

(((i))) Fault Lines

Newspaper of the SF Bay Area Independent Media Center

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FREE

ENFORCED DEMOCRACY IN BOLIVIA



Photo: Noah Friedman-Rudovsky

BY JENNIFER WHITNEY

After a long day of tension, rumors, and occasional provocations surrounding a national referendum regarding the ownership structure of Bolivia's natural gas industry, polling stations in the South American country closed to little fanfare on the evening of July 18. Despite scattered incidents of rock-throwing and tire-burning, the most common protest against the referendum's limited choices was simply refusing to vote. Although voting is mandatory in Bolivia and abstention is punishable by significant fines, a record-breaking 40 percent of citizens refused to support the foregone conclusion of the referendum that Bolivia's most valuable natural resource – natural gas – would remain in the hands of the transnational corporations.

Bolivia, South America's poorest country, has long had its wealth plundered by foreigners. First, it was the realization by the Spanish in the sixteenth century that a small hill in the

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"SHUT UP! IT'S OUR TURN TO TALK"

Federal Communications Commission berated by public at hearing on broadcast localism

BY LIAM O'DONOGHUE

At 7am on July 21, when the FCC began distributing tickets for a hearing on broadcast localism that was scheduled to begin 11 hours later that day, the line at the Monterey Conference Center had grown to nearly 100. During the first round of limited ticket distribution two days earlier, the front of the line had been stacked with almost 50 paid employees of media giant Clear Channel, and many of the union members, media activists and concerned citizens who had made the two-hour drive from San Francisco to Monterey went home empty handed. Jim Burns showed up two and a half hours before the 150 tickets were to be distributed that day and was shocked to learn that everyone at the front of the line had been ordered to leave work to get tickets. He said, "Clear Channel is a multi-billion dollar company that has access to the FCC anytime they want, and here they were, gobbling up the public's chance to speak with the FCC directly."

Although FCC Chairman Michael Powell had just announced his decision not to attend the only West Coast localism hearing and the public response portion of the conference would be limited to two hours, with two-minute limits for individual comments, the crowd gathered in Monterey was determined to respond to the FCC's request for public feedback on the condition of TV and radio.

The Monterey conference was one of five conferences held in smallish cities around the US to supposedly gather advice from the public about how it can promote localism (community coverage and involvement) in radio and TV broadcasting. Responding to public outcry and the dismay of media workers regarding the dramatic decline of localism and quality news and political coverage in the wake of deregulatory legislation that allowed a handful of corporations to consolidate the vast majority of media outlets, the FCC is considering measures such as increasing minimum requirements for public service programming and issuing more licenses



photo: Peter Maitlen

KPFA's Davey D blasts corporate media

for low-power FM (LPFM) radio stations. Although the press conferences and demonstrations held by various unions and media activist groups outside of the Conference Center and the two-hour tongue-lashing of the FCC during the open mic portion of the hearing indicate that the public is almost unanimously in favor of these proposed measures, many expressed skepticism that the generally pro-corporate FCC was really serious about revising regulation in favor of the public interest. "Go back to Washington D.C. and make your rules" said Dan San, a microradio DJ from Free Radio Santa Cruz (FRSC) during the public comment session, "we'll continue to break them."

Pirates and Unions Fight the Corporate Octopus

Although the explosion of corporate consolidation has drastically affected the content of all media outlets, the effects of deregulation are best illustrated by looking at radio in the wake of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. Prior to the deregulation, Clear Channel owned 30 stations, now they own over 1,200, resulting in

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US Navy Leaves Toxic Legacy in Bayview-Hunters Point



Illustration: Moses Saarni

Residents and children at neighboring schools reported outbreaks of nosebleeds, vomiting, rashes, and chronic headaches, but were not notified of the potentially toxic emissions from the landfill until two weeks after the fire began.

BY SHERLINA NAGEER

The health of thousands of children in the Bayview-Hunters Point neighborhood is at risk daily because they live and attend school and child care centers near highly toxic sites-including a former US Navy Base, now a Federal Superfund site.

BVHP is a predominantly low-income community of color, which has historically served as the dumping ground for San Francisco's most toxic industries. While a third of the Bayview's population are children, there are over 325 toxic sites in this six square mile community. The worst polluter is the Hunters Point Naval Shipyard (HPS)- a former US Navy base that was used as a top-secret radiological defense laboratory for more than 25 years. Activities such as animal and human experimentation, contaminated ship cleanup, and building and testing nuclear weapons,

generated more than a million cubic yards of waste materials that thoroughly contaminated the shipyard's soil and groundwater, and resulted in the area being designated a Federal Superfund site. Decades later, radiological waste and toxins generated at the base have not been fully captured or removed, still leaking into and affecting the surrounding communities.

Of special concern is the health of more than two thousand BVHP children who attend the 21 schools and child care facilities within three miles of the HPS. Children can spend from six to 12 hours a day in school or child care, and their health is at risk daily because of their proximity to this highly toxic site. Children are especially vulnerable because of their size, developmental stage, and age-specific behaviors. Toxins can affect children's physical and mental development,

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**The SF Bay Area
Independent
Media Center -
www.indybay.org**

Office and Mail

2940 16th Street - Suite 216
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 864-1006
Office Hours: MWF 12-5pm

Editorial/Design

sfbay-print@indymedia.org

Advertising

faultlines@mutualaid.org

Web

Fault Lines: www.indybay.org/FaultLines
SF Bay Area: www.indybay.org
Global: www.indymedia.org

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

Lani Riccobuono, Liam O'Donoghue, Ali Tonak, Kelah Bott, jankyHellface, Jamie Hurlburt, David Morse, upton sinclair, Pod, Mark B., Matt Fitt, Kimber Hall

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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



photo: UK Indymedia

CIA Orders Investigation of Cyprus Indymedia Cypriot officials denounce US intervention

The Government of the Republic of Cyprus responded to an Indymedia solidarity campaign on July 26 by admitting that they were acting under US orders to carry out an intelligence investigation of Cyprus Indymedia and of one of its founding members, Petros Evdokas, in order to assess whether he "constitutes a threat to US interests." In the wake of the scandal, which unfolded on the front pages of mainstream Cyprian newspapers and on the State-run television station, the vice-chair of the ruling party criticized the subservience of the Police to US intelligence agencies and the Minister of Justice and Public Order issued a written apology.

After weeks of vehement denials, Cyprus Police officials revealed that the CIA had instigated the investigation following the publication of an "offending" article by Petros Evdokas on Cyprus Indymedia on March 5. The article, entitled "Spies, Murderers and Creeps-Management of the 'Free Dialogue' on the Annan Plan", (<http://cyprusindymedia.org/spies-murderers-and-creeps.html>) exposed and documented US intelligence operations interfering with the recent Peace referendum on the small, Mediterranean island, and the efforts by the US Government to impose an Apartheid-style regime on Cyprus as a "final solution" to the regional conflict between Greek and Turkish ethnicities. The article concluded that the US "solution" would be a guarantee for eternal war in the Eastern Mediterranean. The US Embassy in Cyprus refused to comment.

"This investigation against Indymedia and me is really a very instructive case study of the whole process of how the US Empire has branched itself into the minutiae of the administrative machinery of not only a tiny and defenseless country like Cyprus, but of an international project of the United Nations (note the recent revelations and public admission that even Kofi Annan's office at the UN Headquarters was under surveillance by the same "Certain Intelligence Agency")," Evdokas wrote, in an article published on the Cyprus Indymedia site on July 25. "The blending of diplomatic action, sur-

veillance and covert operations machinery, computer administration systems, police intimidation and military force, and above all financial domination, all radiating from the core of the global Empire and extending into the very fabric and tissue of every community on the planet, paints a good picture of a world 'under the thumb' of the oppressor."

The Global Context of Indymedia Repression

The campaigns to intimidate Indymedia are not yet coordinated on a global scale, but appear to be slowly moving in that direction. The assassination of Indymedia founding member Lenin Cali Najera of Ecuador just recently (comrades there are speculating that a death squad made his assassination appear as attempted robbery); the current trials in Italy stemming from the concerted attack by paramilitary police against the Indymedia facilities in 2001; the use of armoured vehicles to intimidate the Indymedia workspace in Georgia USA just last month; and the nation-wide "pre-emptive" raids and interrogations by the FBI of radicals across the US in order to thwart preparations to protest at the Republocrat party conventions, are pointing the way to a new phase of struggle for media activists. *It is in this context that the Indymedia network must spotlight the intelligence investigation against Cyprus Indymedia. The local/ regional politics are important, of course, everywhere, but now that the liberation movement is truly global, and repression is shaping up to adjust.*

A call for Solidarity from the Cyprus Indymedia Collective

Within the modern democracy that Cyprus is today, there are still people who are hounded for the "sin" of free expression. The Crime Investigation Division of the supposedly independent Republic of Cyprus has initiated an investigation as to whether Petros Evdokas, a member of Cyprus Indymedia, constitutes a "threat to US interests." This investigation is taking place by order of the US Embassy in Cyprus, at the direction of the Central Intelligence Agency.

His family was visited and questioned by the police in order to ascertain if he actually constitutes a threat. His "crime" is that he published an article in the Spring of 2004 relating to a referendum which was to be the "final solution" of the Cyprus conflict, formulated as the Annan plan. The article is a part of Petros Evdokas' work with the independent and alternative news and information source named Cyprus Indymedia, by which we publish articles in the Hellenic, Turkish, and English languages on the Internet. The article, titled "Spies, Murderers and Creeps- Management of the 'Free Dialogue' on the Annan Plan", is related to the mechanisms of domination for direct intervention by the US Government, in its efforts to enforce a particular solution of its choice upon the populations of our island.

This practice by the security agencies, of being totally subservient to orders from on high and by this harassing citizens and their families constitutes a blatant violation of every sense of free speech and democracy. Cyprus Indymedia is a small organization of volunteers which provides an alternative and radical source of information, news, and positions about developments in Cyprus and in the world. It is ridiculous, and at the same time tragic, for our members to be treated by the authorities as candidate terrorists. It is also worrisome when alternative information and communication sources are treated in this way in a country which wants to appear democratic.

As members of Cyprus Indymedia we condemn this behaviour by the authorities and we state our support for our colleague and friend. We believe that every attempt to enforce silence at the personal or political level, is an attack against everyone's universal and irrevocable right to free expression. We hope that these practices, reminiscent of other types of regimes, will cease to exist forever.

With much gratitude to all of you who have been mobilized or touched by our campaign, who were inspired to help us out in one way or another - please continue your support, and be assured we will continue.

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 blurb for Fault Lines, please contact the editors at www.faultlines@riseup.net 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 controlled by the corporate media, industry and government, a free, independent and alternative press is essential for any hope of creating a just world.

You can reach us at: sfbay-print@indymedia.org

or
Fault Lines, 2940 16th St Ste 216,
San Francisco, CA 94103.

Keep the articles in Fault Lines alive by posting your comments at www.indybay.org/faultlines/



artwork by charles amsellem, used with permission

NIGHTMARE CONTINUES FOR PATRIOT ACT VICTIM Sherman Austin released from prison, but still not free

Political prisoner Sherman Austin, who made headlines last year after being targeted as one of the first casualties of the infamous USA PATRIOT Act, was released from an Arizona prison on July 12. The nightmare doesn't end there for Austin, though. He has been remanded to the custody of a halfway house in Los Angeles where he will serve the remainder of his sentence until August 2004. Starting now and continuing through the next three years, Austin will be serving an additional sentence of federal probation, under which he will not be allowed to use a cell phone, computer or other digital device unless designated by the government. In addition, he has been forbidden any contact with "anarchist groups," who the federal government maintains "advocate violence as a means of disrupting order and achieving social, economic and political change

Big Brother v. Austin

Sherman Austin, webmaster of Raisethefist.com, was sentenced on August 4, 2003, to one year in federal prison, with three years of probation. Judge Wilson shocked the courtroom when he went against the recommendation of not only the prosecution, but the FBI and the Justice Department, who had asked that Austin be sentenced to four months in prison, and four months in a half-way house, with three years of probation.

Austin's probation stipulates, among other things, that (1) he cannot possess or access a computer of any kind without prior approval of his probation officer, (2) if his probation officer gives permission, the equipment is subject to monitoring and is subject to search and seizure at any time, without notice, (3) he cannot alter any of the software or hardware on any computer he uses, (4) he must surrender his phone, DSL, electric, and satellite bills, (5) he cannot associate with any person or group that seeks to change the government in any way (be that environmental, social justice, political, economic, etc.), and (6) he must pay over \$2,000 in fines and restitution.

Dispatch from Sherman Austin

On Jan 24, 2002, my home was surrounded and raided by approximately 25 heavily armed FBI and Secret Service agents in one of the government's first attempts to exercise the new USA PATRIOT Act. I was interrogated for several hours while they ransacked my room and they seized a network of computers which I used to run my web site raisethefist.com. They also seized protest signs, and political literature. Their excuse was a protest guide (which I didn't author) that was posted to my site which a small portion contained information on explosives. The FBI had been monitoring the site long before this was ever posted, and long before Sept 11.

The "explosives information" on my site (again which I didn't author) doesn't compare to what you can find on any other web sites such as howthingswork.com, loompanics.com, bombshock.com, totse.com, amazon.com, or the many neo Nazi web sites which cover everything from assassinations, explosives, fraud and firearms. It's obvious a web surfer interested in making a bomb or taking part in other illegal activities would not have to rely on [Raisethefist.com](http://raisethefist.com). So how could the "bomb making information" on raisethefist.com be a concern to authorities? It wasn't a concern, it was simply used as an excuse to exercise the new PATRIOT Act and take down the site. And that's what they did when federal agents spent 5-6 hours interrogating me while they disassembled each computer one by one, mirrored each hard drive, then loaded everything into a big white truck. During this whole process I was told I wasn't going to be arrested, and that I could even leave if I wanted to. Once the agents finished packing everything up, Special Agent John I. Pi, who was conducting the investigation and raid said that I had crossed a line, and as long as I got back on the

other side of that line I'd be okay.

A week later despite what happened I still continued with my plans to attend the demonstration against the World Economic Forum in New York. As I was waiting for the march to begin, a swarm of NYPD officers rushed straight at me and scooped up about 26 people, one of which was me. We sat on a bus for 7 hours before being taken to Brooklyn Navy Yard Jail. I was there for about 30 hours before I was taken out of my cell and put into a backroom in handcuffs and interrogated once again by the FBI and Secret Service for several hours. They asked me questions, such as if I was a terrorist or involved in any terrorist organizations. During the interrogation I noticed more and more agents walking through the room. I was told I wouldn't leave custody unless they searched my car. I said I had nothing to hide and simply wanted to go home. Stressed and aggravated, I signed over my keys. A few minutes later I was driven to the court and released.

As I was waiting for someone to pick me up, about five FBI agents entered the court and said I was arrested for "distribution of information related to explosives over the internet". One of the agents grabbed my neck and told me to shut the fuck up while I tried to tell one of the legal observers I was being arrested. I was hurried out of the court house into a black SUV where I was driven to a federal building. I was then taken to lower Manhattan MCC maximum security 24 hour lockdown federal jail facility. At my bail hearing the FBI called me a "man on a mission" and said I drove 3,000 miles to carry out my alleged "plot". The judge said I was a "threat to the community" and denied me bail, and I was to be extradited back to California to face my charges.

