with no resources," noted Oliveira, who considers his victory a fruit of the struggle of his people. "It is vital that our administration be exem-

plary so that the victory of our peoples can repeat itself in other mayorships and gain representation in the legislature and executive branches," he added.

The colonization of indigenous lands in the Americas and its consequences has been violent, genocidal, and unjust, to say the least. The enormous land seizure by European colonizers and their leaders resulted in the extinction of entire indigenous peoples, demographic decimation, and the destruction of their traditional means of physical and cultural survival (for a detailed historical account, visit [www.socioambiental.org](http://www.socioambiental.org)).

In what is today Brazil, the Portuguese crown designated huge tracts of land to court new Portuguese immigrants hoping they could acquire as much land and resources as possible before other colonial powers established their own claims in the region. Portuguese landowners were expected to protect "their" land from foreign competitors, produce wealth for the crown, and to put down any forms of resistance from local populations. If disease and/or cultural assimilation did not do away with indigenous groups in these areas, guns were the preferred choice for conflict resolution. However, this practice did not disappear with Brazil's independence in 1822. Violence, wealth accumulation and social exclusion continue to define Brazilian society and continue to be complex and controversial aspects of the ongoing land conflict.

It is estimated that before the arrival of the Portuguese, there were roughly 5.6 million indigenous people in the Amazon basin alone. Today, the entire country includes 345,000 indigenous people living in villages registered by the federal government, anywhere from 100-190,000 who live outside of these communities, and an estimated 53 groups that have yet to be contacted by non-indigenous agencies. According to the Brazilian government ([funai.gov.br](http://funai.gov.br)), of the 1,300 languages previously spoken by these people before colonization, 180 are currently spoken.

The environmental impact of logging and gold mining gravely threatens the region's indigenous communities. Large-scale agricultural and soy export production destroys huge areas of natural reserves, forcing the native people out of their traditional lands, further into the Amazon and other forests.

The indigenous rights movement, through mobilization and political pressure, has forced progressive changes from the State. The Indian Statute of 1973, following the logic of the 1916 Civil Code, deemed the indigenous as "relatively capable" and therefore deserving of government attention until they were integrated into Brazilian society. The constitution of 1988, thanks to an active indigenous movement, better respects the basic rights of indigenous people. Indigenous languages, social organizations, traditions and their original rights to the land they've occupied for centuries are all considered permanent rights under the newly formed Brazilian law. The precedents set by over 500 years of colonization manifested itself again during the 1964-84

military dictatorship. Again, indigenous people saw their survival threatened by expansion projects in the name of "development" and "national security."

Today, landless and indigenous workers in search of economic relief from capitalism's inadequacies become miners and loggers. Overcrowded cities with few low-paying jobs and the highly mechanized agricultural production in the countryside are just two factors contributing to economic injustice in Brazil. The wealthiest 20 percent of the population makes 34 times the income of the poorest 20 percent; some 55 million Brazilians live on \$2.00 per day; less than 3 percent of Brazil's population own two-thirds of its land and an estimated 60 percent of this land is unproductive.

The need for agrarian reform to democratize Brazil, and the fact that the country's 1988 constitution deems unproductive land appropriable, influenced the formation of Latin America's strongest and most organized social movement, the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST). By organizing landless workers, occupying unproductive farmland and gaining support from

lent land conflicts in the northern state of Pará gives insight into the MST struggle. During the 1970s, the military government implemented "development projects" that provided incentives for mining efforts and rural industries. Thousands of workers from all regions of the country headed to the region hoping to make a living wage. Some projects employed people for a period of time, but little by little the industries slowed and required less labor. Newer technologies in conventional agriculture decreased the number of workers necessary on any given farm. Today, thousands of landless workers live in extreme poverty on the outskirts of Pará's large cities. The MST has organized roughly 8,000 families and more than 40,000 people currently occupying unproductive farms in the region. But the region is home to some of the most violent rural elites. In 2003, of the 71 assassinations related to land conflicts in Brazil, 35 occurred in Pará. The MST maintains that landless workers should be settled in their home states, but with millions of people in the region searching for means of survival, the struggle for agrarian reform has great importance. If agrarian reform fails to take place in Pará

BY ORGANIZING LANDLESS WORKERS, OCCUPYING UNPRODUCTIVE FARMLAND AND GAINING SUPPORT FROM CIVIL SOCIETY, THE MST HAS FORCED THE GOVERNMENT TO REDISTRIBUTE 20 MILLION ACRES OF LAND TO 350,000 FAMILIES.

civil society, the MST has forced the government to redistribute 20 million acres of land to 350,000 families. In many cases the government claimed they could not redistribute land, and that these workers should head to the "frontier" areas of Brazil, where they might find land and employment. These frontier areas were not only unsuitable for small-scale agricultural production, but the forested areas with natural resources are already inhabited by other indigenous groups and the areas cleared of these forests and peoples are occupied by the rural elite.

The indigenous people, natural resources, and vio-

and other states, desperate workers will turn to forest reserves like logging or mining, vital areas for the survival of indigenous communities, and the genocidal result of colonization will only become worse.

The recent electoral victories for the indigenous communities of Brazil translate into greater political participation and demand for public policies that work to alleviate the historical injustices these communities have faced. It is evident, however, that without an adequate and just distribution of income and land wealth throughout Brazilian society, indigenous people will continue to face societal and economic oppression.

### Indigenous & Rural Movements in Brazil

Centro de Mídia Independente Brasil—IMC Brazil

<http://www.midiaindependente.org/>

The Brazilian Landless Workers Movement is the largest social movement in Latin America

<http://www.mstbrazil.org/>

<http://www.mst.org.br/>

Indigenous Peoples in Brazil resource site from the Instituto Socioambiental

<http://www.socioambiental.org/pib/indexenglish.htm>



# Creating the Post Carbon City

**Thinking post carbon**  
Urban Age, Post Carbon Institute, and Eco City Builders will regularly share information about experiments that are happening throughout the world. You will find out about local changes that ripple out positive changes in culture and quality of life. And, most importantly, you will have access to our experimentation database that will help design and tailor experiments to your locale. Visit <http://urban.postcarbon.org> for more information.

