

BCA Dispatch

Newsletter of the

Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy

December

2004

Rights will not be granted by benevolent authorities, or won by intermittent actions—a few large demonstrations after which one goes home, or pushing a lever in the personalized quadrennial extravaganzas that are depicted as “democratic politics.” As always in the past, the tasks require day-to-day engagement to create—in part re-create—the basis for a functioning democratic culture in which the public plays some role in determining policies, not only in the political arena from which it is largely excluded, but also in the crucial economic arena, from which it is excluded in principle.

—Noam Chomsky, Nov 2004

ALLIANCE NEWS (Continued on Page 8)

Chapter Calendar

* * **B-C Alliance & MoveOn** * *

Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy will meet on **Wednesday, December 15** from 7:00 to 9:15 p.m. at **Cambridge Friends Meeting house**, 5 Longfellow Park (9-minute walk from Harvard Square T station, west on Brattle St.)

— Agenda —

Two progressive organizations with some of the same aims, and different set-ups. Both speculated on “what to focus on” after the Bush electoral victory. Let’s compare notes and compare organizations.

Joining our discussion will be **Paul Bernstein, Betty North, and Lisa Holstrom**—MoveOn activists from “houseparties” in Boston, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Can liberal activists work with radical activists to unseat the Bushies and promote a better world?

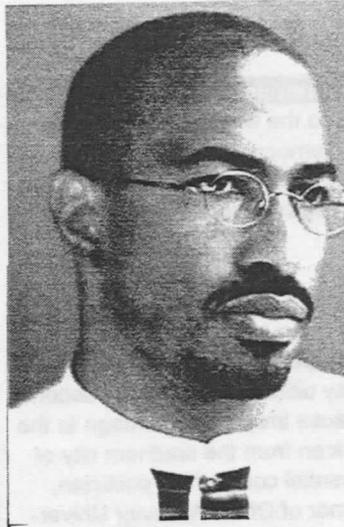
— Festive Refreshments —

POST-ELECTION DOUBLE ISSUE

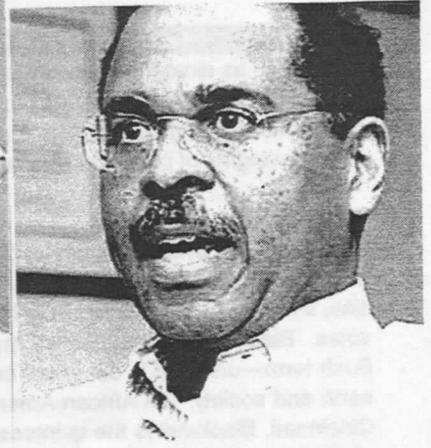
Vote Fraud, War—What We Must Do

“**K**erry was like a man in front of an ATM, trying to figure out which of his credit cards had a positive balance.” Thus, according to Alexander Cockburn, in *The Nation*, 22 November, was the 2004 election lost to the Bush forces. *The Black Commentator* has a different view—the grip on the Democratic machinery by the Democratic Leadership Council, Bill Clinton’s corporatist faction, a rival more of the Republicans than of progressive Democrats. Thus some progressives “held their noses” as they voted for Kerry while other voters, despairing of any new global policy or of a candidate of conviction, dropped out of line or stayed home in the face of Republican harassment.

But many progressives, including members of the Alliance for Democracy, focus more on fraud, especially electronic vote rigging, than on the more visible dirty (Continued on page 2>>)



Van Jones
Man of the people



Ken Blackwell
Man on the make

A Phoenix from the Ashes We Are Mobilized, Now We Go To Work

by Van Jones, *Yes! Magazine*, Winter 2005

The hopes of the world were dashed on November 2, 2004. An indescribably beautiful, vibrant, and diverse people’s movement had formed inside the United States, aiming to free the planet from the administration of George W. Bush. Ordinary people of every class and color had come together: donating, volunteering, phone banking, poll monitoring, dancing, praying—all to end the regime of Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Ashcroft.

On Tuesday morning, TV news showed urban voters, youth and students flooding the polling stations. By Tuesday afternoon, exit polls were predicting a Bush defeat in Florida and Ohio. Even the most jaded, cynical leftists were starting to get a little excited. A delicious upset victory seemed to be in the works.

Then came Wednesday morning and the awful truth: a majority of U.S. voters appeared to have cast their ballots for George W. Bush after all. Across the country, people of conscience were stunned: “Can you believe it?” ... “I’m just numb.” ... “I would leave the country. But where can I go that Bush wouldn’t bomb?” ... “I’m so sad that I can’t even cry about it.” What happens now? What will happen to all this energy, creativity, and momentum?

The good news is it’s entirely up to us. We can let Bush’s victory shatter all our new coalitions and efforts. Or we can use the pain to deepen our commitment to transforming America. Let’s stick with it. Because, without anyone consciously trying to do it, we have already created something without precedent in our nation’s history.