After 11 days I was shackled and taken to an airforce base where federal inmates are boarded onto planes surrounded by guards with M16's and shotguns, like prisoners of war, and flown to a federal jail "hub" in Oklahoma. Once I got there, I learned the next day that the prosecutors decided not to file an indictment. I was released after spending 13 days in custody.

When I got back to Los Angeles I put raisethefist.com back up almost immediately. I continued my political organizing within the community, as well as my work with Raise the Fist which developed

into a Direct Action Network with chapters setup around the world. Six months later prosecutors contacted my lawyer and said they found nothing to prosecute me for on my computers, but didn't want to "let me off the hook." They offered me a pre-indictment binding plea agreement which was initially one month in jail, and five months in a "community corrections facility". I rejected the plea at first, wanting to go to trial until we discovered the case was eligible for a terrorism enhancement, which could have added 20 years to my sentence.

I therefore decided to enter a plea. I played months of legal limbo until I finally expected to get sentenced to four months in jail and four months in a community corrections facility based on the final pre-sentencing report written by the USPO. The judge rejected the four months saying what kind of an example would it set for "future revolutionaries" wanting to act in the same manner. He stated that he wanted to give me at least eight to ten months, but first wanted the opinion of the Justice Department and the Director of the FBI in Washington, DC (Robert Muller). My sentencing was rescheduled several times until August 4th. I was convicted for felony; distribution of information related to explosives with intent, and sentenced to 1 year in federal prison with 3 years supervised release.

Distribution of information related to explosives is not illegal; what's illegal is the INTENT part. They have to prove you have intent to use the information to cause further crime of violence...and how do they prove intent? I think Bush made it clear when he said "you're either with us or against us."

Remember, fascism and a police state doesn't come all at once, it comes piece by piece. How far will we allow it go until we are all locked up in concentration camps?

If we don't take matters into our own hands and do something about this now, then we are already prisoners of war. Raisethefist.com is not shutting down, and the RTF Direct Action Network will continue to grow and remain active. A one year sentence is not the end of this. It's just the beginning.

For questions or information about Sherman contact RTF@raisethefist.com

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Get Fault Lines delivered fresh to your door each month. For a mere \$20 you will receive 12 issues filled with unique coverage and in-depth features available only in Fault Lines. We are committed to disrupting business as usual by researching the stories that are blacked out by the media plutocracy and creating a space for these stories to be utilized as a tool for radical change in our communities. And each subscription helps us cover the expenses of publishing this paper. Subscribe online now at www.indybay.org/faultlines/ or send this form with a check or money order payable to: SF Bay Area IMC.

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Fault Lines

Support independent media by donating to your local IMC. Your contributions help maintain our community media lab, website, and projects including *Enemy Combatant Radio*, *Street Level TV*, and *Fault Lines newspaper*. Every donation over \$40 also gets you a subscription to *Fault Lines newspaper*. Donate online at www.indybay.org/donate or send a check or money order payable to:

SF Bay Area IMC, 2940 16th St Ste 216, San Francisco, CA 94103-3682.

California Court Rules SF Same-Sex Marriages are Void

On August 12, The California State Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Mayor Gavin Newsom lacked the authority to issue the same-sex marriage licenses and, as a result, the marriages are void. Over 3900 same-sex couples were married at San Francisco City Hall earlier this year during the month-long window before the Court issued an injunction to halt the unions, leaving over 2600 couples on the waiting list. The court, however, has not yet ruled on the issue of whether or not same-sex marriages should be legal. Marriage equality activists responded to the nullification decree with simultaneous rallies and marches in cities across California. The suit to halt same-sex marriages was brought by State Attorney General Bill Lockyer and joined by conservative Christian group the Alliance Defense Fund.

Bay Area Fights Section 8 Evictions

Section 8 tenants in the city of Alameda (CA) won a battle this July in their struggle to keep affordable housing. It was announced earlier this year that over 250 families in that city—14 percent of the total who receive Section 8 housing assistance—would be cut from the program. After a several month fight, and with the help of groups like Campaign for Renters Rights, and lawyers from legal organizations like Bay Area Legal Aid and Sentinel Housing, over 250 families were able to turn back an attempt to cut off their Section 8 vouchers and put them out in the street. 256 families were fully reinstated into the Section 8 program and all evictions were stopped.

Earlier this year, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) proposed major changes to Section 8, including a \$1 billion cut in funding for 2005 and rule changes that would have undermined the program. Section 8 is widely viewed as a very successful housing program that serves more than two million low-income families, seniors, and disabled people each year. Activists who advocate for affordable housing have charged that over \$2 billion HUD funds have been diverted into the Department of Homeland Security.

RNC Activists Lose Convergence Space

After weeks of negotiations, the Grassroots Media Coalition, which includes the New York City Independent

continued on next page...

County Medical Workers Fight Service Cuts

Imagine scheduling a routine doctor's appointment and learning that earliest available date is in six to nine months. On the day of your appointment imagine waiting four hours to see a doctor and another two to four hours to have your prescription filled. Imagine waiting 12 hours in a crowded emergency room for medical attention. For Alameda County's uninsured, under insured, and working poor, this is no imaginary scenario but the grim reality of medical care at the Alameda County Medical Center (ACMC).

BY A.J. W

Yet just when the state of public health care in Alameda County couldn't seem to get any worse, the ACMC Board of Trustees voted in February to pay the Cambio Consulting Group \$180,000 a month for 18 months to run the hospital. Cambio quickly proposed aggressive cuts to an ACMC system already struggling to provide care to an ever-increasing number of people. Cambio recommended cutting ten percent of the overall workforce. Cambio's proposal comes at a time when ACMC is already violating state law governing nurse to patient ratios and threatens to decimate patient care for Alameda County's poorest residents. Hayward's Winton Wellness Center may lose between 22 and 54 percent of its staff, leaving one nurse to perform the work of seven. Cambio has suggested similar cuts at Eastmont Wellness Center and Newark Clinic.

With less staff in the outlying clinics, fewer people will have access to preventive care and many will end up at the Highland emergency room. Following last year's closure of Fairmont and Central Clinics, Highland saw a 21 percent increase in ER visits in 2003-2004. Nevertheless, Cambio is prepared to slash staffing at the Highland ER by 17 percent. Registered Nurse Barbara J. Wilson said, "Oakland might as well just start putting out body bags for people, if they plan to make cuts like this to the emergency room staff."

Cambio insists that the cuts are merely correcting inefficiencies, but it's difficult to imagine that such drastic staff layoffs won't effect waiting times and service. Cambio's budget slashing in Oakland is only the latest controversy in the company's checkered history. Previously, Cambio was the lead consultant in the closure and privatization of Washington D.C. General Hospital, one of the most disastrous hospital privatizations to date.

Ironically, this gutting of staff and services come on the heels of Alameda County voters' overwhelming support for a 0.5 percent increase in the sales tax to bolster ACMC and expand medical care. The goal of Measure A, passed last March by a 70 percent majority, is to provide much needed funds to pull ACMC out of the red without any service cuts. ACMC employees, working in coalition with community organizations, played a key role in building support for Measure A in a campaign to save county healthcare. Betraying the wishes of residents and ACMC workers, consultants are lining their pockets with money intended to save the very services they propose cutting.

Outraged Medical Center employees have mobilized to stop the cuts. Giving up their lunch breaks to take to the streets, over 500 workers rallied on July 20 to defend services. Attending Board of Trustee meetings demanding accountability to patients and staff, employees of ACMC have expressed their frustration at being robbed of the ability to provide quality care. "We simply cannot provide services to patients with these cuts," said Kuwaza Imapara, a registered nurse at Highland Hospital.

FORMER PRISONERS FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

National Campaign Kicks Off with All of Us or None Oakland Summit

BY SITARA NIEVES

Apartheid—the systemic political, economic and legal discrimination against a group of people—still thrives in the United States. Most of them have brown or black skin. Almost all of them are poor, and live in communities segregated from mainstream society. Mayors, cops, and politicians freely demonize them for their city's problems. And some say this group never should have been given freedom in the first place. The group is formerly-incarcerated people, who are labeled "felons" or "convicts" for the rest of their lives, no matter how long ago they came home from prison.

But former prisoners are starting to organize to end the apartheid system that they say is set up to ensure they fail in society.

That organizing effort kicked off on Saturday, July 31, when over 300 former prisoners and allies came to a community summit in Oakland to participate in a new civil rights movement called All of Us or None. The summit was the first of a series of townhall forums across the country, which organizers hope will culminate in significant legal and societal changes, all organized by a new mass movement of formerly-incarcerated people.

Former prisoners at the summit spoke to community leaders and local politicians about what it's like to try to survive with a felony conviction. Tony Coleman of the Third Eye Movement gave an overview of lifelong discrimination faced by former prisoners, specifically around denying former prisoners services, employment, and housing: "We're being set up to go right back to prison. People don't care because it's big business. And it's a revolving door."

Tito Mendoza added, "On the one hand, they demand you live within the system (when you're released from prison), but on the other hand, they don't allow you in any way to live within the system."

Organizers from All of Us or None made five main demands at the summit: End discrimination against formerly incarcerated people, stop the lifetime welfare and food stamp ban, implement a bill of rights for children of incarcerated parents, ban the "have you been convicted of a crime?" box on employment applications, and increase support services for people coming home from prison.

Dorsey Nunn, co-founder of All of Us or None, summed up the demands for the crowd: "I am forever a second-class citizen... I'm asking you to consider: when is enough enough? When will our communities allow us back in?"

Contact All of Us or None at 415-255-7036 x337, or email info@allofusornone.org. Contact Sitara Nieves at sika@amberbug.org



Rebecca Willet

Get Involved

Workers in coalition with community organizations are committed to continuing the fight for health care for all but need your support. Contact Citizens United for a Responsible ACMC (CURE ACMC) at 510-919-2526 to get involved.

The Mendocino Model Californians Support Sustainable Agriculture

California, the US's largest food exporter, produces more than 350 varieties of crops, and is recognized as a world leader in organic food production and sustainable agriculture. But increasingly, some of the world's largest biotechnology corporations are attempting to introduce genetically engineered crops onto California's farms, posing a significant risk to the environment, our food supply, and the economic health of farmers. In response, a broad spectrum of Californians are organizing to pass measures that would ban the growing of GE crops within their counties.

BY BRADLEY ALLEN

The overall risks associated with the cultivation of GE crops include: 1) exposure to chemicals linked to causes of cancer; 2) the poisoning of the environment through 'genetic pollution' which poses dire consequences for species such as the Monarch Butterfly as well as organically grown crops; 3) the introduction of novel proteins into the food system which may cause allergic reactions; 4) the creation of "superweeds" and "superbugs" which can withstand applications of the harshest pesticides available; 5) increased levels of toxins in foods; 6) human and viral resistance to antibiotics; 7) reduced nutritional quality of GMO foods; 8) socioeconomic disparity; and 9) worsening world hunger.

On March 6, 2004, residents of Mendocino County passed Measure H, becoming the first county in the nation to ban the growing of GE crops and animals—also known as Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO)—within their county. Using this measure as a model, local residents in at least a dozen other California counties are well on their way to passing similar measures. On August 3, Trinity became the second California County to go 'GE FREE.' County Supervisors voted to ban GE crops and animals in an effort to protect Trinity's local economy and environment. Organizers in Butte, Humboldt, Marin and San Luis Obispo counties have already collected enough signatures to place measures on the November ballot that would ban cultivation of GE crops.

Alameda, Napa, Placer, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, and Sonoma counties are also organizing local campaigns. Jill Frandsen, Co-Director of Santa Barbara GE Free, says that her organization was "established to get information to consumers, farmers, businesses and organizations concerning genetically modified crops. California is currently the second leading place where experimental test plots are grown."

The True Food Network, which developed out of Greenpeace's GE campaign in 2000, states that, "Genetic Engineering is a radical new technology that manipulates the genes and DNA—the building blocks of all living things. Unlike traditional breeding, genetic engineering creates new life forms that would never occur in nature, creating new and unpredictable health and environmental risks. To create GE crops, genes from bacteria, viruses, plants, animals and even humans have been inserted into plants like soybeans, corn, canola, and cotton. Multinational chemical companies like Monsanto have taken our staple crops and altered them in order to patent and profit from them by increasing their chemical and seed sales and gaining control over farmers and the food chain itself. The same companies that brought us DDT, PCBs and Agent Orange now expect us to trust them with our food supply."

Biotechnology corporations are, of course, opposed to these local measures. Their well-funded trade organization, the Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO), claims to represent over 1,000 corporations, universities, and state-funded projects doing R&D on pharmaceutical, agricultural, and industrial products.

As grassroots activists continue organizing voters to ban the cultivation of GE crops, BIO is quietly working behind the scenes to challenge the constitutionality of these initiatives. When questioned, the industry's uniform response is that, "Voters shouldn't trounce farmers' rights to plant what crops they want." Their position is rather ironic as they pollute non-GMO farms and restrict the production and sharing of seeds. (For more information on the opponents of Mendocino's Measure H, see www.gmofreemendo.com/opponents.pdf)

The Organic Consumers Association and GMO Free Mendocino are now working together under the banner of the BioDemocracy Alliance to support counties in their work to ban GE agriculture. Banning the cultivation of GE crops in California is an important step in the global movement for sustainable agriculture. Daniel Solnit, a campaign coordinator in Sonoma County says, "The public response has been overwhelmingly positive. This is an issue which crosses all political divisions; everybody wants to protect our farms, our health, and our quality of life."

For more information, see Californians for GE Free Agriculture at calgeefree.org.

Slave-Mart Comes to Oakland

Community leaders demand living wage jobs

"I don't like it to be here, but for a minute, when they open I'll apply for a job," 16-year-old East Oakland resident Miguel Coelho told me as he pushed his wayward, ghetto-fabulous 'fro out of his eyes, speaking over the grinding traffic sounds of Hegenberger Road. We were huddled on the tip of the median strip on Edgewater Road near the Oakland Airport as part of a rally on July 31 against the impending development of another Slave-Mart (oh excuse me, Wal-Mart) Store.



BY TINY

And so it goes, the frightening paradox of low-income, conscious, intelligent youth like Miguel who, although he is not down with the 40 million dollar corporate welfare deal struck between the City and Port of Oakland and Simeon Commercial Properties that will bring the first Wal-Mart store to Oakland, he needs a job. Wal-Mart, as the largest employer in the US with 1.4 million workers, always has a lot of jobs, albeit low-wage, non-unionized jobs with no benefits and racist, sexist employment practices.

"We're out here today, 'cause we just found out that the City provided a huge

amount of dollars to bring a Wal-Mart into Oakland without any community input," said Alicia Schwartz, an organizer with Just Cause, "and we are letting folks know that they have a right to deserve more from Oakland City Government and from these kinds of large corporations, especially when they are getting our tax dollars."

Studies show that when Wal-Mart enters a community, 3 jobs are lost for every 2 jobs gained, due to job losses at small local businesses, and tax receipt growth actually declines.