In the modern tradition many cities have become obsessed with growth. Some find themselves using new development to finance the services required for previous development patterns rely on ready access to cheap energy supplies. These supplies, however, are now coming into question in a way that is far more serious than the energy shocks of the 1970s; geology as opposed to geopolitics is driving a process that heralds permanent energy scarcity. If energy realists are right, cities will need to refocus drastically from energy-intensive development towards using much less energy, not only in the built environment, but also in the whole city infrastructure.

By DAVID ROOM, POST CARBON INSTITUTE

## A Stressed Biosphere

Energy-subsidized human activity is causing severe biosphere destruction that threatens all life on the planet. Headlines regularly highlight rapid species extinction, fisheries depletion, and other disturbing trends. Most troubling, there is now widespread scientific agreement that human-induced global warming, primarily from the burning of fossil fuels, is causing increasingly harmful climate disruption. Atmospheric greenhouse gases are at levels 30 percent higher than Earth has experienced during the last 400,000 years and they continue to rise inexorably. There are already clear signs of what may become uncontrollable and irreparable impacts. Though obvious to many that urgent and dramatic action is needed, civilization is clearly headed in the wrong direction.

Although human activity has always tended to disrupt ecosystems, climate and other environmental problems have been exacerbated in the last century. Soon for the first time, more people will live in cities than rural areas. City dwellers lead relatively energy intensive lives, even those that live in poverty. As a result, energy consumption scales closely with our explosive urban population growth. The primary enablers of the population run-up and the energy intensive urban lifestyle have been cheap oil and natural gas. After one hundred and fifty years of extraordinary growth, these fuel sources are reaching their limits.

## Oil and Gas Peak

Oil and gas do not sit in underground caverns. They are trapped in gaps in certain types of rocks. This is a critical point, because it means that oil and gas fields do not simply drain out as from a tank, but generally follow a bell-shaped pattern of rising to a peak of production and then falling away. The US peaked in 1970. Peak oil makes nonsense of recent claims by BP that we have enough oil for forty years. Oil will still be pumping in a hundred and forty years—just not very much.

Alarm bells sounded in the 1970s with various oil and gas shocks, and there was talk of 'running out.' But the urgency was subsequently quelled by significant discoveries in Alaska and the North Sea; extraction was a matter of engineering—very difficult, but possible. Times are different. Unlike the 1970s, we have found no new huge provinces—in fact the North Sea was the last such find. Worse still, following a declining trend, in 2003 for the first time in many years no major fields were discovered, and world oil production rate is now six times the current discovery rate. To underline how different times are now, Matthew Simmons, chairman of the world's largest private energy bank and writer of a forthcoming book on Saudi oil, believes that Saudi Arabia—the world's largest oil exporter—has reached a plateau and that decline is imminent. The whole Middle East may also be on a plateau.

When global oil peak will occur is debatable, and can only be known for certain in retrospect. Princeton geologist Kenneth Deffeyes and others believe we have passed the peak for conventional oil that is easily and economically extractable using known techniques. Colin Campbell of the Association for the Study of Peak Oil and Gas energy supply. Prudence requires that those involved in urban planning begin considering the possibility that oil is peaking now, since revamping an infrastructure takes decades.

## Impetus for Change

The imminent peaking of global oil and gas production could be the catalyst for positive transformation of industrial society, and perhaps avert catastrophic climate change. It could also be disastrous. Essential systems such as food, electricity, health care, and transportation that form the foundation of industrial civilization depend on unfettered access to cheap oil and natural gas. Industrial agriculture relies upon natural gas derived fertilizers, oil-based pesticides, oil-intensive transport, and plastic packaging. In fact, fuel

energy crisis—experiments that don't work now may be considered useful information. If experiments fail in crisis conditions, people are likely to suffer grievously as Cubans and North Koreans found out in the 1990s when they suddenly lost their cheap Soviet oil. In fact, their experiences will likely prove instructive as the rest of the world grapples with energy scarcity. To save precious time and resources, communities and cities will need to learn from existing models, share experiments, outcomes, and lessons learned; the term sister city will soon have a whole new meaning.



Illustration of a downtown transformed from car-city to the ecological pedestrian city from [www.ecocitybuilders.org](http://www.ecocitybuilders.org).

accounts for virtually 100% of the work that's done in industrial society.

Once supply begins to drop and is no longer able to meet demand, less work will be done—which means less economic activity. Alternative energies, conservation, and new energy carriers such as hydrogen will undoubtedly play a role in future energy systems, yet collectively they will not be enough to preserve industrial society as we know it. A largely positive outcome could result from unusual planning, action, and enduring behavior change. Cities must prepare for a serious decrease in net energy availability in their twenty year time horizon or else accept "the cyanide solution of much more coal and nuclear" says Julian Darley, author of *High Noon for Natural Gas*.

## The burden of cities

Most future initiatives to stave off an energy meltdown will be led from the local level—where most energy consumption actually occurs. Every city and community will have different portfolios of solutions tailored to their circumstances and culture. Solutions for Toronto suburbs will be different than those of Johannesburg. Cities—backed by governments providing appropriate support by ending fossil fuel subsidies, developing renewables, and considering carbon taxes—must begin experiments to discover what works and what does not in a given locale.

This knowledge must be gained before the coming

Cities need to prepare themselves to do less materially with much less energy and fewer natural resources, with the ultimate goal of living sustainably within the confines of their bioregion. "We need to reinvent the city," says Richard Heinberg author of *The Party's Over and Powerdown*. "To not do so will be suicide." One famous example of energy and natural resource collapse occurred on Easter Island, whose complex society unraveled into cannibalism.

## Key building blocks of the solution

Relocalization is the process by which communities localize their economies and essential systems, such as food and energy production, water, monetary, governance, and media. To even out local difficulties relocalization will need some degree of regional integration. Cities need to support and collaborate with community groups on relocalization experiments, since cities are the information hubs and the final destination of most production and resources. The benefit will be adaptable communities and cities that collectively operate within the means of their bioregion, using locally produced food and fuel. As the author of *The Geography of Nowhere*, James Howard Kunstler, puts it, "the 3000 mile Caesar salad will be much less palatable when oil is \$100 a barrel." Many regions will also have to experiment with local currencies, as there may be great difficulties with present financial systems.