It was not the Kerry Campaign or the Democratic Party that almost unseated Bush. It was a wildly decentralized people’s movement. No one designed it. But somehow we have hatched what looks like a genuine, cross-class, multi-racial, pro-democracy movement, standing up to an increasingly authoritarian regime. And we did it all in about 18 months. We should be damned proud.

And now, like the pro-democracy (Continued on Page 3>>)

tricks such as directing black voters to the wrong polling places, placing too few voting machines in Democratic precincts, destroying Democrats' registration forms and provisional ballots, insisting on rare weights of paper for mail-in registration, and so on.

Obstruction by Blackwell

Meanwhile, Ohio Secretary of State **J. Kenneth Blackwell** (Republican) denies that there have been any serious irregularities, while using his discretion to hamper effective recounting of votes. Blackwell's intransigence may ultimately, through a second Bush term—unless it is cut short, cause irreparable damage to the earth and society. An African-American from the southern city of Cincinnati, Blackwell is the quintessential competitive politician, aiming since 2002 to become governor of Ohio. A Xavier University grad and former Dallas Cowboys professional football player, he has interacted closely with George W. Bush, equals Bush in confidence, and is more facile with language and data. Check his busy bio at www.kenblackwell.com and hear him on-line at www.ashbrook.org/events/lecture/2003/blackwell.html.

While losing candidates Cobb (Green Party) and Badnarik (Libertarian) raised \$250,000 to pay for a recount in the critical state of Ohio, the Alliance for Democracy raised \$108,000 on its web site (www.theAllianceForDemocracy.org) to investigate voting irregularities, especially incorrect machine counts and electronic totaling in regional centers. AfD's council cochair **Cliff Arnebeck**, a Columbus, Ohio, lawyer, has filed allegations of fraud requiring such investigation.

Nationwide, **Bev Harris** (BlackBoxVoting.org) is requesting electronic records in all 50 states to look for software manipulation. It is unlikely that a recount in favor of Kerry would, in the current US Supreme Court, result in Bush's unseating or a new election, but it would raise public protest to new heights.

John Bonifaz of the National Voting Rights Institute is providing legal assistance regarding the Ohio recount. Like AfD, NVRI advocates adoption of instant runoff voting (IRV) which, if instituted in all or even some states, would revolutionize political campaigning and choice, likely bringing millions more voters permanently into participatory democracy.

Congress member **John Conyers** of Michigan and three other Democrats on the Committee on the Judiciary are demanding of Kenneth Blackwell the answers to 34 questions regarding voting irregularities. Get your magnifier and read that fine print below.

It is baffling that voting irregularities and the likelihood of electronic vote rigging are virtually absent from mainstream US media, while they play up vote fraud in Ukraine. UK reporter **Ian Traynor** shows, below, how US organizations fomented opposition demonstrations in Kiev which ultimately forced new elections. BCA's **Jonathan Simon** reports below on an apparent media lockdown on reporting US vote fraud, leaving the public to connect the dots between Washington and Kiev.

Meanwhile Bush's illegitimate and alienating war rages in Iraq as well as continuing in Afghanistan. These adventures are well publicized in US media, albeit mostly from the establishment viewpoint, evidently blanking US "elimination" of medical and other witnesses to US atrocities (see Canadian reporter **Naomi Klein's** response to the US deputy ambassador David T Johnson in London, at <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/KLE412A.html>). In these pages we offer two offbeat commentaries: a comparison of

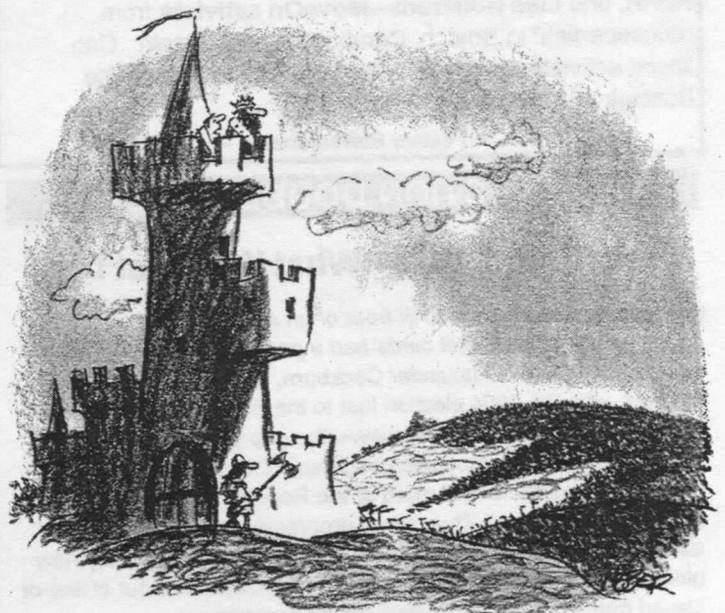
Fallujah with Guernica, the peaceful town in northern Spain bombed to smithereens by the Nazis and Fascists in 1937; and the rejection by newly democratic **South American** countries of Bush's war.