"In Berkeley, large corporations are forced to give back to the community by funding youth apprenticeship programs and job development," said Alicia. As to

the kinds of give-back programs that Wal-Mart could do in the very poor city of Oakland, she concluded, "Our schools need money, our communities need money."

"So we already know that Wal-Mart is shady, that they are unfair to Black people and females, and we know that Wal-Mart has the money to pay its workers more considering that it just received a multi-million dollar payoff to come here," said Theresa, a young African Descendent woman, as she summed up the goals of the community at this rally, "So what I want is a job with a living wage so I can support my family, career development and education, and what I want is for Wal-Mart and Simeon development to create a fair partnership with the community so that we can all live while Wal-Mart is here."

For more information on the effort to demand a fair partnership from the developers and elected officials call Just Cause at (510) 763-5877.



PNN Staff

Get Involved

This article is an adaptation of Poor News Network report. To read more about resistance to unfair labor practices and unfair businesses by the low-income workers themselves, check out <http://www.poormagazine.org> and click on Labor and Unrecognized work.

US Tightens Cuba Blockade

Bush curtails visitation and trade allowances

Since the Bush administration began enforcing a new policy to tighten the US blockade on Cuba one month ago, rejection has been widespread. Condemnation came from the Cuban people, the Cuban-American community in the US, and the American people, all of whose interests the administration claims to be promoting. The objective of the policies: to make the level of economic deficiencies so intolerable that the Cuban people will rise up against their leaders and precipitate a regime change.

BY GABRIELA REARDON

For decades, US policy towards Cuba has consisted of enforcing an economic embargo that prohibits US companies from trading with Cuba. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1990 and Cuba lost over 80 percent of its imports, it began developing its tourism industry and established a dual-economy that would permit the influx of dollars. Thus, the Cuban government could obtain the hard currency it needed to purchase imports in the international market. Remittances coming from Cubans living abroad, particularly the US, have also aided the slow but steady recovery of the Cuban economy in recent years.

Among the new measures are those restricting Cuban-American travel to the island and limiting family remittances. Until July, Cuban-Americans wishing to visit family were legally permitted to travel once per year under a general license granted by the US Treasury Department to applicants, usually with little obstacles. Under Bush's new policy, the travel license application process to visit family will be more rigorous and eligibility will be limited to once every three years. Additionally, Cuban-Americans' stay will be limited to a maximum of 14 days and their spending cap will be reduced from the previous \$164 to only a \$50 daily allowance.

Still, the 480-page "Report of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba," unveiled by the State Department on May 6, includes much more. Most striking is the \$59 million taxpayer dollars allocated in the next two years to destabilize the Cuban government. The funds will be spent on recruiting and aiding "volunteers" from third world countries to help the opposition in Cuba; recruiting Cuban counter-revolutionaries to study in US universities and prepare them for post-Castro Cuba and it designates \$5 million to the spread of anti-Castro propaganda worldwide. Most dangerous of all, however, is an \$18 million budget for an airborne platform from which the US will be able to beam broadcasts of the right-wing Radio and TV Martí into Cuba. The potential danger in this is not merely the

introduction of propaganda, but the possibility that the C-130 COMMANDO SOLO aircraft could cross into Cuban airspace, provoking the Cuban military to strike it down in defense of its sovereignty, as it has done in similar situations. Such an action would give the US government justification for its much desired military attack and invasion of Cuba.

Although the likelihood of US military action against the island is difficult to calculate, the effect of a considerable drop in dollars circulating in the Cuban economy is tangible. Anyone who has visited the island in the past several years has witnessed the difficult conditions under which the Cuban family lives and the necessity for US dollars. Cubans who have immigrated in the past two decades in hopes of providing their families in Cuba with better material living conditions have vociferously rejected the new measures.



Henry Navarro moved to the Bay Area from Havana only seven months ago. He says he is disappointed that a government claiming to be democratic and to care for the Cuban people has chosen to complicate life for Cubans on both sides of the Florida Straits. "I think it has to do with the current electoral period. These measures are intended to satisfy the extremist Castro opponents in Miami," Navarro said.

So strong was the rejection of the Cuban-American community to the measures, that Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemispheric Affairs, Roger Noriega, published a justification of the measures. Noriega insisted that President Fidel Castro has been enriching himself with the dollars entering Cuba. The commission estimated that Cuba generated nearly \$100 million in 2003 from family visits alone.

Likewise, the Cuban-American National Foundation, the most prominent and politically influential anti-Castro group in the US, shied away from the controversial travel restrictions stating it had in fact made recommendations to the Bush administration, but that the travel restrictions were not among them.

Congresspersons opposing sanctions on Cuba stepped up to oppose the strict measures on Cuban-Americans. Republican Congressman Jim Davis of Tampa introduced legislation in July that would reverse the new Bush measures, arguing that they contradict American values of family reunification. Congress voted to end the travel ban last fall, but was forced to remove the provision from an appropriations bill after Bush threatened to veto it.

Other opposition to the measures came from the Cuban solidarity movement in the US. Recently, the groups Pastors for Peace, the Venceremos Brigade, African Awareness Association and US-Cuba Labor Exchange traveled to Cuba, intentionally violating the travel ban. On July 19 the groups returned, entering the US at various points on the border with Mexico and Canada. By publicly challenging the travel ban, they hope to raise awareness about the violation of US citizens' constitutional right to travel, and to pressure the US government to change its persistent aggression towards the island. Although the crossing took place without incident, participants may still receive fines up to \$65,000. Many believe the measures are aimed at attracting electoral endorsements from the influential Cuban-American organizations and donors who've complained that Bush has not done enough to topple the Cuban government since taking office. Although Senator John Kerry criticized the measures, calling them a misguided ploy for a few Florida votes, he supports a different kind of interventionism, that of promoting change through the exchange of ideas and values, or what some call cultural imperialism.

The four-decade old blockade and these new measures to aggravate conditions for Cuba have rightfully been characterized as inhumane. By separating families and smothering ordinary working Cubans, Bush once again shows his loyalty to his "have-mores" base of extremists at the expense of the people and values he claims to represent.

Cuba Resources

Granma International
(Cuban News website and weekly publication)
www.granma.cu
IFCO Pastors for Peace
(Solidarity group) www.ifconews.org
Office of Foreign Assets Control
(U.S. Treasury Dept.) www.treas.gov

Media Center and Paper Tiger Television, was scheduled to sign a month-long lease for a media space with a prominent non-profit organization located in the heart of midtown. Minutes before a meeting to sign the lease, a representative of the non-profit suddenly announced the deal was off. The Executive Director cited new concerns about security.

Police have been in regular contact with many buildings in the city ahead of the Republican National Convention, especially those near Madison Square Garden and other protest locations. That plus their "surges" and recent warnings about terrorist threats seem to have created a climate of fear, mistrust and confusion throughout midtown Manhattan.

Venezuela Hovers Between Revolution and Empire

On Sunday, August 15th, a national referendum is scheduled to take place in Venezuela to decide whether democratically-elected president Hugo Chávez should remain in office. The outcome of this referendum, while significant, is only a fragment of a much larger and longer tale of class struggle in Venezuela, where 80 percent of the population lives in poverty and the richest 20 percent control the majority of country's natural and human-produced resources. Far from being simply an electoral process determining the destiny of a leader, many in Venezuela understand the current struggle as a confrontation between the popular movements of the Bolivarian revolution against the Capitalist Empire. Media activists on the ground in Venezuela describe the situation as a potential brink of class war. The organized poor are prepared to protect, by any means necessary, the revolutionary processes they have been building at the grassroots level even before Chavez took office.

WTO Fails Global South

On July 31, past midnight, the World Trade Organization's (WTO) General Council reached an agreement in Geneva on a number of controversial trade issues. The corporate media was quick to hail the "July Package of Framework Agreements" as a breakthrough for the World Trade Organization's Doha Round of negotiations that had been stalled after the failed ministerial meeting in Cancun, Mexico last year. However, NGOs monitoring the negotiations and some delegates of poor countries criticized the agreement for betraying the poor and stressed that the rich countries were able to get what they wanted through bullying and intimidation of the delegations from the south.



Men on Fire

An Interview with Shaka At-Thinnin about the birth of Black August

BY KALONJI JAMA,
CHANGA CHIEF COORDINATOR FOR PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE COMMITTEE

Black August 2004 has officially begun. I have received emails from all over the country about different events dealing with the celebration of Black August, and I have had different comrades asking about the origin of Black August. So I reached out to the Brother O.G. Shaka aka Shaka At-Thinnin, a comrade of Field Marshal George Jackson, to find out, “What’s Really Hood”?

Kalonji: For those people who are not familiar with you, can you hit us with a brief bio?

Shaka: I am one of George Jackson’s original soldiers. He was my Commander in Chief along with several other brothers; some who have passed, some who remain behind enemy lines and others who have been released. I did close to ten years. I was released in 1977. I came out on fire. I expected the revolution to start tomorrow. In the joint, it was about conditioning mind and body equally, getting in physical shape, honing our skills and learning to fight off racist guards, etc.

Kalonji: Tell us about San Quentin.

Shaka: I was in San Quentin in Max B, which is five tiers stacked on top of each other—it’s like being in a barn with an open space in between each tier. There were two catwalks with guards patrolling all day and all night. They carried 30/30 Winchesters and a .38 on their hip.

Kalonji: Tell us about Jonathan Jackson.

Shaka: Jonathan was called “man child.” He had a deep respect for his brother (George) and his teachings. He had his own deep intelligence. His intelligence grew beyond his years. He was 17 when he was assassinated.

Kalonji: Tell us about Jonathan’s assassination.

Shaka: He died in the Marin County Courthouse. He went to liberate the Soledad Brothers. He ended up liberating William Christmas, Ruchell McGee and James McClain. They were planning on going to a radio station to broadcast the conditions of San Quentin, Soledad and other camps. They took hostages including the judge, the district attorney and some jurors. The guards knew something was going to happen; San Quentin sharpshooters were on the roof. They opened fire on the van, killing everyone except the DA and Ruchell McGee. Jonathan Jackson was Che Guevara in the courtroom—he wasn’t playing.

Kalonji: Who were the Soledad brothers?

Shaka: George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette. They were charged with killing a prison guard, in response to the guard killing three soldiers on the prison yard. The three soldiers were very prominent figures that inspired George himself. George took a lot of direction from W.L. Nolan, Alvin Miller and Cleveland Edwards. They were shot in the yard and left to bleed to death. All of this happened in 1970.

Kalonji: This month is Black August. When was it started and why?

Shaka: Black August began at the end of 1979. It began as a commemoration for all those who died after 1970 and all others who died in prison at the hands of the racist state. Khatari Gaulden, the leader who took over after George, was the last soldier to die that really set our hearts and minds to how black our conditions were inside.

So we formed the concept Black August. On the inside, brothers fasted the days of the assassinations of the brothers (24-hour fast). On the other days, they didn’t eat until sundown. Physical training and education was increased. We formed the Black August Organizing Committee outside to commemorate the assassination of soldiers behind the wall and to make the outside community aware of the terror going on inside. We staged our first demonstration outside of San Quentin. That was the beginning of that type of Black August movement. Each year after the death of George and Jonathan, we made sure the guards knew we were there. We never let them forget.

Kalonji: I heard that Black August was trademarked. Is there any truth to this?

Shaka: Yes. For us, Black August is a memory and a pain that lives with us. We never intended for Black August to be used as a tool to gain notoriety or to make money. It’s like when you go to a graveyard and put flowers on their graves, that’s Black August to us. It was not intended for the mass media or to become the circus event it is now.

Black August is an acknowledgement of our pain. It is a renewal of our commitment to fight and stand firm for those who still stand firm inside. As far as copyright is concerned, it is a slap in the face to all those who are gone and those locked behind enemy lines.

Just consider that from the day they assassinated George in San Quentin, the guards instituted a reign of terror. They were breaking brothers’ legs, kicking them, spitting on them, beating them with rifle butts and axe handles, while they lay face down in handcuffs. They made them crawl like animals on their bellies across the yard to their cells.

They tortured Yogi for years. He is still confined because he and George were so close. He is there as a token of terrorism. That is what we think of when we think of Black August. Now how can you copyright that?

Kalonji: This being the 25th anniversary, what do you wish to accomplish?

Shaka: We want to bring people back to the commitment. We want people who are new to the concept of Black August to understand where it came from, why, what it stands for and commit themselves to fight for the liberation of our people. We hope that this will bring unification of our people in the struggle to free all of our people locked in the concentration camps.

this article was originally published in the San Francisco BayView. For the full interview see sfbayview.com

Island of Exploitation

US bankrolls Haitian labor and political repression

BY JAMIE HURLBUT

The mainstream US press has offered little information about the situation in Haiti since the February 29, 2004 coup which forced Jean Bertrand Aristide from office. Most coverage has stressed political instability violence plaguing the impoverished country but has offered scarce background information on the mass movement known as Lavalas that has supported Aristide through multiple coup attempts.

US journalists have also provided little information about conditions for Haitian workers and the role Washington and US corporations play in perpetuating systematic, outrageous abuses of these workers. To get hard information about the situation faced by Haitian workers, I spoke to Dave Welsh, a member of a recent San Francisco labor council delegation to Haiti. Dave is a longtime Haiti solidarity and Bay Area labor activist who had been to Haiti once before following the first coup in 1991 against Aristide.

The Lavalas movement, pressure from below

Lavalas is a collection of local organizations spread throughout the poverty-stricken rural villages of Haiti. “It grew out of the mass movement to force Baby Doc Duvalier [Haitian “President For Life” who was driven from power in 1986] out of office and to flee and has its strongest base of support in the very poor in the cities.” Dave described Aristide and the Lavalas movement as dedicated to improving the lives of common people: “the priority is to bring in basic services. Aristide said that ‘we have to raise the people from misery to poverty with dignity’”.

The word Lavalas means “flood” in Creole. Dave explained that the name originated from the concept of mountain streams coming together to form a river and then rivers coming together to form a flood. “It’s a metaphor for collective action, for overcoming the rule of unrepresentative elites to run the country themselves and to achieve the original objectives of the Haitian revolution.”

In contrast, Dave explained that FRAPH, the death squad that has long plagued Haitian democracy, means ‘to hit’ in Creole. It was formed with the assistance of the CIA to terrorize the population.” Many leaders of the US backed “rebels” that overtook Haiti in the lead-up to this year’s coup perfected their terror tactics in FRAPH.

continued on next page

THE SEEDS OF BLACK AUGUST: Haiti's Revolution

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL



French-American Empire in the West.

Two centuries before the Revolution, when the island was called Santo Domingo by the Spanish Empire, historian Antonio de Herrera said, "There are so many Negroes in this island, as a result of the sugar factories, that the land seems an effigy or an image of Ethiopia itself."

Haiti was the principal source of wealth for the French bourgeoisie. In the decade before the Boukman Rebellion, an estimated 29,000 African captives were imported to the island annually. Conditions were so brutal, and the work was so back-breaking, that the average African survived only 7 years in the horrific sugar factories.

In 1804, Haiti declared Independence, after defeating what was the most powerful army of the day: the Grand Army of France. Haiti's Founding Father, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, at the Haitian Declaration of Independence, proclaimed, "I have given the French cannibals blood for blood. I have avenged America."