## Sound municipal governance for the transition into the Post Carbon Age requires:

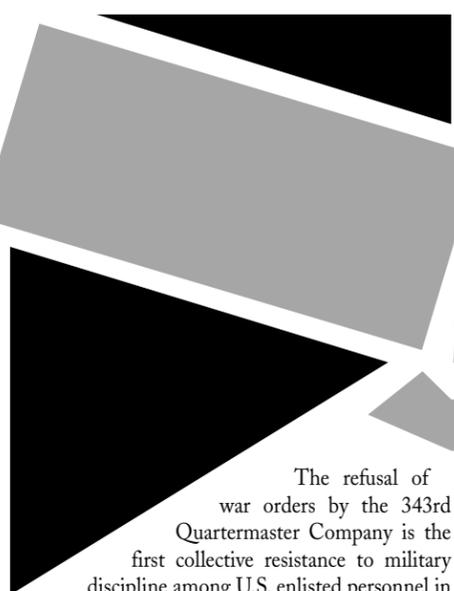
- ◆ Nimble government that rapidly reconfigures for energy scarcity
- ◆ Active support for relocalization, worker-owned cooperatives, locally owned businesses, and ecological city design
- ◆ Innovative municipal tools to affect land and energy use such as zoning ordinances, transfer development rights, tenancy agreements, and community benefit agreements
- ◆ A contingency plan (or "Plan B") that addresses how essential systems will work with less energy
- ◆ Pressure on national leaders for support of local efforts, including demands for a global carbon tax to support local initiatives and experiments.

At first some of these suggestions will meet great resistance. As the evidence mounts, it will become easier to make the case for serious change. Because so much time has been wasted since the 1970s Oil Shocks were shrugged off, it is essential that cities begin preparations now. We have waited long enough. "The starting is very important," says Jaime Lerner, the driving force behind Curitiba's (Brazil) emergence as the world's most ecological city. "If you wait until you have all the answers, you will never start."

## Post carbon links

- ASPO**  
<http://www.peakoil.net>
- Global Public Media**  
<http://www.globalpublicmedia.com>
- Post Carbon Institute**  
<http://urban.postcarbon.org>
- Museletter**  
<http://www.museletter.com>
- Eco City Builders**  
<http://www.ecocitybuilders.org>
- Illichville**  
<http://www.roadkillbill.com/I-Map.html>
- Community Solution**  
<http://www.communitysolution.org>

# Mutiny cont. from page 1.



The refusal of war orders by the 343rd Quartermaster Company is the first collective resistance to military discipline among U.S. enlisted personnel in Iraq to be publicly acknowledged. Accounts from independent sources who have visited Iraq and met with soldiers of the U.S. occupation forces report that morale among large numbers of U.S. enlisted personnel is poor, and has been so for most of the period of occupation and the subsequent guerrilla campaign. If resistance of this type was to snowball, the impact against the US war effort could become overwhelming.

A friend who was in the U.S. military during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War said that before President G.H.W. Bush visited the troops in Saudi Arabia, enlisted men and women who would be in Bush's immediate vicinity had their rifle and pistol ammunition taken away from them. This was supposedly done to avoid "accidents." But it was also clear to people on the scene that Bush and his corporate handlers were somewhat afraid of the enlisted people who Bush would soon be killing during his unsuccessful re-election campaign.

The suppressed history of the last big U.S. war before 'Operation Desert Storm' shows that the Commander-in-Chief had good reason to fear and distrust the troops. Our rulers want us to forget what happened during the Vietnam War. They want us to forget what defeated their war effort -- and the importance of resistance to the war by enlisted men and women.

Until 1968 the desertion rate for U.S. troops in Vietnam was lower than in previous wars. But by 1969 the desertion rate had increased four-fold. This was not limited to Southeast Asia; desertion rates among G.I.s were on the increase world-wide. For soldiers in the combat zone, insubordination became an important part of avoiding horrible injury or death. As early as mid-1969, an entire company of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade sat down on the battlefield. Later that year, a rifle company from the famed 1st Air Cavalry Division flatly refused--on CBS TV--to advance down a dangerous trail. In the following 12 months, the 1st Air Cavalry notched up 35 combat refusals.

From mild forms of political protest and disobedience of war orders, the resistance among the ground troops grew into a massive and widespread "quasi-mutiny" by 1970 and 1971. Soldiers went on "search and avoid" missions, intentionally skirting clashes with the Vietnamese, and often holding three-day-long pot parties instead of fighting.

By 1970, the U.S. Army had 65,643 deserters, roughly the equivalent of four infantry divisions.

In an article published in the *Armed Forces Journal* (June 7, 1971), Marine Colonel Robert D. Heintz Jr., a veteran combat commander with over 27 years experience in the Marines wrote: "By every conceivable indicator, our army that remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and noncommissioned officers...Sedition, coupled with disaffection from within the ranks, and externally fomented with an audacity and intensity previously inconceivable, infest the Armed Services..."

Heintz cited a *New York Times* article that quoted an enlisted man saying, "The American garrisons on the larger bases are virtually disarmed. The lifers have taken our weapons away...there have also been quite a few frag incidents in the battalion."

"Frag incidents" or "fragging" was soldier slang in Vietnam for the killing of strict, unpopular and aggressive officers and NCOs. The word apparently originated from enlisted men using fragmentation grenades to off commanders.