We wanted to print a set of articles on faith and attitude of Americans related to their voting behavior. We also wanted to print a set of articles updating readers on corporate globalization—the underside of military action in US elite's drive toward imperial domination. But even with the 8 extra pages of a double issue, these areas will have to wait for another issue.

Vision by Jones, Galtung, and Bello

What we do want to feature now is *what we must do*—with vision, direction, and optimism about the basic aims of the Alliance: *getting megacorporations and their military partners off our backs, by renewing democracy*. *Yes! Magazine* provides a great service by launching San Francisco's **Van Jones** into national awareness. At 36, Jones applies the consciousness and experience of a black man—having dealt systematically with cops, bureaucrats, and community—to generating a democratic movement which will weaken oppressive power and develop people power, starting here and now... **Johan Galtung**, a prolific Norwegian/European scholar and activist now at the University of Hawaii, recently published *On the Coming Decline and Fall of the US Empire*. His recent speech in Australia on the nature and power of boycotts is printed here as a major tool of nonviolent combat against the military-megacorporate complex... Finally, in an extract of a longer article, the Manila-Bangkok-Global political sociologist **Walden Bello** brings us a no-nonsense set of action principles to overcome corporate-military world domination.

—Dave Lewit, Editor



"Sire, we need more troops."

movements that we admire in South Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere, our fledgling movement must struggle. It will be years and decades before our dreams are realized. But if we choose to fight on, ultimately, we will prevail.

Fortunately, the initial steps to preserve and strengthen our movement are straightforward. First, we must comprehend the true magnitude of this defeat—and grieve. Second, we must acknowledge the breadth of our accomplishments—and celebrate. Lastly, we must identify promising areas of collaboration—and act.

It's bad ...

In trying to comprehend the Right's triumph, one is tempted to minimize it. But denial is a poor basis for good strategy. We must come to terms with the dire implications of the GOP's sweeping victory. And weep.

Bush appears to have won an outright majority of the popular vote and to have racked up more votes than any U.S. president, including Reagan.

The damage was not limited to the presidential election. The GOP enjoyed gains in the Senate and House and evicted Senator Tom Daschle, who was holding back a flood of right-wing judicial appointments. Meanwhile, freedom-to-marry advocates got hammered, with measures banning gay marriage passing even in Oregon. Arizona passed a truly disgusting anti-immigrant measure, despite Republican Senator John McCain and the Chamber of Commerce begging voters to reject it.

And don't think the red states are the only places affected. Californians passed a measure to allow police to collect DNA samples from arrestees, even those who haven't been convicted or charged. Californians also voted down a mild modification to our ultra-draconian "three strikes and you're out" law. (Former liberal Jerry Brown joined hands with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger to kill the much-needed reform.)

The bottom line: the GOP totally dominates the federal executive, legislative, and judicial branches. And its ideology carries weight, even in places where its elected officials do not.

What will Bush do now? That's obvious: Dubya is the living, breathing embodiment of an unholy union between the military-petroleum complex and the religious right. Now he will reward that power base.

1. Bush will work to intensify the borrow-and-spend tax policies, drill-and-burn energy policies, and lie-and-die military misadventure in Iraq. A draft is a real possibility.
2. The GOP will unleash a fearsome assault on civil liberties, especially targeting Arabs. And Team Bush will carry out its own 21st century Christian jihad, persecuting Muslims, feminists, and "sexual deviants" wherever it can. Bush will try to stack the courts, including the Supreme Court, with right-wingers.
3. He will try to reward big business by privatizing social security and ramming through "tort reform" to shield corporations from lawsuits.

Bottom line: the agenda of right-wing Christian fundamentalists, the Pentagon, corporate war profiteers, and the U.S. petroleum industry will reign supreme. And there will be no change in that balance of power until at least 2008 and (probably) much later.

Taking time to mourn & to honor our fears

Which means at least four more years of hell, aggravation, and

heartbreak. We will win some battles, surely. But we will lose some dear fights, too. So there is a temptation to succumb to despair and give up trying. And there is the opposite impulse—to skip the tears and dive into a righteous frenzy of activity.

Instead, let us take a moment to honor our fears and sorrow. The pain has something to teach us. Let us see what wisdom rises up, when the sobs have ebbed away. Later on, we will need those precious insights. But for now: Cry. Blubber. Scream. The universe will need our sweat and blood again soon enough. For right now it needs our tears.