With their liberation, Haitians changed history, for among their accomplishments:

a) It was the first independent nation in Latin America; b) It became the second independent nation in the Western hemisphere; c) It was the first Black republic in the modern world; d) It was the "only" incidence in world history of an enslaved people breaking their chains and defeating a powerful colonial force using military might.

What did 'Independence' bring? It brought the enmity, and anger of the

It was a sweaty, steaming night in August, 1791, when a group of African captives gathered in the forests of Marne Rouge, in Le Cap, San Domingue. Among these men was a Voodoo priest, Papaloi Boukman, who preached to his brethren about the need for revolution against the cruel slavedrivers and torturers who made the lives of the African captives a living hell. His words, spoken in the common tongue of Creole, would echo down the annals of history, and cannot fail but move us today, 213 years later:

The god who created the sun which gives us light, who rouses the waves and rules the storm, though hidden in the clouds, he watches us. He sees all that the white man does. The god of the white man inspires him with crime, but our god calls upon us to do good works. Our god who is good to us orders us to revenge our wrongs. He will direct our arms and aid us. Throw away the symbol of the god of the whites who has so often caused us to weep, and listen to the voice of liberty, which speaks in the hearts of us all.

The Rebellion of August 1791 would eventually ripen into the full-fledged Haitian Revolution, lead to the liberation of the African Haitian people, to the establishment of the Haiti Republic, and the end of the dreams of Napoleon for a

The Lavalas movement consists of many local community groups or popular organizations, created to organize projects that encourage goals like literacy and effective medical service. They often form small cooperatives to encourage financing of local projects. One of the people Dave met with was the mayor of the village of Milo, who was in hiding for his Lavalas affiliation. "Under the mayor's leadership a kiln was established to create bricks. The bricks were used to build a small hotel near the Citadel, an important tourist attraction in the area, which provided employment and a livelihood. The mayor was very proud of the achievements his village had made. But many Lavalas activists have been forced into hiding, had their names read over the radio as an implicit threat or have been killed."

Working Conditions in Haiti

In May, the labor delegation was invited to a congress of Haitian workers sponsored by the Confederation of Haitian workers, a large Haitian union federation. Here the delegates met with several union leaders and talked about the difficulties of organizing under the regime that forced out Aristide. Workers complained that conditions in many of the assembly factories around they Port-Au-Prince area are terrible. According to complaints, workers can't go the bathroom when you want to, there is poor ventilation in the hot working environment, and there are many reports of unpaid overtime work.

Under Aristide the minimum wage was doubled, but there are many reports of workers being paid less than minimum wage. Dave notes, "There is a 70 percent unemployment rate, so there is not much leverage for organizing. Haiti is still largely a peasant country and most people make their living off the land. The informal economy is bigger than the formal one and the assembly sector is also largely not unionized. Workers face immediate dismissal for union sympathizing."

Despite the difficulties, Dave was impressed by the way Haitian workers identified with their organizations. "If you ask a rural citizen their address they will give you their popular organization's name with their address," he said. "Community and union cooperation is more integral in Haiti. They don't see the separation."

By Among these large bodies, the little community of Haiti, anchored in the Caribbean Sea, has had her mission in the world, and a mission which the world had much need to learn. She has taught the world the danger of slavery and the value of liberty. In this respect she has been the greatest of all our modern teachers.

— Hon. Frederick Douglass, former US Minister to Haiti Lecture on Haiti (Jan. 2, 1893, Quinn Chapel, Chi.)

Americans, who refused to recognize their southern neighbor for 58 years. In the words of South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne, the reasons for US non-recognition were clear: "Our policy with regard to Hayti is plain. We never can acknowledge her independence...The peace and safety of a large portion of our Union forbids us even to discuss [it]."

In many ways, Black August (at least in the West) begins in Haiti. It is the blackest August possible—Revolution, and resultant Liberation from bondage. For many years, Haiti tried to pass the torch of liberty to all of her neighbors, providing support for Simon Bolivar in his nationalist movements against Spain. Indeed, from its earliest days, Haiti was declared an asylum for escaped slaves, and a place of refuge for any person of African or American Indian descent.

On January 1st, 1804, President Dessalines proclaimed: "Never again shall colonist or European set foot on this soil as master or landowner. This shall henceforward be the foundation of our Constitution."

It would be US, not European, imperi-

alism that would consign the Haitian people to the cruel reign of dictators. The US would occupy Haiti and impose their own rules and dictates. After their long and hated occupation, Haitian anthropologist Ralph Trouillot said, "[it] improved nothing and complicated almost everything."

Yet, that imperial occupation does not wipe out the historical accomplishments of Haiti.

During the darkest nights of American bondage, millions of Africans, in America, in Brazil, in Cuba, and beyond, could look to Haiti, and dream.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an award winning author and broadcast journalist. He has been languishing on Pennsylvania's death row for over 23 years. Writing from a solitary confinement cell, his essays have reached a worldwide audience. Mumia is the author of five books including "Live From Death Row," "Death Blossoms," "All Things Censored," "Faith of Our Fathers" and the recently released "We Want Freedom." They have sold over 150,000 copies and been translated into seven languages.



Haitian workers listen to a speaker at a May Day rally.

Dave met with several leaders of the public transit workers union who had formed a bus co-op before the coup. "The co-op was formed by an alliance between Aristide and the union. The union ran the bus company and got the money to buy the busses, while the members had collective decision making powers to run it." Immediately following Aristide's exile the yard of busses were burned in the night, probably because it was a Lavalas project.

US Involvement in the Coup

Much of the funding for political opposition in Haiti comes from the US. "There are some NGOs and groups that backed the coup directly or indirectly," Dave said. "They were working against Aristide by funding alternative economic structures with no respect for sovereignty or democratic rule." Dave talked to many Haitians about the role the US has played in Haitian politics. "Many people said that the US embassy is running the show now."

Dave observed that the lead story of one of the French language papers (read by Haitian elites) featured the American ambassador addressing the American chamber of commerce over how Haitian democracy should work. The only Haitian featured on the front page was the new US installed "prime minister" who hasn't lived in Haiti since the late 80s. "Haitians refer to him as the prime minister of Boca Raton, because that's the Florida city where lived for many years until the US installed him in office".

In Dave's view, the US is interested in maintaining a repressive power structure in Haiti partly because "many of the Haitian factories produce goods for major American corporations like Disney and Wal-mart. In fact none of the assembly factories owned by American Andre Aped are currently unionized". Aped is a key player in the Washington backed "Democratic Convergence", an ironically named coalition given that they eschewed courts or the electoral process in driving President Aristide out of the country. "The US was putting pressure on Aristide to privatize the state industries, but he resisted." Although many Haitians disagree with the best approach to achieving self determination, almost all are in agreement that the president should have the opportunity to complete his term. "Five full years" with your hand outstretched to show five fingers is a popular slogan amongst the people of Haiti.

For further information, see www.haitiaction.net

RACISM IN THE FOOD SYSTEM

A liquor store on every corner, but no grocery store for miles

Food, as a commodity, has always played a role in the creation of oppressive systems since the inception of European colonialism, when Indigenous peoples throughout the world were robbed of their land in order to mass produce commodity crops for export, such as coffee, tea, sugar, bananas, cattle and cotton. Africans and other indigenous groups were then enslaved to farm these large scale plantation operations. The modern food production system is a continuation of the very same colonial food system established over 400 years ago.



BY BRAHM AHMADI

Today, the exploitation of people of color continues to play out within a globalized food system in which the working conditions of food production, both on the farm and in food processing plants, are oppressive. The industrialized food system, focused on mass production through large-scale conglomerate farming operations, is rapidly eradicating farmers of color from across the globe. This is evident in the migration of Mexican farm workers who have lost their own farms to the United States in search of new livelihoods. Another example is the rapidly shrinking number of black farmers in the United States. In 1920 one out of every seven farmers was black; in 1982, black farmers counted for only one out of 67 and operated only one percent of the total farms in the US. The current rate of farm loss by black farmers is over double that of other American farmers.

Yet, institutional racism does not just occur on the production side of the food system. It also emerges at the other end of the food chain where we, the consumers, are most closely connected: the grocery store. Or, more accurately, the absence of grocery stores for many communities. West Oakland, California, for example, is a predominantly black community of over 30,000 people that only has one grocery store. Because there are not enough grocery stores, many people in West Oakland are forced to rely on the 40 liquor stores (with 30-100 percent higher prices than super markets) and numerous fast food restaurants that sell nothing but fatty, high cholesterol foods. In contrast, the neighboring city of Emeryville, a predominantly white and affluent community of merely 7,000 residents, has three grocery stores within its city borders.

With severely limited access to healthier foods, people of color have little choice but to consume foods that are low

in nutrition, high in saturated fats, and covered in chemicals, shortening the life spans of children and adults alike. The result is an epidemic of diet-related chronic diseases such as obesity, heart disease, diabetes, stroke, kidney disease, infertility, and cancers. Although these diseases are affecting a large portion of American society as a whole, communities of color are disproportionately affected and experience higher rates of mortality from these disease. In West Oakland, the leading cause of death is heart disease, accounting for 29 percent of all deaths. In the largely black area of Central Brooklyn four times as many people die of diabetes than on the predominantly white Upper East Side of Manhattan. And a 1990 study found that so many African-Americans were dying from heart disease and cancer that black men were less likely to reach age 65 than men in Bangladesh.

When communities are attacked by both environmental racism through toxic exposures and by a racist food system through toxic and deficient foods, there is a double-layered assault on people's health. The consumption of unhealthy, commercially-processed foods further compounds the effects of environmental toxic exposures. Conversely, poor nutrition increases vulnerability to toxins by weakening the immune system's ability to resist such toxins and flush them from the body. For example, the bodies of malnourished children tend to confuse lead and other heavy metals with nutrients and try to use these metals, embedding them into their bone structure and body tissues.

Environmental racism and lack of healthy food are just two components of an overall unjust social system in which people of color are targeted. Yet, just as there is a grassroots response to environmental racism in the form of the environmental justice movement, there is an equal grassroots response to a racist food system in the form of what some people are now calling the food justice movement.

Based on principles of racial justice, human rights, and grassroots organizing, the food justice movement is working to ensure that all people, regardless of race, class or gender, have a fundamental right to healthy, fresh and affordable foods that nurture health and provide people with the strength and energy to uplift their communities. All across the country a grassroots response is arising from people who are organizing to determine for themselves what food is on their table.



A FEW BAY AREA FOOD JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS:

People's Grocery

Phone: (510)50-0721
Email: info@peoplesgrocery.org
www.peoplesgrocery.org

Farm Fresh Choice

Phone: (510) 848-1704
Email: farmfreshchoice@ecologycenter.org

Youth Envision - LEJ

Phone: 415-508-0575
Email: youthenvision@lejoyouth.org

Mo Better Foods

Phone: (510) 776-4178
Email: droach@mobetterfood.com
www.mobetterfood.com

Helping Oakland People Eat (HOPE)

Email: TonyD@ebclc.org
Email: EdJ@ebclc.org

West Oakland Food Project

Phone: 510-534-7657
Email: Envsciinst@earthlink.net

Bayview, continued from front page . . .

and heighten their risk of disease and learning disabilities. In the Bayview, rates for childhood asthma, cancer, and other chronic illnesses are two to four times above state averages.

In August 2000, a landfill containing a variety of toxins such as PCBs, heavy metals, asbestos, petroleum, volatile organic compounds, and radioactive elements caught fire in the shipyard and burned for almost three months. Residents and children at neighboring schools reported outbreaks of nose-bleeds, vomiting, rashes, and chronic headaches, but were not notified of the potentially toxic emissions from the landfill until two weeks after the fire began. Navy and city officials acknowledged that the situation was not handled in the best way, but made few changes in their policies or practices since then. The community notification plan drafted by the Navy following criticism about its handling of the fire, still did not include all neighboring schools - even though there are three schools less than half a mile from the shipyard.

What makes this situation even more alarming is the fact that existing emergency response plans of neighboring schools and child care centers do not adequately address the possibility of an environmental emergency related to the HPS. There are no formalized environmental health programs in the surrounding schools, and children are not routinely tested for possible exposure to toxic contamination from the Shipyard.

Literacy for Environmental Justice (LEJ), a youth empowerment and urban environmental organization based in the Bayview, has just begun a project to address this troubling issue. The goals of the Superfund Schools project include ensuring that existing emergency response plans adequately safeguard the health and well being of Bayview children, creating additional emergency response plans if necessary, and developing a community-specific environmental health curriculum for BVHP schools.

For more information about this project please contact Literacy for Environmental Justice- 6220 Third St; (415) 508-0575.



"I have lived in the Bayview since I was five yrs old- it was once a prominent community. I am leaving Bayview after more than 20 years because I want to give my kids a different environment-its not righteous anymore. Now I have to breathe in polluted air, my kids have asthma, and lots of people have breast cancer. I think it's really hateful to deny people what they need to have a healthy environment, a healthy place to work, and healthy thinking. If we start at the shipyard, by cleaning it up, we can clean up the entire area. My vision is to have a clean community- clean houses, environmental centers, and health clinics."

- Recheal Genochio- 28 yr old BVHP resident and mother of two young children.

SALMON DEVASTATED BY DAMS



Some dams already have fishladders, but many, such as this fishladder at the John C. Boyle Dam, which is just bare cement covered with nitrate foam and algae blooms, are insufficient.

Even though the re-licensing evaluation that would ensure the presence of dams along rivers in Southern Oregon and Northern California for another half a century is two years away, native tribes and environmental supporters have stepped up the fight to protect regional salmon populations. Encouraged by a recent court victory regarding water flow for the Trinity River, 150 people marched through Klamath Falls(OR) to a Republican rally on July 17 to urge lawmakers to consider the economic and cultural impacts of salmon extinction. Later that week, 26 people, including leaders of four Klamath River tribes traveled to Scotland for meetings with representatives and shareholders of Scottish Power, the parent corporation of dam-operating company PacifiCorp.

"During the shareholders meeting, the people completely embraced us," said Merv George, director of the Klamath River Inter-Tribal Fish and Water Commission (KRIFWC) and member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe. "It was amazing to see the level of support we received. The Klamath River is definitely on Scottish Power's radar screen now!"

Despite the pronouncement of Scottish

Power CEO Ian Russell that he is "committed to finding the right solutions" to the issue of PacifiCorp's dams, which block over 350 miles of historic spawning ground and degrade water quality, tribal representatives still have an uphill battle. "Did we get a firm commitment from the corporation? No," said Leaf Hillman, vice-chairman of the Karouk Tribe and KRIFWC chairman. "Russell committed to maintaining an open line of communication and working toward a solution. That is not much different from what we have been hearing from PacifiCorp in the US during the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) Renegotiation process."

PacifiCorp officials have solicited input from the tribes and stakeholders over the past four years in drafting their license application to the FERC. However, the final 80 pound document didn't include salmon restoration strategies or an evaluation of dam removal, two fundamental issues raised by the tribes, environmentalists and fishermen. Since the construction of the first dam in 1917, salmon populations have plummeted to ten percent of their pre-dam levels in what was once America's third greatest

salmon-producing river, and some runs have gone completely extinct. Other fish, such as the sturgeon, lamprey and candlefish have also vanished from the Klamath.