Heintz wrote, "Bounties, raised by common sub-

scription in amounts running anywhere from \$50 to \$1,000, have been widely reported put on the heads of leaders who the privates and SP4s want to rub out." Shortly after the costly assault on Hamburger Hill in mid-1969, the GI underground newspaper in Vietnam, *GI Says*, publicly offered a \$10,000 bounty on Lieutenant Colonel Weldon Hunnicutt, the officer who ordered and led the attack. "The Pentagon has now disclosed that fraggings in 1970 (209 killings) have more than doubled those of the previous year (96 killings). Word of the deaths of officers will bring cheers at troop

## Internationalism in Practice

An American soldier in a hospital explained how he was wounded: He said, "I was told that the way to tell a hostile Vietnamese from a friendly Vietnamese was to shout 'To hell with Ho Chi Minh!' If he shoots, he's unfriendly. So I saw this dude and yelled 'To hell with Ho Chi Minh!' and he yelled back, 'To hell with President Johnson!' We were shaking hands when a truck hit us."

(from *1,001 Ways to Beat the Draft*, by Tuli Kupferberg)

movies or in bivouacs of certain units."

Congressional hearings on fraggings held in 1973 estimated that roughly 3 percent of officer and non-commissioned officer deaths in Vietnam between 1961 and 1972 were a result of fraggings. But these figures were only for killings committed with grenades, and did not include officer deaths from automatic weapons fire, handguns and knifings. The Army's Judge Advocate General's Corps estimated that only 10% of fragging attempts resulted in anyone going to trial.

In the Americal Division, plagued by poor morale, fraggings during 1971 were estimated to be running around one a week. War equipment was frequently sabotaged and destroyed. By 1972 roughly 300 anti-war and anti-military newspapers, with names like *Harass the Brass*, *All Hands Abandon Ship* and *Star Spangled Bummer* had been put out by enlisted people. "In Vietnam," wrote the *Ft. Lewis-McCord Free Press*, "the Lifers, the Brass, are the true enemy." Another West Coast sheet advised readers: "Don't desert. Go to Vietnam and kill your commanding officer."

By the early 1970's, the U.S. had to switch from a ground war to an "air war," in part because of widespread resistance among the infantry.

With the shift to an "air war" the Navy became an important center of resistance to the war. In response to institutionalized racism, black and white sailors occasionally rebelled together. The most significant of these rebellions took place on board the USS *Constellation* off the coast of Southern California, in November 1972.

In response to a threat of less-than-honorable discharges against several black sailors, a group of over 100 black and white sailors staged a day-and-a-half long sit-in. Fearful of losing control of his ship at sea to full-scale mutiny, the ship's commander brought the *Constellation* back to San Diego.

One hundred thirty-two sailors were allowed to go ashore. They refused orders to reboard the ship several days later, staging a defiant dockside strike on the morning of November 9. In spite of the seriousness of the rebellion, not one of the sailors involved was arrested.

Sabotage was an extremely useful tactic, and with the escalation of naval involvement in the war the level of sabotage grew. In July 1972, within the space of three weeks, two of the Navy's aircraft carriers were put out of commission by sabotage. On July 10, a massive fire swept through the admiral's quarters and radar center of the USS *Forestall*, causing over \$7 million in damage. This delayed the ship's deployment for over two months.

In late July, the USS *Ranger* was docked at Alameda, California. Just days before the ship's

scheduled departure for Vietnam, a paint-scraper and two 12-inch bolts were inserted into the number-four-engine reduction gears causing nearly \$1 million in damage and forcing a three-and-a-half month delay in operations for extensive repairs. The sailor charged in the case was acquitted.

The House Armed Services Committee summed up the crisis of rebellion in the Navy: "The U.S. Navy is now confronted with pressures...which, if not controlled, will surely destroy its enviable tradition of discipline. Recent instances of sabotage, riot, willful disobedience of orders, and contempt for authority...are clear-cut symptoms of a dangerous deterioration of discipline."

The rebellion in the ranks didn't emerge simply in response to battlefield conditions. A civilian anti-war movement in the U.S. had emerged on the coattails of the civil rights movement, at a time when the pacifism-at-any-price tactics of civil rights leaders had reached their effective limit, and were being questioned by a younger, more combative generation. Working class blacks and Latinos served in combat units out of all proportion to their numbers in the U.S. population. Major urban riots in Watts, Detroit and Newark had an explosive effect on the consciousness of these men. After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. major riots erupted in 181 U.S. cities; the rulers of the United States were facing the gravest national crisis since the Civil War.

Large-scale rebellion was breaking out all over the world, even against the Maoists in China; its high point was the wildcat general strike in France in May of 1968, the last time a major industrialized democracy came close to social revolution.

The crisis that racked American society during the Vietnam War was not profound enough to create an irreparable rupture between the rulers and the ruled. In the early 1970s, the U.S. was still coasting on the relative prosperity of the post-World War II

According to Newsweek magazine, at a meeting in the White House during President Clinton's intervention in the Balkans, a heated exchange took place between Madeleine Albright, then-ambassador to the United Nations, and then-National Security Adviser Colin Powell, in which Powell said that in the event of a protracted ground war involving US forces, "You would see this wonderful society destroyed." It was clear, said the official who witnessed the exchange, that Powell was referring to his beloved Army."

("Colin Powell: Behind the Myth," by Evan Thomas and John Berry, *Newsweek*, March 5th, 2001)

economic boom. Social conditions faced by working people in the U.S. were not anywhere near as overwhelming and unbearable as they are now. U.S. involvement in a protracted ground war, in Iraq today or in Columbia tomorrow, could have a much more rapid explosive impact on American society.

A number of years ago, in a deceitful article in *Mother Jones* magazine, corporate liberal historian Todd Gitlin claimed that the peaceful and legal aspects of the 1960s U.S. anti-war movement had been the most successful opposition to a war in history. Gitlin was dead wrong; as a bourgeois historian, Gitlin is paid to render service unto capital by getting it wrong, and get it wrong Gitlin does, again and again. The most effective "anti-war" movement in history was at the end of World War I, when proletarian revolutions broke out in Russia, Germany and Central Europe in 1917 and 1918. A crucial factor in the revolutionary movement of that time was the collapse of the armies and navies of Russia and Germany in full-scale armed mutiny. After several years of war and millions of casualties, the soldiers and sailors of opposing nations began to fraternize with each other, turned their guns against their commanding officers and went home to fight against the ruling classes that had sent them off to war. The war ended with a global cycle of mutinies mirroring the social unrest spreading across the capitalist world; some of the most powerful regimes on Earth were quickly toppled and destroyed.

Soldiers and sailors played a leading role in the revolutionary movement. The naval bases Kronstadt in Russia and Kiel and Wilhelmshaven in Germany became important centers of revolutionary self-organization and action, and the passing of vast numbers of armed soldiers and sailors to the side of the Soviets allowed the working class to briefly take power in Russia.

Revolutionary unrest does not happen every day, but when it does break out, it can overcome even the most powerful states with a surprising and improbable speed, and the collapse of the repressive forces of the state is a key moment in the beginning of a new way of life. It is an ugly fact that war and revolution were intimately linked in the most far-going social movements of the 20th century. With the U.S. governments' self-appointed role as the global cop for capitalist law and order, it is likely that the crisis that will cause an irreparable break between the rulers and the ruled in the United States will be the result of an unsuccessful war.

That day may soon be upon us. At that point, widespread fraternization between anti-capitalist radicals and enlisted people will be crucial in expanding anti-war unrest into a larger opposition to the system of wage labor and commodity production that generates wars, exploitation, poverty, inequality and ecological devastation.

An examination of what happened to the U.S. military during the Vietnam War can help us see the central role "the military question" will play in a revolutionary mass movement in the 21st century. It is not a question of how a chaotic and rebellious civilian populace can out-gun the well organized, disciplined armies of the capitalist state in pitched battle, but of how a mass movement can cripple the effective fighting capacity of the military from within, and bring about the collapse and dispersal of the state's armed forces.

What set of circumstances can compel the inchoate discontentment endemic in any wartime army or navy to advance to the level of conscious, organized resistance? How fast and how deeply can a subversive consciousness spread among enlisted people? How can rebels in uniform take effective, large-scale action against the military machine? This effort will involve the sabotage and destruction of sophisticated military technologies, an irreversible breakdown in the chain-of-command, and a terminal demoralization of the officer corps.

As rampaging market forces trash living conditions for the majority of the world's people, working class troops will find themselves fighting counter-insurgency actions against other working class people. War games several years ago by the Marines in a defunct housing project in Oakland, dubbed 'Operation Urban Warrior,' highlight the fact that America's rulers want their military to be prepared to suppress the domestic fallout from their actions -- and be ready to do it soon. But as previous waves of global unrest have shown, the forces that give rise to mass rebellion in one area of the world will simultaneously give rise to rebellion in other parts of the world. The armed forces are vulnerable to social forces at work in the larger society that spawns them. Revolt in civilian society bleeds through the fabric of the military into the ranks of enlisted people. The relationship between officers and enlisted people mirrors the relationship between bosses and employees, and similar dynamics of class conflict emerge in the military and civilian versions of the workplace. The military is never a hermetically sealed organization.

Our rulers know all this. Our rulers know that they are vulnerable to mass resistance, and they know that their wealth and power can be collapsed from within by the working class women and men whom they depend on. We need to know it, too.

Information for this article has been taken from *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today*, by David Cortright, published by Anchor/Doubleday in 1975.

Readers should please send copies of this article to any enlisted people they know.

Also see: <http://war.linefeed.org/propaganda/iraqandahard-place.html>

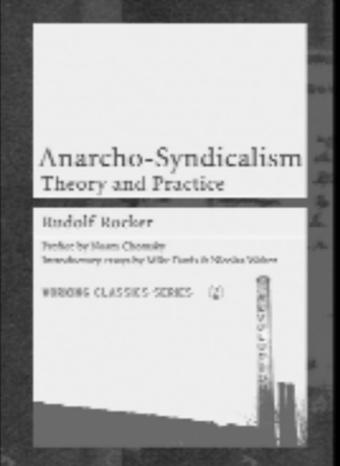
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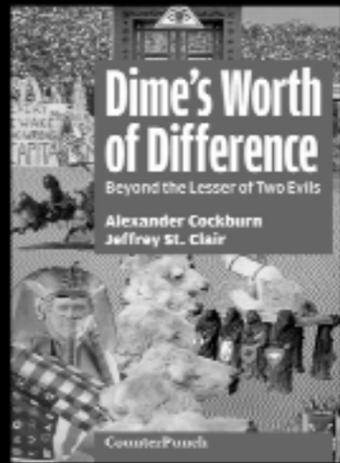
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Forewords by Noam Chomsky & Naomi Klein

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# Arts and Action

## Electoral Politics goes to the Movies

BY DOMINGO DE SANTA CLARA

The last thing I feel like writing about at the moment is, of course, the election. The ending of the whole saga was, like a poorly scripted sit-com, depressingly predictable with a promise of more of the same, week after morbid week. I wish I could simply turn off the T.V. and they would all go away but of course, I can't.

One of the only positive aspects of this "most important election in our lifetimes" is that the stakes were/are so high that a whole slew of artists have gotten politicized. It seems that it takes a grotesquely insane president to make filmmakers tear their attention away from the latest issue of *Res* magazine, if only for a couple of seconds.

From the Christian fundamentalist blast of films like *George Bush: Faith in the White House*, which was bulk-mailed to churches across the country, to the mega-success of *Fahrenheit 911*, which grossed more than any documentary in history and is probably the first film in American history to be seriously considered to affect a Presidential race, more political movies are being produced and viewed than in any time in recent memory. However, I do not think it is accurate to say that these movies come from "all parts of the political spectrum" as the mainstream news networks have commented, but rather from two distinct camps.

First, there are films produced by the conservative Right, in this case represented by Fundamentalist Christians and the wackjob veterans who are still pissed off about losing the Vietnam War and saw John Kerry as a convenient punching bag.

Their message? Vote for Bush, plain and simple. Kerry is a wimp because he actually fought in a war so vote for the other Yale. Whatever their political specifics, the films have only that prosaic message to deliver.

But the bulk of the current movie-missives come from the liberal left, who are finally angry enough at the appalling war reporting of their venerated *New York Times* to start looking elsewhere for their news and analysis. Most of the current documentaries' viewpoints are decidedly anti-Bush, and basically pro-Kerry, albeit reluctantly. But they do not go much deeper than that.