The Hoopa, Yurok, Karuk, and Klamath Tribes have lived along the banks of the Klamath River since 'time immemorial'. These cultures still depend on the fishery for sustenance and the fish form the basis of the tribes' cultural and ceremonial practices. Despite these facts, government policy over the past few years has increased the drastic threat to salmon habitats. In 2001, the Department of Interior, under pressure from Bush's political strategist Karl Rove to curry favor among agribusiness for the reelection campaign of a Republican Senator in Oregon, decided to cut off flows for fish and divert them to subsidized agribusiness in the Klamath Basin. This change in water policy by the Bush administration resulted in the largest fish kill in US history in September 2002 when over 34,000 salmon perished. The majority of these fish were destined for the Trinity River, the Klamath's largest tributary.

Reversing the Flow

Since this ecological disaster, The Klamath River tribes have fought to prevent another massive fishkill. The most recent victory came on July 13, when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the release of flows proscribed under the Trinity River Record of Decision (ROD) of December 2000. "Nothing remains to prevent the full implementation of the ROD, including its complete flow plan for the Trinity River," the Court ruled.

"We're just elated," said Clifford Lyle Marshall, chairman of the Hoopa Valley Tribe. "Hoopa is a very happy town. The timing of the decision surprised us, since we were told the decision could go either way."

Marshall said the decision would compel the federal Bureau of Reclamation to release 47 percent of river flows for fish and 53 percent for agriculture and power. Prior to the ROD, up to 90 percent of the river had been diverted to agriculture and power users, resulting in dramatic declines in salmon and steelhead populations.

"This decision is awesome," said Marshall. "The river is a vital part of the economy of our tribe and the Northern California economy. The decision gives the river the priority it deserved in the first

place. It means that the river will get water, salmon runs will come back, tourism will return, recreational fishermen will come back, people will be eating in the local restaurants, and the commercial salmon fishery may be sustained."

Although Marshall said the court made its decision based on the law and over 20 years of scientific studies, the outpouring of support for Trinity River restoration by the public, newspapers and politicians through the state had a lot to do with the victory.

"It wasn't a case of Indians versus farmers," emphasized Marshall. "The people of California raised their voice to support the Trinity River. The river should be regarded as a national treasure. We had a great alliance of people, with lot of efforts on many fronts. Public opinion drives public policy - and the people of California decided that for a small price, the Trinity River could be restored."

The Westlands Water District, in conjunction with the Northern California Power Association and SMUD, filed suit against the federal government in 2000 right after former Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt issued his ROD. However, a broad coalition of Indian Tribes, commercial fishermen, recreational anglers and environmental groups forced the SMUD and three members of the NCPA- Palo Alto, the Port of Oakland and Alameda to pull out over the past 1 1/2 years.

Whether Westlands, the largest federal irrigation project in the country, will appeal the case to the next step, the U.S. Supreme Court, is unknown at this time. "We are still reviewing the decision," said Tupper Hull, spokesman for the Westlands Water District. "It is a complicated decision although it appears to overturn Judge Wanger's decision on a number of grounds. We are looking at the overall impact of the decision on Central Valley Project water users."

Hull noted that Westlands is continuing to pursue settlement talks with the Tribes, even though these talks have been unsuccessful in the past. "We believe that there is still an opportunity for people of goodwill from the different parties to protect their interests, including the Trinity River fishery," said Hull.

Dan Bacher contributed to this article. For more information about this issue visit [Cascadia Rising](#) or [Rogue Valley Indymedia](#).

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS UNITE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Report from Central California Environmental Justice Network

"We, the people of color, gathered together at this summit to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages, and beliefs about the natural world and our role in healing ourselves; to insure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice."

-from the first People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, October 1991

Environmental Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias. Environmental Justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things. Environmental Justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to

receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

In keeping with these principles, a coalition of numerous grassroots organizations who decided that rural communities in the Central Valley were suffering disproportionate amounts of negative health, social and financial impacts as a result of environmental racism and environmental degradation formed the Central California

Environmental Justice Network in 2000. CCEJN educates and empowers communities to advocate for themselves by providing them with a way to network and assist each other and have a united, stronger voice.

The organizations in CCEJN work on a variety of issues. One organization, the California Prison Moratorium Project is fighting the expansion of countless prisons in the Central Valley. CPMP targets prison-building as a form of environmental racism because prisons take up valuable resources from the environment and give nothing back to the communities where they are located. Another grassroots organization, El Comite Para Bienestar de Earlimart, fights against pesticide exposure and pesticide drift. Pesticide exposure is linked to numerous health problems, including asthma, birth defects and cancer, but is all too common an occurrence in the Valley. The Grayson Neighborhood Council fights against incinerators and landfill expansions. While you will never find a trash incinerator in a rich neighborhood, they are abundant in poor neighborhoods of color in both rural and urban settings.

Many government agencies and rich corporations continuously locate polluting industries in low-income communities of color in the Central Valley. The Cerrell Report was a document produced in 1984 by a consulting firm for The California Waste Management Board to assist toxic waste companies in placing their facilities with the least amount of political resistance. The report suggested "that they target small rural communities whose residents are low income, older people, or people with a high school education or less; communities with a high proportion of Catholic residents; and communities whose residents are engaged in resource extractive industries such as agriculture, mining, and forestry. Ideally, the report states, "officials and companies should look for lower socioeconomic neighborhoods that are also in a heavy industrial area with little, if any commercial activity."

If you're outraged by this exploitation, contact CCEJN at (209) 895-3352 to get involved. - John Mataka-Vice-President Central California Environmental Justice Network

ENFORCED DEMOCRACY IN BOLIVIA

Record-breaking numbers boycott mandatory gas referendum to protest transnational ownership



People boycotting the referendum stand vigil at their road blockade in the Senkata neighborhood of El Alto.

photo: Noah Friedman-Rudovsky

Enforced Democracy, continued from front page . . .

southeast of the country was comprised almost entirely of silver. For two centuries, the wealth extracted from Cerro Rico in Potosí was, according to Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano, “the primary nourishment of the capitalist development of Europe.” Next it was saltpeter, desperately needed as fertilizer for exhausted European soil, and plundered by the English. Then during the World War II, Bolivia’s tin was mined and sold at approximately ten times less than market price, leading to massive strikes, and massacres of the workers, who were only demanding to be paid a living wage. Now, the world wants Bolivia’s gas—the second largest reserves in Latin America—but Bolivians are sick of watching the wealth of their nation stolen from beneath their feet.

Last October, nation-wide popular resistance to an export scheme which would have sent gas to California resulted in a bloodbath. Around 80 were killed, 400 more injured, and yet another 400 tortured. In the end, the people prevailed, as the detested president, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (commonly called Goni), resigned from office, fleeing the presidential palace in a helicopter, and heading to Miami, the traditional refuge of right-wing Latin American scoundrels.

This was the third time in three years that such dramatic uprisings had occurred in Bolivia. The first was in 2000, when the people of Cochabamba successfully reclaimed their water from a subsidiary of California engineering giant Bechtel, which had raised rates by anywhere from 200-400 percent, and was charging people for wells, rainwater catchment, and irrigation systems they had constructed themselves, at their own expense. Four years later, the water continues to be successfully run by the people. The second uprising occurred in February of last year, when popular protest forced the government to roll back International Monetary Fund-imposed taxes and cuts to social benefits. The protests resulted in a few demands by the campesinos—the suspension of coca eradication, the total rejection of the FTAA, an end to privatization, and nationalization of gas.

During the October insurrection, Vice President Carlos Mesa shrewdly withdrew his support for the government, assuming the presidency after Goni fled with promises of a referendum on the gas issue in order to respond to the peoples’ demands. But those demands were for nationalization, nothing less, and July’s referendum, despite the lazy shorthand employed by most journalists, was not a vote for nationalization.

People were able to vote for or against: the repeal of the current law pertaining to gas, passed by Goni; rebranding and restructuring of the (privatized) state oil company; the use of gas as a strategy towards regaining territory lost to Chile over 100 years ago; and a vague idea about how money gained from exportation might be spent. Nothing close to nationalization. Nothing close to annulling the 78 contracts with transnationals which already exist. Nothing close to meeting the demands of the people. In fact, the government has already signed an agreement with the IMF committing to having a clear strategy in place by October 31 of this year guaranteeing exportation of gas. The referendum is little more than an instrument towards fulfilling that commitment.

I visited a few polling stations in El Alto, a predominantly indigenous city which sits on the edge of the canyon into which the capital, La Paz, is nestled. Each station had between 40-50 tables, with each table collecting the votes of between 100-200 people. Early in the morning, within the first hour of the stations being opened, I watched an indigenous Aymara woman as she emerged from the private voting room, ballot in hand, a huge grin on her face. One of the election officials

staffing the table stopped her from putting her ballot in the box, and began chastising her for folding it improperly, with her votes (or lack of) visible from the outside. He tried to fold it properly, with the votes on the inside, but she resisted, and by then enough people had seen her ballot that it had to be declared null and void. She watched with a smile as they marked it uncountable, as that was clearly her intention. It seemed to have been the first time that the election officials had seen such an action today, but it definitely was not the last.

In Bolivia, voting is obligatory, and abstention is punishable by a fine equivalent to about two weeks to one month’s salary. Lacking proof of having voted or paying the fine means that one cannot conduct banking transactions, nor travel, among other serious inconveniences. Even so, the abstention rate nation-wide was record high—about 40 percent—and these are people who can scarce afford to pay.

In Senkata, a region of El Alto which saw brutal massacres during the gas war last October, blockades of burning tires built the night before were still smoldering at 6:30 am on the day of the referendum, despite a light drift of snow which had fallen the night before. Few people were out, and the street was silent. When I returned several hours later, a crowd of about 200 people had gathered. The atmosphere was calm, despite them having driven out several journalists a half hour prior to our arrival. But people were for the most part quite friendly, and eager to share their perspective.

One man in his mid-20s, who wore a balaclava and didn’t wish to give his name, exclaimed, “Out with all the transnationals!” pounding the pavement with the six-foot long stick he carried. “They are robbing us, looting the country. And what can we do? We don’t believe in having leaders; we know what is going on without anyone telling us. And we are living in poverty and misery because of the corruption of our idiot leaders. Mesa absolutely has to go, but there is no one to replace him. There is no good option.” (Sounds like the situation the US is currently faced with.)

On that note, a chant arose from the crowd, “Mesa, Ayo Ayo te espera.” [Mesa, Ayo Ayo waits for you.] Ayo Ayo is a small Aymara community where the mayor (elected through state government proceedings, NOT the traditional community leader) was put on trial according to the traditional justice system last month, after having had violated Aymara law three times. He was sentenced to death, and was killed on June 15. The community then declared a state of emergency and expelled all police from their territory. Three weeks later, it was decided that Ayo Ayo would be the center for justice for the entire Altiplano, and that all those being charged with corruption would be sent there for judgement. (For more information, in Spanish, go to <http://prod.bolivia.indymedia.org/es/2004/07/10110.shtml>)

I then spoke with a man who was curious about the differences between electoral law in the United States and in Bolivia. His name is Marco, and he is a member of FEJUVE – the federation of neighborhood assemblies which has around 900 participating groups in El Alto and La Paz combined. Marco asserted that what we were witnessing today was “the dictatorship version of democracy. We shouldn’t have to vote when there is nothing on the ballot we believe in. For us to be required to vote, under the vigilance of federal police and with the threat of expensive fines—this is not democracy.”

While we were speaking, the police, which had gathered about a half mile away from the blockade, zoomed up alongside the blockade on their motorcycles, circled the demonstration, paused for a bit, and then headed back on the other side. Some people hurled a few rocks at them, but they were large-

ly ignored. Marco didn’t miss a beat.

“We have a high unemployment rate; they promised 500,000 jobs and instead we have 500,000 unemployed people, and so we cannot keep following these same policies, exporting the gas, selling everything. This is why we are rebelling. October taught us a lot. We know that we have nothing, and yet they’re selling everything they can get away with to the US. And all of us here, we are alive now, but we’re also dying. And we know that life is not eternal. None of us can say, ‘I have to stay alive, my life is worth so much.’ It’s not like that. All of us are ready to die. Because when we are always fighting for survival, struggling just to fill our stomachs, we can’t have a good life. We prefer to die with dignity.”

A commotion distracts us, and Marco excuses himself so he can go and join his neighbors. Two SUVs have approached the blockade, and about eight men get out. They are from the Organization of American States, which has sent election observers to monitor the proceedings. Strangely, they are approaching the blockade, on foot, as if they imagined they would be welcome here. Sharp whistling fills the air, and people call for rocks and sticks. The officials run a quick retreat to their vehicles, and speed away.

The group I have come with is ready to go, and so we head away from the blockade to where our taxi is waiting. On the way back down to the city, the streets are marvelously empty of traffic: on election days, all transportation is banned—private cars, public buses, taxis, you name it. There are a few reasons which grant some taxis the right to drive—transporting the press happens to be one of them. Apparently the idea is that people will be encouraged to stay in their neighborhoods and will then be more likely to vote—another part of the “dictatorship democracy” to which Marco referred. And so the streets are as they should be—completely filled with people. As we speed down the steep highway to the floor of the canyon, and La Paz, we are trailed by gleeful skateboarders, roller-bladers, joggers, dog-walkers, and battalions of cyclists. On the opposite, uphill lanes, we pass a game of tennis, and then a game of soccer. Laundry is spread out to dry on the adjacent hillside, and people lie basking in the sun, despite the fact that it is about 50 degrees Fahrenheit and windy. The radio carries reports of plans to blockade the transport of ballots after the elections; some say there are plans to burn them. In every imaginable way, this is different from any election I have ever dreamed of.

The results are announced a few days later. All five questions have passed—an incredible vote of confidence in Mesa’s government...or is it? With forty percent abstention and fifteen percent of ballots either blank or void, only about forty-five percent of the electorate voted at all—that is to say, about twenty-three percent of Bolivian’s population. Not much on which to base one’s legitimacy.

The people have spoken very clearly—this referendum doesn’t come close to their primary demand—nationalization of their gas – which they have been clearly stating for a long time. They are well aware that the referendum is being used as a tool to legitimize the government and as an attempt to pacify them, to get them to return to their homes and their routines. Yet these are people who are quite adept at creating true, participatory democracy; this spectacle of a referendum, this “dictatorship democracy” is unlikely to appease them. As Marco from Senkata put it, “There are going to be actions in the future which will be much stronger and more radical than those of October. We will not stop until we get nationalization.”

NO JUSTICE FOR BHOPAL

20 years later, disaster victims await settlement

December 3rd marks the 20th anniversary of the world's worst industrial disaster, the 1984 Union Carbide gas disaster in Bhopal, India. The explosion inside the poorly designed and under-maintained pesticides plant released a 27 ton cocktail of lethal toxic gases into the heart of the teeming old city that caused as many as 8,000 deaths and more than 500,000 injuries within a few days. In the 20 years since "that night" thousands more people have died from the long-term health holocaust, with an estimated additional 30 deaths every month.