Basically, movies like *Uncovered* by Robert Greenwald are doing what journalism is supposed to be doing, i.e. investigating claims made by government officials. It's just that journalism in the U.S. is currently in a pathetic state of spineless kowtowing, which as far as I'm concerned accounts for a good deal of the popularity of these documentaries. In other words, if CNN was doing what a news program ought to, we wouldn't need movies like *Bush's Brain*.

My main criticism with all of the "Anti-Bush" films, from Michael Moore on down, is their steadfast refusal to place the United States in the context of the rest of the world. There is no attempt to understand why angry Middle Easterners might want to saw off Americans' heads, a sentiment I myself share on an almost daily basis. There is absolutely no mention of Palestine (or any other country besides this one, for that matter), an issue which is intractably intertwined with the whole image of the United States in the rest of the world and particularly among Arabs. In fact, Arabs are barely portrayed at all in any of these movies, except as passive victims at best, or wealthy accomplices of the Bush family at worst.

For these and other reasons, I think that the ideas in the films, even the best of them, remain as impoverished as the rest of political discourse in America. Hell, the president doesn't even believe in Global Warming! How can we expect quality documentaries?

It is always heartening to see vibrant political discussion, and the atmosphere in America is more politically charged than I have witnessed it in my lifetime. But it must be remembered that it is still taking place within the heavily patriotic and xenophobic United States, where there is

an utter absence of reliable media to begin with. So while I'm glad these films are being made and being viewed by so many people, I still think we have a long way to go, and much more profound cinema will need to be crafted, if we are to really understand and change our place in the world and the future.

And now, the films:

Besides the world-famous *Fahrenheit 911* by Michael Moore, there are several other anti-Bush films:

Robert Greenwald ([www.outfoxed.org](http://www.outfoxed.org)) has directed three very popular documentaries, *Outfoxed*, which is about Fox News, *Uncovered*, which details the deception used by the White House leading up to the Iraq war, and *Unprecedented*, about the 2000 Presidential election.

*Bush's Brain* ([www.bushsbrain.com](http://www.bushsbrain.com)) directed by Micheal Paradies Shooob and Joseph Mealey details the way in which Karl Rove pulls the strings behind George Bush.

*Orwell Rolls Over in his Grave* ([www.orwellrollsinhisgrave.com](http://www.orwellrollsinhisgrave.com)) directed by Robert Kane Pappas, is an even further scrutiny of the U.S. media.

**"NOBODY SPENDS MORE TIME ON HIS KNEES THAN GEORGE BUSH."**

-FROM *George W. Bush: Faith in the White House* DVD SLEEVE

And adding to the time-honored annals of right-wing cinema:

*George W. Bush: Faith in the White House* ([www.bushvideo.com](http://www.bushvideo.com)) is an entertaining piece of shit directed by David Balsinger, former producer of the influential and groundbreaking 1970's T.V. series *The Life and Times of Grizzly Adams*. He later directed paranoid religious schlockumentaries like *In Search of Noah's Ark*. His latest release, fired off to churches around the U.S. and labeled as "non-political", specifically deals with how fervently Evangelical Christian the president is. It has a brilliant quote on the DVD sleeve: "Nobody spends more time on his knees than George Bush." I kind of figured that, actually.

*Stolen Honor* ([www.stolenhonor.com](http://www.stolenhonor.com)) directed by Carlton Sherwood, is about John Kerry's anti-Vietnam war activism. The film accuses him of betraying American soldiers by admitting that he participated in war-crimes, as opposed to bragging about them as he was to do 30 years later while running for president.

Not surprisingly, two of the most astute political films out at the moment are animated music videos.

Knife Party, whose video is available here (<http://www.knife-party.net/flash/barry.html>) is a sharp, kinetic work that brilliantly takes on the neo-cons and places their whole project in terms of a "new imperialism". Also excellently animated.

As I mentioned above, one of the only positive aspects of Bush being re-elected is that it may force people in the U.S. to remain politically involved. Take, for example, Eminem. Clearly this man, like most rock stars, cares not a whit for anything other than his own career. Now he has made what is arguably the best political movie of the year, a grim, angry film of a song he wrote called *Mosh*. The video, brilliantly animated by Guerrilla News Network ([www.guerrillanews.com](http://www.guerrillanews.com)), features a young African-American brutalized by the police, a young soldier deployed to Iraq to fight, leaving behind a wife and family and a single mother who gets evicted from her home. The trio, spurred on by repeated images of Eminem jumping around and waving his arms, don black hoodies and join an army of kids, including masses of pissed-off looking war



Black Blocers in Eminem's new video *Mosh*, produced by GNN

vets, who battle police and ominously march on a building resembling the White House. The end of the piece has them all voting, naturally, but the majority of the film is strongly anti-authoritarian and basically kicks ass.

The message is simple and straightforward, the same sort of thing Mike Moore is trying to say: don't send our boys over to Iraq, we have plenty of problems back here. The crucial difference is in Eminem's militant tone, and the fact that because he is the biggest rapper in America, one hopes that his new video will be seen by the most important players in the anti-war movement: the U.S. soldiers in Iraq.

# WE THE PLANET

## FESTIVAL OF MUSIC AND ACTIVISM

**BLACKTHOUGHT - The Roots**



**BOOTS -The Coup**



THOUSANDS OF MUSIC FANS CONVENED AT OAKLAND'S HENRY J. KAISER CENTER ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH FOR THE SECOND ANNUAL WE THE PLANET FESTIVAL OF MUSIC, CONSCIOUSNESS AND ACTIVISM, WHICH WAS ORGANIZED BY CIRCLE OF LIFE. THIS YEAR'S CONCERT FEATURED THE ROOTS, MICKEY HART, MICHELLE SHOCKED, THE COUP, AND THIRD EYE BLIND

# CRYPTO compiled by Iain Boal #5

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Photos: Peter Maiden/indybay.org/arts



THE EVENT, ORGANIZED BY JULIA BUTTERFLY HILL (ABOVE), INCLUDED *Pushing the Boundaries for a New World: A Series of Rabble-Rousing Interactions with Today's Leading Activists and Visionaries*, WORKSHOPS ON MUSIC, ARTS & ACTIVISM, INDY MEDIA, BEYOND VOTING, AND DIRECT ACTION & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

**Across**

- spiritual guide (4)
- computer savvy type (6)
- away to the board game! (2)
- Archetypal psychologist (4,4)
- Bush, initially (2)
- brassica in Anglo-Saxon (4)
- Lifeless(4)
- Cold love (7)
- She's tuneful (6)
- rough Arabic liquor (4)
- Elizabeth Regina in hospital? (2)
- The latest thing in technology (2)
- Religious crowd? (4)
- search for insects (4)
- wandering holy man (5)
- negative (2)
- The aristocrat of pain (2,4)
- knockout (2)
- informant (4)
- Author of *Treasure of Sierra Madre* (1,6)
- corrosive drug? (4)
- City of Quartz (2)
- brass instrument inventor (3)
- Pre-industrial people (4)
- stomach muscle (2)
- Trickster bird (5)
- generic female victim? (4)
- "language of the silenced" (M.L.King Jr)(4)
- slight (5)
- compact disc (2)
- Father of surrealism? (4)
- anarchist mafia? (9)
- mythic snowman (4)

**Down**

- pasta dumplings (7)
- open sore (5)
- Highest grade diamond (5,5)
- Mecca pilgrim (4)
- Atwood's patriarchal dystopia (9,4)
- ovum (3)
- boisterous (5)
- showman who bites the heads off animals(4)
- Non-professional (3)
- Definitely Arabic? (2)
- grim activist? (4)
- Rimbaud's lurching vessel (7,4)
- Behind a beast of burden (3)
- Rule by clerics (9)
- Soviet workcamp (5)
- blessing (4)
- At ocean's edge (5,3)
- District attorney (2)
- fair-haired (6)
- Greek opposition? (4)
- non-fiction (4)
- French assistant (4)
- Rich Site Summary (3)
- goods vehicle (3)
- sunbeam (3)

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# Calendar

For more information or to submit your event, visit [www.indybay.org/calendar](http://www.indybay.org/calendar).

## SHUTDOWN PG&E HUNTERS POINT POWER PLANT: 12/8, 12pm



"IF THE GOVERNMENT WON'T, THE PEOPLE WILL": PROTEST TO SHUTDOWN PG&E PLANT AT EVANS AND MIDDLEPOINT RD, SF; 415-248-5010

**11/21, 7pm: Post election detox with Marga Gomez**  
Post election detox session of penetrating stand-up comedy by internationally renowned stress buster and chick magnet, Marga Gomez. This evening will release painful knots and tensions associated with the Republican party, global warming and the Patriot Act and include guided meditations on makeovers, the Swiffer, polyamory, anarchy, therapy, blondes, and J.Lo impersonators. La Peña Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley; 510-654-6346

**11/20, 11pm: Rally for Locked-out Hotel Workers**  
The Million Worker March Committee has initiated a call for a rally and march to support the SF hotel workers, locked out for over 7 weeks; Union Square, SF; 415-771-2028

**11/20, 7:30pm: Robert Jensen: "Citizens of the Empire"**  
Robert Jensen is a Professor of Journalism at the University of Texas and the author of "Writing Dissent" and "Citizens of the Empire: The Struggle to Claim Our Humanity." Benefits Peninsula Peace and Justice Center. 1st Presbyterian Church, 1140 Cowper St., Palo Alto; 650-326-8837

**11/20, 2pm: Civil Liberties in the Time of Homeland Security**  
San Francisco Gray Panthers present a discussion

on civil liberties violations and homeland security, with Riva Enteen. Marina Senior Center, 890 Beach St. at Polk, SF; 415 552-8800

**11/20, 2pm: Information Warfare: Film & Video**  
If information, in itself, is a key aspect of national, global, commercial, and political power, how is the information we consume manipulated and delivered? A discussion with Louise Vance, filmmaker, and Crescent Diamond, video activist, follows the screening. FREE. Intersection for the Arts, 446 Valencia St, SF; 415-626-2787

**11/20, 1pm: "Green Cities" Economic Opportunities Symposium**  
Panel discussion on renewable energy-based economic developments. FREE. Veterans War Memorial Building, 401 Van Ness, SF; 510-917-7449

**11/20-1/16, 10am: Endangered Coho Spawning in West Marin**  
Creek walks to see spawning, giant, red, endangered coho salmon. Every Saturday and Sunday in Marin; 415-488-0370 x102

**11/20, 9am: California Communities Against Toxics**  
Conference and workshops by Greenaction. Clarion Hotel, 700 16th St, Sacramento; 415-248-5010

**11/20, 12pm: Conor McGrady: Civil Abuse**  
Art opening of drawings based on injuries and wounds inflicted by State forces and right wing gangs in Northern Ireland. SF; 646-732-2767

**11/21, 12pm: Protest SF Auto Show: Break America's Addiction to Oil!**  
Human rights activists and environmentalists call on Ford to break America's oil addiction. Moscone Center, 747 Howard, SF; 415-558-9490

**11/21, 2pm: Democracy Rising**  
Progressive potluck, discussion and brainstorming. Redwood Gardens Commons Room, 2951 Derby, Berkeley; cware@aol.com

**11/21, 4pm: Solidarity: Community United with the Locked Out Workers**  
Hear updates from the locked out hotel workers and community organizers, learn what you can do in solidarity, make posters and signs, view powerful footage of past successful labor movements, and raise critical funds for the locked out workers. \$5-\$25 donation; New College of California, Room 4, 777 Valencia St, SF; 415-570-1071

**11/21, 7:30pm: "About Baghdad"**  
A documentary film featuring the voices of Iraqis under U.S. occupation in July 2003. \$5-\$10; benefit for Indybay. Station 40, 3030b 16th St, SF; ali@indybaymedia.org

**11/21, 11pm: Mumia Outreach in the Mission**  
Pass out fact sheets on Mumia's case in the Mission. 298 Valencia St, SF; 415-255-1085