BY DIANA RUIZ

Since 1984, although Union Carbide, majority owner of Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL—the Indian subsidiary operating the factory), was contractually responsible for the design, safety and ongoing operation reviews of the plant, it has evaded all attempts to be held accountable for the catastrophe. Numerous studies have concluded that it was the parent company's attempts to save money in Bhopal, by using unproven technology, under-designing safety and warning systems, slashing staff and bulk storing of dangerous chemicals that made the disaster not an accident but a near certainty. The gas leak occurred at a time when the safety measures that were designed to prevent such a disaster were turned off.

Over the past twenty years Carbide has taken elaborate steps to protect its financial interests in ways that have directly prolonged and deepened the physical, social, environmental and economic miseries of those left alive in Bhopal. The company has steadfastly refused to release toxicological studies on the principal toxin, methyl isocyanate, or vital information on the composition of the gas cloud that seeped over Bhopal. Because treatment protocols to combat the many manifestations of gas exposure, such as lung injuries, immune disorders and chromosomal damage, do not exist, physicians have been prevented by Carbide from properly treating victims.

To this day, there has been no clean up of the disaster site, and carcinogenic and heavy metals continue to seep into the water supplies of an estimated 20,000 people in the surrounding communities. Residents have no choice but to drink, wash, and cook with the water daily; mothers that were exposed to the gas from "that night" have no choice but to breast-feed their children mercury and organochlorines.

In 2001, as a condition of its merger with Union Carbide, Dow Chemical Corporation is now legally and ethically responsible. However, Dow has refused to provide for environmental, economic and medical rehabilitation for the people and environment affected by Carbide's negligence. Survivor groups in Bhopal and communities and organizations affected by Dow activities around the world are now demanding that Dow settle its debts. Groups are also demanding that a legally binding mechanism be adopted and enforced world wide to hold multinational corporations accountable.

Following are the some of the most recent developments in the campaign for justice in Bhopal:

Compensation funds released: On July 19, India's Supreme Court ruled that \$330 million(US) in compensation be distributed directly to the victims and no longer held by the Indian government. This release of previously earmarked funds should have been received by affected Bhopalis years ago. When Union Carbide settled civil claims relating to the disaster in 1989 for \$470 million, it was based on an estimate of 3,000 deaths and 100,000 injured. In 2004, the number of people affected has risen to an estimate of 500,000 casualties. This would bring the payout to at \$500 for each person. If the original payout were included, the actual amount given to each person would be ten cents per day over the last twenty years. These funds still do not address the long-term medical and economic needs of the

community and do nothing to address the contamination left by Union Carbide and Dow. In addition, Dow continues to act "outside the law" by failing to comply with the Indian courts. However, the release of funds is another small but key step to the Bhopal campaign in the months leading up to the 20th anniversary.

Indian Government supports survivors claims in New York case: In June 2004, long-time activists and Bhopal survivors Rashida Bee, Shahid Noor and Satinath Sarangi launched a fast without water in New Delhi to protest the slow pace by the Indian government to the New York State Court request for a letter supporting the Bhopal survivors' claims. The letter would allow the US Court to force Dow to clean up the toxic waste in Bhopal.

The International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB), the Association for India's Development (AID), and Greenpeace launched a lobbying effort that flooded the Indian government with thousands of faxes, phone calls, emails and petitions. More than 300 people worldwide joined the survivors' hunger strike in New Delhi. AID orchestrated demonstrations outside the Indian Embassies in New York, Washington, D.C., and Houston. The Indian Government responded to the mounting pressure two days before the June 30th deadline and submitted the letter to the New York Court.

Dow in court: In June 2004, The Bhopal court issued a court order to Dow's India office asking Dow to show cause as to why they should not respond to the court demands to produce Union Carbide in criminal charges against the company. Union Carbide Corporation and its former president Warren Anderson face charges of manslaughter and other serious offences for their role in the 1984 gas leak. This is a breakthrough in addressing Union Carbide's outstanding criminal liabilities and putting Dow on the stand for not addressing criminal charges.

If a corporation as large as Dow Chemical had caused a disaster of the magnitude of Bhopal in the US, it would be held accountable for its actions. As it is, the Dow corporation continues to evade its responsibilities and flout the law in India. At the same time, Dow touts itself as an industry leader, branding its product line to improve daily living, when in fact Dow's toxic products poison workers and neighbors, contaminate neighborhoods, and have left a legacy of ongoing harm.

The case in Bhopal clearly shows the double standard to which multi-national corporations operate abroad. There are many small Bhopals around the world that have left their mark on developing nations and low income communities of color, denying basic human rights to clean air, water and health.

20th Anniversary Action: December 3, 2004 marks the 20th anniversary of the 1984 Bhopal disaster. Groups confronted by violations of people's chemical security are encouraged to take action on or near Dec 3, 2004. Join people worldwide that are planning activities in their local areas targeted at Dow and other chemical producers. To get more information please go to <http://www.bhopal.net>.

Diana Ruiz is the US Coordinator of the Bhopal Campaign and Dow Accountability Project

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www.indybay.org/labor

A vegetarian diet is the acid test of humanitarianism.

Leo Tolstoy

Philosophical implications of exploiting animals must-read:
Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals
by Peter Singer

Environmental havoc caused by modern factory farming:
www.earthsave.org

Health benefits of a vegetarian diet and related issues:
www.pcrm.org

Help with starting to eat cruelty-free:
www.vegetarianstarterkit.com

While no one can tell you what to eat, you owe it to yourself to examine the ramifications of what you put in your body every day. The Union of Concerned Scientists identified the meat-based diet as one of the two most harmful things individuals can do to our environment. By going vegetarian (or vegan) today, you can effect positive change right now.

“SHUT UP! IT’S OUR TURN TO TALK”

FCC berated by public at hearing on broadcast localism



photo: Emily Hell



photo: Peter Maiden

FCC, continued from front page . . .

airwaves that are saturated with homogenous, syndicated content. The confrontational remarks about “breaking the rules” made by Dan San at the hearing reflect more than just cynicism on the part of those who have been struggling to provide an alternative to mainstream media for years; the pioneers of the microradio movement will be excluded even if Congress does decide to grant more LPFM licenses this fall. “We’re not eligible for an LP license,” said FRSC veteran DJ Vinny Lombardo AKA V-Man. “There’s no amnesty for pirate radio broadcasters who have been previously warned by the FCC, even though they wouldn’t have even thought about legitimizing LPFM stations if it weren’t for the thousands of microbroadcasters that have been going on the air for years in defiance of the law.”

Around the time FRSC was founded ten years ago, dozens of pirate microradio stations were popping up on the airwaves from Miami to Seattle. Some were created to promote local, underground music scenes, others served as vehicles for radical (right and left wing) political agendas, but, due to advanced tracking equipment, the conservative Bush administration, and the threat of massive fines, most of these stations have gone off the air. In the summer of 2003, the FCC issued a license for 96.3 FM, the frequency that FRSC had been using for almost a decade, to a Christian rock radio chain. FRSC changed their frequency to 101.1 FM and moved their studio, but five days later, FCC agents appeared with a cease and desist order. “We never stopped broadcasting,” said V-Man. “The City Council even passed a resolution supporting our mission. It’s important to stay on the air, because the people who aren’t being served by the corporate broadcasters need a voice.”

Media activists aren’t the only ones criticizing the effects of corporate media dominance. The day before the Monterey conference, unions representing over half a million workers, including the National Writers Union and the Screen Actors Guild, sent a letter to the FCC calling for increased public participation in the proceedings related to media ownership regulations. A slew of recent polls revealed the overwhelmingly negative opinion of corporate ownership held by most media workers. For example, 74 percent surveyed in a Newspaper Guild study said allowing one company to own a major newspaper and a major television station in the same city would have negative consequences for news coverage and journalism and a recent AFL-CIO poll found that 69 percent believe that corporate owners already have too much influence over news coverage. “Ever since the FCC really started pushing deregulation with the 1996 Telecommunications Act, media ownership consolidation has been harming local and national news coverage and really harming a key element of democracy in this country,” said John

Connolly, President of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. “Even as the literal number of entertainment, news and information outlets increases, actual decision-making— including news judgment— is falling into fewer and fewer hands, but the entire labor movement has got behind this in a very profound way.”

In addition to worries regarding the quality of media, workers have expressed concern regarding anti-labor practices among the conglomerates. During a speech outside the FCC Conference, Louie Rocha, President of the Communications Workers of America, Local 9423, explained how Comcast, the nation’s largest cable operator, has gobbled up local competition, avoided taxes, and cited an FCC report that blames Comcast’s market power for skyrocketing prices. He said, “Union-busting, which I personally witnessed when assisting Comcast workers to organize, outsourcing, reductions in benefits, and downward pressure on wages, is occurring at the same time that the company’s profits are soaring.”

According to the union polls (conducted anonymously) and the personal testimony of Davey D, a DJ from KPFA Berkeley and one of the panelists at the localism hearing, media workers are afraid to speak out against corporate media policies or dissent from corporate politics for fear of being blackballed in the industry. In October 2001, while Davey D was a DJ on KMEL, he conducted an interview with Congresswoman Barbara Lee, the only member of Congress to vote against going to war in Afghanistan. He was promptly fired from the station, which had recently been acquired by

Clear Channel. During his panel testimony, which elicited a standing ovation, Davey D explained how corporate stations tightly control political coverage and perspectives and limit airplay to corporate recording artists.

Reclaiming the Airwaves

On June 24, a federal appeals court overturned the FCC’s latest deregulation plan as a result of a suit brought by Prometheus Radio Project. The court determined that the FCC relied on “irrational assumptions and inconsistencies” in determining the new cross-ownership caps, and ordered them to make a new decision that takes seriously their duty to regulate media to preserve the public interest. Media organizations fighting for legislative reform such as Free Press claim that most deregulation laws were made behind closed doors, under the radar of the general public, but now that the public is aware of the dismal effects of corporate conglomeration on local coverage and entertainment quality, the key is grassroots organizing, education, and constant pressure on the FCC and Congress.

The primary duty of the FCC is supposedly to ensure that broadcasters who have been given monopolistic control of the public spectrum serve the needs and interests of their communities of license. One major criticism of the FCC is that they have shirked this duty through lax enforcement of public service requirements, as recent investigations by Media Alliance and the *SF Bay Guardian* have shown. Instead, the FCC has focused its resources on fighting unlicensed broadcasters, such as San Francisco Liberation Radio. Although, patrolling the airwaves for

“pirates” is also a duty, many of the stations they have shut down were fulfilling the very public services ignored by the corporate stations. The case of San Francisco Liberation Radio exemplifies how the FCC has contradicted the priorities of its own purpose, possibly in violation of the Constitution, in what many believe is blatant kowtowing to corporate interests.

On October 16, 2003, shortly after the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed a resolution supporting SFLR and asking the FCC and SF Police to leave the station alone, the microbroadcasters’ studio was raided by a team of 20 gun-wielding, battering ram-bearing federal agents, SF police, and FCC agents. SFLR was started by Richard Edmundson in the early 90s to broadcast news about the police harassment of Food Not Bombs activists. Over 60 members comprised the radio collective, which broadcast music and news daily, but following the FCC order and confiscation of all studio equipment, the station has disintegrated.

Although SFLR has been silenced on the airwaves, it has filed a civil suit against the FCC, denying the constitutionality of the raid by claiming that their due process had been violated. If successful, the suit will make it much more difficult and costly for the FCC to shut down microradio stations, but the SFLR collective is pursuing the suit for reasons beyond retribution. Along with other Bay Area microradio stations, such as Free Radio Berkeley, which have chosen to publicly challenge the FCC instead of backing down, SFLR is trying to bring the issue of corporate media control into the spotlight.

PUBLIC TESTIMONY FROM FCC HEARING: LPFM STRENGTHENS COMMUNITIES

“Good evening, my name is Zach Schiller and I am a Doctoral Candidate in Sociology at the University of California, Davis. My dissertation research is on Low Power FM and for the past two years I have been researching an LPFM in Oroville, CA called Radio Bird Street - KRBS 107.1 FM.

In recent years, political scientists and sociologists, as well as national editorialists, have lamented a decline in civic participation and engagement in our society. Theories explaining this trend center on the pervasive cynicism present throughout many sectors of society that stems from peoples’ voices not being heard, and their votes not counting.

In my two years researching KRBS, and in dozens of interviews with folks in LPFMs across the country, I have found an interesting exception to this trend. Through their participation in community-oriented radio stations, LPFM participants overwhelmingly report a feeling of connectivity — to each other and to wider social forces — that they had never experienced before. This in turn has resulted in an INCREASE in civic engagement.

The lesson here is that LPFM has actually RENEWED civic engagement and participation. Being connected to one’s community should not be limited to the opportunity for a new

LPFM license window to open, though this is something I would very strongly encourage the Commissioners to do.

But the larger lesson is that existing for-profit stations, with much more extensive reach, should be mandated to open a portion of THEIR daily or weekly program schedule to community-oriented, and more importantly, community-produced programming as part of their obligation to serve the public interest.

Whether showcasing local artistic talent or opening a space for debate on important local issues, creating community time on existing full power stations - and enforcing this public interest obligation - should be a central focus of this task force.

Airing canned public service announcements at 3 AM is one thing. But inspiring entire communities to become more involved, more connected, and more aware should be a primary goal of meeting public interest obligations.

So, yes, let’s open filing windows for more LPFMs. But let’s also open existing stations’ airwaves to local community voices on a regular basis, and let’s let THAT count as “serving the public interest,” which ALL broadcast licensees are required to do. Thank you.”

SHHH! WE'RE TRYING TO WIN AN ELECTION

Kerry ignores anti-war contingent

BY BEN TERALL

In his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention festivities in Boston, John Kerry reassured the corporate establishment that he would restore sanity to the maintenance of empire. He said, "We need to make America once again a beacon in the world. We need to be looked up to and not just feared." But Kerry's "solution" is to increase the armed forces by 40,000 troops and double the size of U.S. special forces in order to fight "terrorist campaigns."

On the convention floor, over 95 percent of delegates opposed the Iraq war. But the rule was zero tolerance for peace activists: police dragged Medea Benjamin (founding director of Global Exchange) out in handcuffs for unfurling a banner reading "End the Occupation of Iraq" and guards repeatedly confiscated anti-war signs and scarves from delegates upon entry. From the stage, speakers neatly evaded the messy truths, with no mention of torture, Abu Ghraib, or Iraqi casualties. And the deafening silence as to John Kerry's vocal membership in Vietnam Veterans Against the War sent a clear message, nicely spelled out by commentator Jonathan Schell: "Military courage in war is honored; civil courage in opposing a disastrous war is not honored."

In Boston, several days before the start of the DNC, the group Veterans for Peace (VFP) held its national conference, where it committed to pressing Kerry on his pro-war stance. Attendees were united in their opposition to Bush's rabid warmongering, but spanned a range of opinions on how much to oppose or support Kerry. National VFP president, David Cline, who received three purple hearts in Vietnam, explained, "we want to beat Bush and get our foot up Kerry's ass."