**11/22, 7:30pm: "Surplus: Terrorized into Being Consumers"**  
Is shopping our salvation? Surplus explores this question from worldwide perspectives. 505 E. Charleston, Palo Alto; 650-326-8837

**11/22, 12pm: Campaign for a Paper Receipt**  
Mass protest to demand that a paper trail be instituted on electronic voting machines. Office of Senator Feinstein, One Post St #2450, SF; 510-701-1787

**11/23, 12pm: "Investigation at Abu Ghraib"**  
General Paul Kern, Leader of Investigation on the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade at Abu Ghraib Prison, Iraq, discusses the Abu Ghraib Prison scandal. 12 Sutter St, 2nd Floor, SF; 415-293-4600

**11/23, 4:30pm: Rally for Hotel Workers**  
Rally and march for locked-out hotel workers starting at Union Square. 415-864-8770 x708

**11/23, 7pm: What's Next for the Movement Against War & Racism**  
ANSWER sponsors discussion by Bay Area activists about the ongoing occupation and resistance in Iraq and the role of the anti-war, anti-racist movement in the post-election period. SF Women's Building, 3543 18th St, SF; 415-821-6545

**11/24, 7pm: "The Native Americans"**  
Free screening of documentary on Native American tribes. 390 27th Street, Oakland; 510-452-1235

**11/24, 6:30pm: A Thousand Genocides Now**  
Reflecting on the recent violence in Gujarat, India, Kamala Visweswaran explores the ways in which genocide inhabits the modern imaginary. FREE; 1453 Mission St, SF; 415-575-6254

**11/27, 9pm: Bitch, Mutilated Mannequins, Dear Nora.**  
In concert at El Rio, 3158 Mission St, SF; 415-282-3325

**11/28, 8pm: Ojos de Brujo**  
Jip jop flamenkillo from the Barcelona underground. Brava! for Women in the Arts, 2781 24th St, SF; 415-647-2822

**11/29, 12pm: Protest at Barbara Boxer's Office**  
Protest calling for paper trail be instituted on electronic voting machines. 1700 Montgomery St #240, SF; 510-701-1787

**11/29, 7:30pm: Film: "The Future of Food"**  
In-depth investigation into the disturbing truth behind the unlabeled GMO products. Unitarian Hall, 505 E. Charleston, Palo Alto; 650-326-8837

**11/30, 8pm: Radical Film Series benefit for St. Peters Housing**  
Heads Up Collective presents "BOOM! The Sound of Eviction." El Rio, 3158 Mission St, SF; radfilms@lycos.com

**12/1, 12pm: Rally to Protest Experiments on Dogs at UCSF**  
Protest to spare about 800 dogs and puppies from cruel and bizarre experiments. UCSF, 513 Parnassus Ave, SF; 650-619-9713

**12/2, 7pm: Straight Outta Hunters Point**  
Screening and update on the movement for environmental justice in Bayview Hunters Point. New College Theater, SF; 415-248-5010

**12/2, 7pm: Anarchism, Alliance Building & Organizing**  
Anarchist Library presents a discussion on how anarchists have participated in "reformist" community-based struggles, in ways that help build a movement for radical transformation. CCSF, 50 Phelan Ave, Room 259, Cloud Hall.

**12/2, 8pm: Street Level TV Screening**  
Screening of monthly socially-conscious, independent news show at ATA, 992 Valencia, SF; show@videoactivism.org

**12/3, 6:30pm: Art and Activism**  
Local activists present their art. FREE. CCAC, Nahl Hall, 5215 Broadway Ave., Oakland; jtrep-per@cca.edu

**12/3, 5pm: Petaluma Critical Mass**  
Monthly ride starts at Luchessi Center parking lot on McDowell across from K-Mart Center, Petaluma.

**12/3, 12pm: Event for Youth with Disabilities**  
A half-day forum for youth with disabilities. World Institute on Disability, Oakland; 510-251-4339

**12/4, 12pm: Rally to Stop Torture in Prisons and Shut down the SHU**  
Monthly rallies to shut down the Security Housing Units in California Prisons. Powell and Market, SF; 14th and Broadway, Oakland; 415-267-4879

**12/4, 2pm: New Lesbian Fiction: Reading by Anna Furtado**  
Book reading from "The Heart's Desire"; Sisterspirit Bookstore, 938 The Alameda, San Jose; 408-293-9372

**12/4, 8pm: "The Joy of Breasts"**  
Photographer Raquel Teitler brings you "The Joy of Breasts" - a provocative exhibit that celebrates the beauty, uniqueness and diversity of women's bodies. Opening party. \$\$\$ OneTaste, 1074 Folsom St, SF; 415-503-1100

**12/5, 5pm: Correspond with Political Prisoners**  
Regular prison letters meeting. Cell Space, 2050 Bryant St, SF; 415-267-4879

**12/5, 1pm: Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners**  
Benefit party for 16 political prisoners including Mumia Abu-Jamal. Centro del Pueblo, 474 Valencia St, SF; 510-893-0852

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**Starhawk and The Earth Path: Grounding Your Spirit in the Rhythms of Nature**  
Friday 12/3, 7 pm - 9 pm. Free. <http://www.starhawk.org>.

**Going Local: The Power of Growing Food Locally**  
Thursday 12/9, 7 pm - 9 pm. Free.

**Human Rights Day with Michael Nagler and The Search for a Nonviolent Future**

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Leo Tolstoy

Philosophical implications of exploiting animals must reveal:  
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by Peter Singer

Environmental havoc caused by modern factory farming:  
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Health benefits of a vegetarian diet and related issues:  
[www.pam.org](http://www.pam.org)

Help with starting to eat cruelty-free:  
[www.vegetarianstarterkit.com](http://www.vegetarianstarterkit.com)

While no one can tell you what to eat, you owe it to yourself to examine the  
implications of what you put in your body every day.  
The Christian Council on Anti-Slavery identified the most powerful force for the most  
beneficial things: individual commitment to environmental  
change. By going vegetarian (or vegan) today, you can affect positive change right now.