"It has been one continuous war, beginning with the first gulf war, on through the sanctions which killed hundreds of thousands of kids," Freddy Champagne of VFP said in an interview with *Fault Lines*. "Sanctions against civilians are a violation of the Geneva conventions, and thousands of Iraqi women, children, and men died as a result of US policies under Clinton."

Champagne and other VFP members were kept from hoisting an anti-war banner at the pro-Kerry veterans' caucus, and were actually asked to leave when one of them made a point of asking every speaker that left the podium why they supported Kerry's total embrace of Ariel Sharon and the brutal Israeli policies in Palestine.

Diane Rejman, from the Redwood City VFP chapter, said that although most veterans in Boston may have been for Kerry, "I haven't talked to anybody in any circle that

believes that if Kerry gets in, everything will be fine. If he gets in, that's a start." Rejman stressed the importance of a new organization called Iraq Veterans Against the War and pointed to a new VFP resolution titled, "To White House Occupant After Jan. 20, 2005," which demands:

"...that the next U.S. president announce, within ten days of taking office, that he will withdraw all US troops from Iraq within 60 days, and that if this ten-day period following the inauguration passes without a publicly announced decision to withdraw all troops from Iraq within 60 days, Veterans for Peace chapters around the nation will begin a campaign including, but not limited to, petitions calling for the impeachment of the president."

It further states, "The United States' presence in Iraq is causing, not preventing, destabilization and violence. Veterans for Peace is committed to ending this immoral, unjust war of empire regardless of who wins the 2004 US presidential election."

With both major candidates openly committed to perpetuating U.S. military aggression in Iraq and around the world, now is the time for people to join together and make a persuasive statement for peace. See you in New York.

For more information: www.veteransforpeace.org • www.mfso.org • www.ivaw.net

BUSH BUYS MORE BOMBS



By Mitchell Anderson

Since the Cold War, US nuclear policy has supposedly been a balancing act between maintaining a reliable cache of nuclear weapons for deterrence objectives and staying within the defined borders set by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

But, judging from the aggressive shift in U.S. nuclear policy over the last several years, it appears that the Bush Administration cares not this illusory balancing act. Even a perfunctory glance will show that the U.S. is driving, with its shoulder to the wheel, back to the Cold War days of nuclear production.

One need go no further than the \$6.6 billion budget request for nuclear weapons activities for fiscal year 2005. Such a massive sum of money clearly denotes an equally massive commitment. Indeed, it represents the second highest spending level in U.S. history (adjusted for inflation) and one and a half times the average spent for comparable nuclear weapons programs during the Cold War.

And where is this money going?

Well, a fair share is funneling right into the East Bay's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory—one two nuclear weapons design facilities that, along with New Mexico's Los Alamos National Laboratory, are managed by the University of California.

Already, engineers at the Lab are conducting research and design on two new types of nuclear weapons. In the early stage of development is a monstrous megaton bomb called the Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator, which would be used to destroy underground bunkers or deeply buried stashes of chemical and biological weapons. A second new weapon on the horizon is a low-yield nuclear weapon, or 'mini nuke', which engineers are doing conceptual research on. The misnamed low-yield nuclear weapon is really not that small: it's about one-third

the tonnage of each bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Perhaps the most frightening aspect of this weapon is that under the Bush Doctrine these weapons have been called "more useable", and could very well be used as substitutes for conventional weapons.

Clearly, these developments are reason for worry in countries where they might be used, but also they send a clear and dangerous message to the world: proliferate at all cost.

And even more, what a dangerously ironic message to be sending at a time when we are tonguelashing Iran over their alleged nuke program, and scouring the dry deserts of Iraq for traces of WMD's. But despite all the facts, officials at the DOE and the Livermore Lab insist that there are no plans to push forward with these programs, saying that they are in the "paper work" phase. If so, it is very expensive paper work, costing U.S. taxpayers close to \$500 million over the next five years.

In February, President Bush solicited \$27.6 million for research and design of RNEP for 2005, and an astounding \$485 million over the course of the next five years. Also, he requested \$9 million for conceptual research on the 'mini nuke'.

"What is happening here is that the Department of Energy understands the sensitivity regarding nuclear weapons research" Stephen Schwartz told me. Schwartz is publisher of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, a magazine dedicated to educating citizens about the continuing dangers posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Schwartz said, "There are very clear plans to revive nuclear weapons programs and to begin testing. The DOE is just trying to deflect criticism."

Despite DOE attempts at veiling the nuclear work being done at the Livermore and Los Alamos Labs, the proliferation risks that these new programs pose are apparent. "The DOE can try to mask these programs all they want. The proliferation risk is a matter of perception," said Schwartz. "And the perception is that we are developing new nuclear weapons."

And even worse, the work being done on the RNEP and the 'mini nuke' pales in comparison to the most recent proposal for the nation's nuclear weapons labs. Buried in a beastly 2500 page environmental study by the DOE, the new proposal calls for the facilities to begin preparing for a return to full-scale nuclear testing and to begin the development of up to 500 plutonium pits (nuclear bomb triggers) per year at a yet-to-be-determined location.

The Bush Nuclear Posture Review quite significantly changes the United States nuclear strategy. It is no longer defensive nor strategic, as it was during the Cold War. Under George W. Bush, we are looking at, for the first time in history, a first strike nuclear policy.

All in all, it is clear that the delicate balancing act of nuclear policy during the 90's has given a way to crackbrained inebriation. We mustn't let these developments unfold before our eyes. The Bush Administration is working tirelessly to raze the moral and ethical barriers against the use of nuclear weapons. We acquiesce at the world's peril.

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Arts and Action

THE ANARCHIST IN THE LIBRARY

How the Clash Between Freedom and Control is Hacking the Real World and Crashing the System By Siva Vaidhyanathan (Basic Books)

Although Diogenes used to express his disregard for societal conventions by masturbating in the market place, Siva Vaidhyanathan's characterization of the ancient Greek "universal citizen" as the archetypal proto-hacker is apt for less lascivious reasons. Vaidhyanathan's ideal internet is an evolution of Diogenes' vision of a borderless world propelled by free communication without regard for structural hierarchy. Peer-to-peer networks, he argues, are like the Enlightenment-era salons through which the seeds of the French Revolution were spread, but this time around The King is trying to put locks on the doors.

In *Anarchist in the Library*, a current cross-section of hot button debates is framed as a battle between total freedom and total control, because in the digital world, partial barriers are Swiss cheese. Following the movie industry's massive and "victorious" legal battle to suppress a DVD decryption code, hackers began wearing "I am a circumvention device" t-shirts emblazoned with the eight lines of illicit PERL script. This "shooting bullets at a cloud of gnats" example illustrates the heavy-handed mockery of corporate content control, but chapters dealing with human genome patenting and Congressional deification of intellectual property copyrights are much

less humorous. The corporate and governmental chilling of information distribution in the fields of science, medicine and academia has lulled the first wave of technoutopia fundamentalism by creating financial barriers to research and attempting to stifle any progress, such as Dmitry Sklyarov's infamous eBook decryption software, that threatens the commercialization of data. When scientists decide to study baldness instead of breast cancer because they can't afford to rent access to the proper genes, there's a problem.

Ironically, Vaidhyanathan embraces anarchy as a way to enhance pure democracy. By decentralizing control of the internet, material inequalities among global populations propagated by an information gap will wane as this artificially scarce resource becomes universally accessible. Lacking, however, is a solution to questions regarding the dissemination of kiddie porn, or, say, chemical weapons recipes in a world of FreeNet users. Here, Vaidhyanathan warns against broad, unrealistic regulation and duly notes the need for thorough deliberation. Despite this solemn conclusion, Vaidhyanathan would have done Diogenes, who was expelled from Athens for exposing the hypocrisy of the power elite, proud.

(Liam O'Donoghue)

WHY THE MC5 MOVIE KICKS THE ASS OF THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND DOCUMENTARY

By DOMINGO DE SANTA CLARA

So, I'm not saying that "The Weather Underground" movie sucks or anything. I love it, actually. It has introduced thousands of people to radical direct action in US history. But really, folks, who are you more interested in: a bunch of Ivy Leaguers who fancied themselves Third-World revolutionaries, or a gang of Joe Six-packs from Detroit who formed one of the hardest-rocking and most consciously revolutionary rock band of the late 1960's?

The answer is obvious. "The MC5: A True Testimonial" is the best 1960's documentary to come out in the last few years. A band composed of five high school buddies from Detroit that formed in 1964, they became the radical music group of 1968, that amazing year of worldwide revolutionary movements that shook capitalism to its core. When you listen to the MC5's recordings, their white-boy-ass-shaking-blooze-rock actually feels like being in a police riot. Okay, not exactly, but you know what I mean.

Produced by Chicago-based filmmaker, David C. Thomas, the film goes beyond the band's story, including rare images and recordings from the heyday of the 1960's Midwestern radical underground, a terrain that the MC5 was a vital part of. It was a fascinating and inspiring collision of explosive politics and free art, including John Sinclair and The Chicago Black Panthers, as well as avant-garde jazz groups like the Art Ensemble of Chicago.

Which brings me to the reason that it whoops the proverbial ass of the "Weather Underground" film.

The Weather documentary is an excellent film in many respects. However, it fails in one important sense. And that is in its ignorance of the radical climate of the times that it seeks to illustrate. The film presents the Weathers as acting in a virtual political vacuum, as if they were the only group making bombs or engaging in destructive/creative direct action. Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether or not such actions were/are justified, Green's film treats the Weather Underground as if they were a Vanguard Party above and ahead of the "Masses", who in actuality were, as Guevara said, the oxygen which the revolutionary breathes.

The reality is that in the early-to-mid 1970's, radical underground bombing groups in the United States were actually fairly common. Witness the map of North America published by Scanlon's magazine in the mid-1970's, depicting all of the bombings in the continental U.S.A. in the previous decade. The fact of the matter is that during this turbulent period, blowing up a military recruiting station, a bank, or a corporate office, was actually not that big a deal.

What the "Weather Underground" movie fails to illustrate is a political ecology of the period, a time when thousands of people all across the country were prepared to engage in radical political activity, or, if not, to house and help those who were.

It is this observation which could be the most important statement of the "Weather Underground" film, but upon which it barely touches. Is it so hard to imagine a time when hippie houses harbored armed guerillas, and health food stores provided refuge for on-the-lam-bombers? This was the good ol' U.S. of A. in the 1970's, and a group like the Weather Underground would have been nigh impossible without that support.

In contrast, this is the world which "The MC5: A True Testimonial" manages to convey. In interviews, the band members reflect on how they viewed themselves as the musical part of a much larger movement, how their band's office was in the same building as The Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and how they were the "official" rock band for the short-lived but historic White Panther Party, which attempted to bring the radical ideas of the Black Panthers to white working-class youth in the Midwest.

The film is filled with images and sounds of the dramatic events that affected the MC5's music: the Vietnam war, the Civil Rights Movement, the exploding free jazz scene, and most importantly, the Detroit riots of 1965, which galvanized the band's political sensibilities, as tanks cruised the streets and the MC5 found themselves being targeted by the authorities, along with any and all other "subversive" groups in the city.

As a film, and as a "testimonial" to a bygone era that we all would do well to fully remember, "The MC5: A True Testimonial," definitely rocks the house.

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CONFRONTING CAPITALISM

Dispatches from a Global Movement, edited by Eddie Yuen, Daniel Burton-Rose and George Katsiaficas (Soft Skull Press)

Confronting Capitalism takes stock of what has shifted in "the globalization movement" in the four years since the Seattle WTO protests in 1999. In his introduction, Eddie Yuen (one of the volume's editors) adeptly lays out not so much a linear history, but rather a constellation of concerns and tactics.

As contributions by George Katsiaficas and others in Part I, "Roots of the Movement," illustrate, "the recent upsurge against capitalist globalization has its origins not in Seattle but amongst the peoples of the Global South." For while many of the trade organization meetings took place in the north, the tempest struck the south - Asia, Africa and Latin America - hardest.

Several essays examine how those affected by the IMF structural adjustment programs (SAPs) - UNAM students in Mexico, Brazilian farmers, and Argentinian piqateros - actively fought against them. "By understanding these antecedents to Seattle," Yuen argues, "the movement in the overdeveloped world may be less seduced by illusions of its own centrality and recognize that the global majorities are not merely passive victims of 'free trade' and structural adjustment." These struggles from around the world and pre-

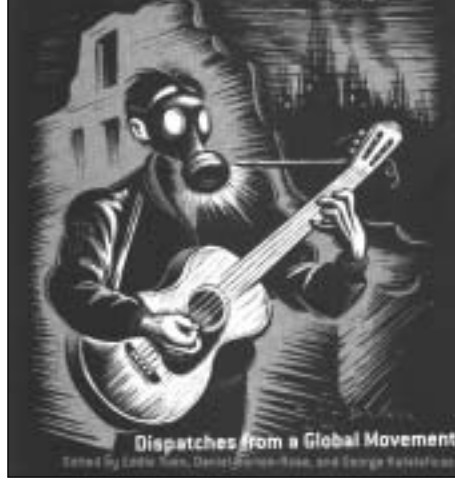
dominantly the south - Argentina, Peru, Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria, India, and China - are considered in Part IV "Facts on the Ground."

Part II, "Crashing the Summits," presents summit disruptions from the anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle in 1999 to those of Cancun in 2003. These discussions focus on nonviolent direct action, direct democracy and network organizing. Articles include the protests of the IMF and World Bank in Prague (2000); the G8 in Genoa (2001); the FTAA in Quebec City (2001) and in Quito (2002); and the World Economic Forum in Cancun (2001) and in New York City (2002).

In contrast to the previous sections, which focus on demonstrations, the final sections consider topics that shape the movement's form. "We Are Everyone? NGOs, Social Forums, and Problems of Representation" presents articles on four issues that confront activists: 1. sectarianism; 2. nongovernmental organizations; 3. racial diversity; and 4. right wing anti-globalization groups. "Articulating Resistance," contains discussions of how the movement should theorize itself.

The volume also includes articles by Noam Chomsky, Barbara Ehrenreich, Naomi

CONFRONTING CAPITALISM



Klein, Arundhati Roy, as well as a map and chronology of global resistance, artwork, photographs, and a glossary by Iain Boal. Needless to say, given the range of authors and of subjects astutely handled, this new volume forms part of the canon of literature on recent developments in the globalization movement.(Christina Gerhardt)

Christina Gerhardt is on the faculty in the Department of German at UC-Berkeley. She is currently working on two books: Critique of Ethical Violence: War, Violence and Terrorism, and Democracy in 20th-century Germany: Schmitt, Strauss, Adorno, Habermas and the EU.

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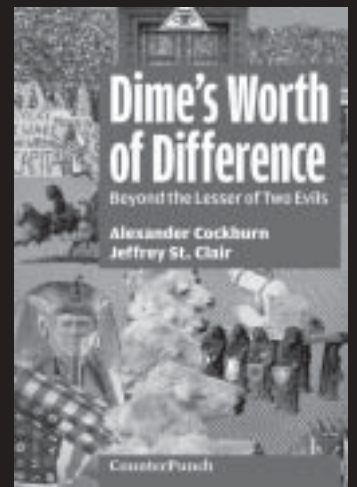


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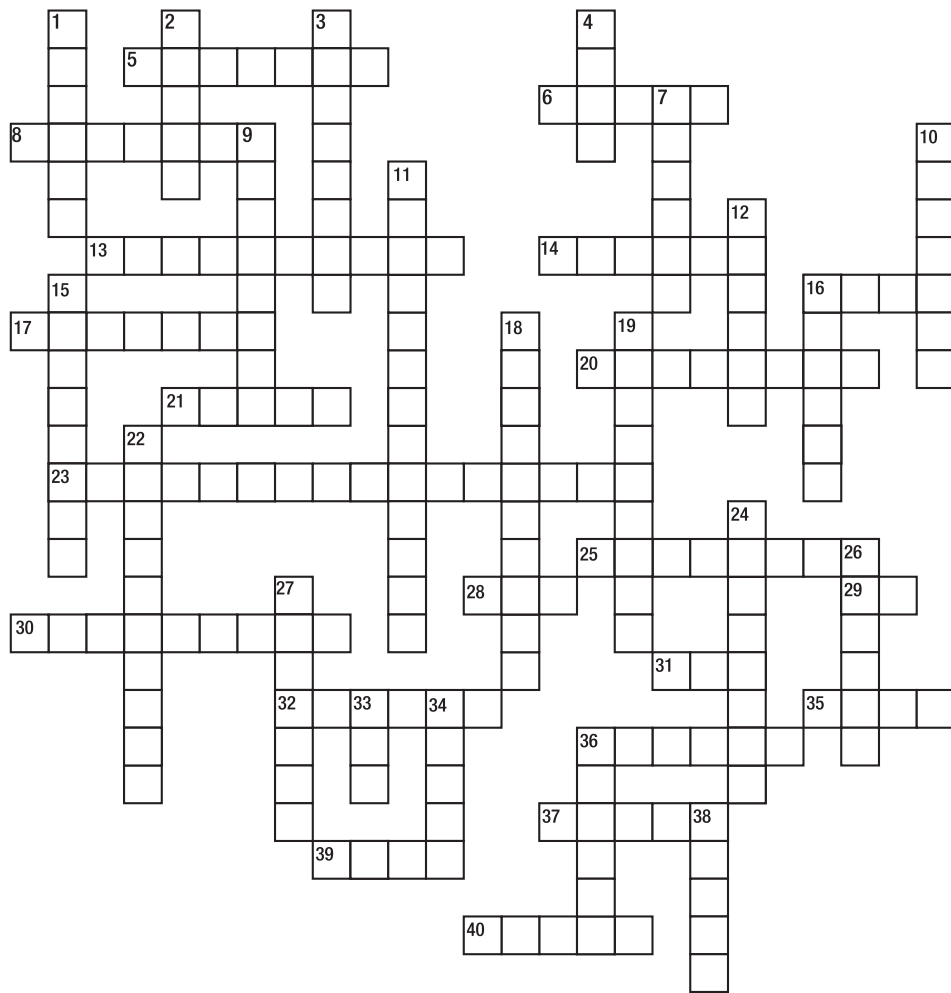


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CRYPTO

compiled by Iain Boal



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27. Sound start? (3,4)
33. Charged atom (3)
34. Algerian psychiatrist (5)
36. Bordering on the lunatic (6)
38. Noisy drinking in Holland (5)

ANSWERS TO LAST MONTHS CRYPTO:

Across: 4. art 7. free trade 9. Gabon 11. nr 12. couchpatato 13. naif 14. noble 15. test 16. WA 17. dear 19. religion 24. Man Ray 26. Miles 27. if 28. speed 29. bugle 31. ottoman 32. awol 33. arctic 34. lariats 36. Lesbos
Down: 1. UFO 2. Zero For Conduct 3. Dracula 4. ad 5. retort 6. enigma 8. encina 9. Gramci 10. blow 13. NVDA 16. Whole Earth 18. WR 20. Li 21. guido 22. IMF 23. Wallace 25. apollo 26. meter 27.ideal 30.ew 35. as

Calendar July's Events

Aug. 12-15: Actions Against HLS Animal Abuse

Join animal rights activists for a weekend of action to shut down Huntingdon Life Sciences. Events will include a financial district protest and bringing the message to the homes of some of the people responsible for the animal abuse inside HLS; www.ardac.org

Aug. 14, 10am: Land Art Workshop

Build "living" sculptures out of bio waste. Fort Funston, SF; jchaplick@parksconservancy.org

Aug. 14, 10am: Restore Rhododendron Island

Volunteers needed at Golden Gate Park site; www.onebrick.org/eventdetails.asp?EventID=688

Aug. 15: Harrison Street Fair

The World's First Bear Street Fair; In a city famous for it's unique characters, unique streets and unique streetfairs, The Harrison Street Party will be no exception. Harrison St between 9th & 10th, SF; www.harrison.org

Aug. 15: Mushroom Garden Workday

Learn how to grow and harvest mushrooms. Presidio Community Gardens; 415-863-7618

Aug. 15, 7:30pm: "This Is What Free Trade Looks Like"

Shot in Cancún, México on the occasion of the 5th WTO ministerial in September 2003, this film contextualizes the growing international resistance to free trade policies. All the music in the film is from the streets of Cancún; Long Haul, 3124 Shattuck, Berkeley.

Aug. 16 - 22: Black August 2004: A Week of Peace

Sponsored by the original Black August Organizing Committee. A week of events cul-

minating in Convergence Day, August 22, featuring speakers Dr. Oba T'Shaka, Shaka At-Thinnin, Chairman Fred Hampton Jr. and more, plus musical performance by Dead Prez and various Bay Area artists. EOYDC, 8200 International Blvd, Oakland. 510-658-7079. For a listing of complete events visit www.sfbayview.com.

Aug. 18, 7pm: Recall on the Table

SF Elections Commission discusses Dist. 10 recall; City Hall rm. 408; (415) 671-0789

Aug. 18, 7pm: "The Perfect Sister"

Bay Area author Marcia Millman discusses her interviews with sisters about the dynamics of their relationships. A Clean Well-Lighted Place for books, 601 Van Ness Ave., SF

Aug. 18, 7pm: "The Gender Frontier"

Author Mariette Pathy Allen appears at A Different Light bookstore, 489 Castro St, SF; (415) 431-0891

Aug. 18, 7:30pm: "An Evening with Arundhati Roy and Friends"

Boots Riley of The Coup, Amy Goodman and David Barsamian. \$21. 7:30pm. Berkeley Community Theater, 1930 Allston Way at Milvia, 2 blocks from Downtown Berkeley BART, Berkeley. 415-392-4400. cityboxoffice.com.

Aug. 19, 7pm: Media Monopoly

Educate yourself about what is happening on the media justice and press freedom front and learn about the growing movement of media activists working for meaningful change. Join Jeff Perlstein, executive director of Media Alliance and co-founder of Indymedia.org, and others to discuss grassroots strategies and local efforts used in the

FCC media ownership fight and in negotiations with Comcast; \$10/Film Arts Foundation and Media Alliance members; \$15/others. 145 Ninth St; (415) 552-8760

Aug. 19, 7pm: Who Owns Water?

Fortune magazine has predicted that "water is the oil of the 21 century," and now corporations are rushing to invest in the new get-rich economy of water. Visit the Ecology Center for a discussion with Juliette Beck and John Gibler of Public Citizen's Water for All Campaign, dedicated to protecting water as a common resource, stopping water privatization and bulk water sales, and defending access to clean and affordable water around the world. FREE. 7-9pm. Ecology Center, 2530 San Pablo Ave, near Dwight Way, Berkeley. 510-548-2220 x233.

Aug. 21, 10am: Reclaim the Parks

The homeless in Modesto are still being harassed and driven out of some of the only parks left where they can gather. A day of direct action, and community strength! Tower Park, 17th and G Sts.

Aug. 21-22: Criminal Injustice Film Festival

Every prisoner is a political prisoner. The festival celebrates the lives and champions the struggles of prisoners, ex-prisoners and their families and communities. Donations accepted at the door, no admittance fee. Saturday 11:30am-9:30pm. Sunday 11am-5:30pm. New College, 766 Valencia, SF. 415-314-0867.

Aug. 28, 10am: Raza Against War

Fresno marches against occupation and injustice. Wishon and Olive Sts, Fresno; (559) 908-6701

Aug. 28-29: United Farm Workers' 17th Constitutional Convention

Forty-two years ago Cesar Chavez was

joined by a group of farm workers and supporters in Fresno for the first constitutional convention of the National Farm Workers Association. Hundreds of farm workers will gather as UFW members set the future course for their union at Fresno Convention Center; www.ufw.org

Aug. 29: The World Says No to Bush

Worldwide Day of Action; protests in NYC during Repub Nat'l Conv. continue thru Sep. 2; coverage at nyc.indymedia.org

Aug. 31, 8pm: Last Journey for the Leatherback?

A documentary on the leatherback sea turtle, which could vanish in the next decade; 415-488-0370

Sep. 1, 2pm: Court Hearing for Arrested Protesters

Support those arrested during June 8th Reclaim the Commons actions; 850 Bryant St, Dept. 22; DA's office (415) 553-9530

Sep. 4-5, 10am: SF Zine Fest

Small press publishers and workshops. CELLspace, 2050 Bryant St, www.sfzinefest.com

Sep. 11, 11am: Power to the Peaceful concert

Global Day of Solidarity featuring Michael Franti and Spearhead, Golden Gate Park, SF; (415) 865-2170

Sept. 11: Legal Advice and Referral Clinic

If you have problems that may require an attorney, sign up 10:30am-12noon to receive a free private consultation before 2pm. Main Library, Lower Level, Latino/Hispanic Community Meeting Room, 100 Larkin St., SF. 415-989-1616.

THE ORIGINAL BLACK AUGUST 2004
"A Week Of Peace"

Featuring **DEAD PREZ**

GUEST SPEAKERS:
Dr. Oba T. Shaka
Dr. Theophilus Obiogo
Wolverine (Warrior Society)
Chairman Shaka A-Thinnin
Chairman Fred Hampton Jr.
Willie Hutch
Thomas Goodwin
The Native Youth Movement & more...

ARTISTS:
Dead Prez
"Dead Prez
Black Wall Street Beat, Mac Mail,
JT The Bigga Figgz & Ray Lovi
Zion I - War Club - Ghastly Tonal
King Wawa Sylvestri of Haiti
& The Goddess Kingdom Band
Too Life - The Ark and more...

THE MAIN EVENT
BLACK AUGUST 2004: CONVERGENCE DAY
SUNDAY AUG. 22 @ EOYDC
8200 International Blvd, Oakland, CA
Noon - 9pm / \$20 Donation / for info 510.558.7079
This event is sponsored by the Original Black August Organizing Committee (S.A.O.C.) Oakland Chapter National Headquarters

25th ANNIVERSARY

• MON. AUG. 16th @ Per Ankh Building - 999 13th St. (33rd & San Pablo)
Town Hall Meeting (9pm-11pm) \$10 Donation

• TUES. AUG. 17th @ Per Ankh Building - 999 13th St. (33rd & San Pablo)
Sealor Dinner (9pm-11pm) \$10 Donation

• WED. AUG. 18th @ Per Ankh Building - 999 13th St. (33rd & San Pablo)
Prisoner Of Conscience Committee (P.O.C.C.) Seminar (9pm-11pm)
\$10 Donation Chairman Fred Hampton Jr. (Keynote Speaker)

• THURS. AUG. 19th @ EOYDC - 8200 International Blvd.
"Gathering of Warriors" Martial Arts Seminar & Tribute (9pm-11pm)
\$10 to donate / \$20 to participate Prof. Brown, C.F.A., & Oba T Shaka

• FRI. AUG. 20th @ EOYDC - 8200 International Blvd.
Native People's Day sponsored by the Native Youth Movement (9pm-11pm)
\$10 Donation

• SAT. AUG. 21st @ EOYDC - 8200 International Blvd.
African & Indigenous Day of Healing Ceremony (Noon-7pm)
\$10 Donation

• SUN. AUG. 22nd @ EOYDC - 8200 International Blvd.
Main Event - Black August 2004: Convergence Day (Noon-9pm)
\$20 Donor Seat, Dead Prez, Speakers, Artists, Youth Activities, Food, & more.

"A Week Of Peace" Guest Speakers:
Dr. Oba T. Shaka, Dr. Theophilus Obiogo, Chairman Shaka A-Thinnin (S.A.O.C.), Chairman Fred Hampton Jr. (Warrior Society), Dr. Evans, Lero Eberon, Kamari, Ma Nakhla, Tashik Shari, Wolverine (Warrior Society), Afari Jahari, The Native Youth Movement, Aijana Umi, BFF Feet Marshall Richard Aoki, Tamara Chivorenga, King Wawa Sylvestri of Haiti, Prof. Brown & more.

"A Week Of Peace" Musical Performances By:
Dead Prez, Black Wall Street Beat, Mac Mail, JT The Bigga Figgz & Ray Lovi, Zion I, King Wawa Sylvestri of Haiti & The Goddess Kingdom Band, Jay Lyfe, GGM, The Ark, War Club, Ghastly Tonal, Souline, Nava, Taz, Mushi, F.A.B., Dogan Theory, Phil Black Gold, Scopes Dink, T-Kash, Jacqui's Descendants, G Styles Infinity, Pops Wala, Carlos Mena, Li Aijana, Li Karina, Marlon K, Bernice Drum & Dance Ensemble, Vince Smith & more.

• Meals Available Every Day of Events.
• Vending Spaces also Available.
• All Events will be held in Oakland, CA. www.black.aug.04.org
• No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

Sponsor Thanks: P.O.C.C., MLF, BPP, AAPP, P.A.P.O., N.A.P.I.C., NME, Urban Shield Security, The Center For People Institute, The San Francisco Bay View, Free Palestine Alliance, The P.O.W.E.R. Movement, EOYDC, The George Jackson University, Greg Bridges, The Warrior Society. The event is sponsored by the Original Black August Organizing Committee (S.A.O.C.) Oakland Chapter National Headquarters

Join more than **A MILLION IN THE STREETS!**
Protest at the Republican National Convention

The Republicans are coming to New York City trying to use the grief of September 11th to advance an agenda of horrors. More than a million people in the streets to say "NO" to Bush and all he represents!

NO WAY NO HOW NO MORE - JUST NO!

NO

to the lies • to the wars for empire • to the disregard for the environment • to Patriot Acts and the attacks on civil rights • to stolen elections • to the demonization and repression of Arabs, Muslims and South Asians • to racial profiling and police brutality • to the destruction of women's rights • to the tax cuts for the rich and punishment for the poor • to the religious right controlling our private lives • to everything Bush & Co. are spearheading!

Join more than a million in the streets saying YES!

Yes to another course. **Yes** to another future. **Yes** to another way of relating to the world's peoples and to each other.

More than a million in the streets saying **We want a different future!**
More than a million in the streets saying **Another world is possible!**

This is the time to make history
with the most massive outpouring of resistance ever.

Not in Our Name Aug 29 pre-march rally at Union Square NYC, 9AM
SF Bay: 510-601-8000 www.notinourname.net NYC: 212-760-1722

come to **NEW YORK CITY**
August 29 - September 2