Reasons for hope

But grieving is not our only work. We also have much to celebrate. Let us never forget that Bush's win was not the result of a single campaign season. Rather, the GOP is inheriting these gains as the result of 40 years of consistent right-wing organizing, institution-building, and propagandizing. The clarity of the right's policy agenda and the maturity of its political apparatus remains unparalleled and unrivaled on the left.

We faced an experienced adversary in GOP mastermind Karl Rove. In the post-9/11 environment, we could not rely on our familiar themes. We didn't even have a compelling candidate. And yet our newborn, little movement still came within striking distance of unseating a "war-time president." And we can already identify many exciting, positive trends.

We Rock: together at last

The campaign broke down ancient divides between anti-electoral "outsiders" and election-friendly "insiders." For years, many progressives (including me) refused to get involved in electoral politics. But this year, many rabble rousers walked precincts, patrolled polling stations and voted. In the process, they brought new color and energy to the staid world of get-out-the-vote. This motion toward more inside-outside collaboration was not universal, nor without challenges. But it was significant. A wellspring of talent is presently locked within 501(c)(3) and non-electoral groups. Tapping that energy will be key to a winning, progressive electoral strategy.

For too long, progressives have been divided into lots of fragmented, single-issue groups. We have lots of leaders and groups. But we don't know how to work together. Fortunately, that is beginning to change. Serious progressives don't ask whether we should now work across lines of race, class, gender or issue. They ask how to do it effectively. This is immensely promising. Combining into relevant, effective coalitions could instantly multiply progressive power a thousand-fold.

We Rock: cool technology is cheap & powerful

Communications technology has become reliable, ubiquitous, and cheap. We can network tens of thousands of people, record and share high-quality independent music, and create professional quality DVDs—all on a few desktop computers. MoveOn.org, Howard Dean's Democracy for America, and Indyvoter.org are just the tip of the iceberg. We are really just starting to leverage online communities and digital technologies. (Luckily, the Right is too top-down to use these liberating tools appropriately. So we have an advantage in this domain, for now.)

We Rock: we got youth, culture, energy

Thousands of youth got involved in electoral politics for the first

time. They made voting seem hip and slick. A miracle! The League of Independent Voters, Slam Bush, and the Hip Hop Political Convention were especially effective. Role models from the corporate hip-hop world also plunged into presidential politics. Everybody from Russell Simmons to P. Diddy to Eminem sounded off. Urban youth were told that their voices—and votes—really mattered. And the youth responded.

The media are trying to poo-poo the youth vote. But they aren't fooling anyone. The turnout was phenomenal. And the youth activists and organizations that emerged during the War of 2004 will be supplying leadership for decades to come.

We Rock: we got new heroes & she-roes

Plus, we have an abundance of new leaders and smart organizations. They include Code Pink. The Hip Hop Summit Action Network. Barack Obama. America Coming Together. Medea Benjamin and Jodie Evans. MoveOn.org. Progressive Majority. Michael Moore. Rock The Vote. Michael Franti. The list goes on and on. All this new and renewed activist energy is barely standing up on little fawn's legs. And yet we almost defeated the right-wing's fearsome dragon. Just imagine what we will be able to do in four years, or 10.

We Rock: coz god don't like ugly

November 2, 2004, actually could turn out to be a high-water mark for conservatives. For one thing, Bush will try to reward the social conservatives, especially on issues like gay marriage and abortion. That effort will strain the GOP, as Republican moderates and libertarians drag their feet or push back.

The neo-conservatives are already fighting among themselves over the mess in Iraq. Paleo-conservative Pat Buchanan hates them all. Colin Powell will surely bolt, leaving the moderates with even less influence or reason to play along. Senator John McCain is always a wild card. The lesbian and gay Log Cabin Republicans refused to back Bush in 2004. And eventually, there will be a succession fight to replace Bush, now a lame duck. Any of these factors could undermine Republican unity.

The GOP looks all-powerful now. But hubris catches up to everybody. We can help peel away groups and deepen splits. Then when the Bushies start reaping all the dirt they have sown, we'll be ready.

We Rock: collective action

Local activists can find each other and hatch schemes. We don't have to wait for 2008 to start promoting local ballot measures or candidates. Besides, as strategy gurus Joel Rogers and Dan Carroll keep stressing, we must build state-based, election-oriented networks before we can win nationally.

At the federal level, we can prepare now to fight Bush hard on abortion, privatizing social security, Patriot Act II, drilling for oil in Alaska, escalation in Iraq, and the federal judgeships (especially the Supreme Court).

Plus we can play offense. Bush has been totally MIA on energy independence and nuclear proliferation—two mainstream issues where progressives can lead. The new Apollo Project is smart to demand clean energy jobs for U.S. workers. And there are thousands of other great ideas gurgling out there.

Our pro-democracy movement will prevail

As we find and elevate those ideas, I hope we will not let Wednesday morning's pain wipe out Tuesday morning's pride. The bright

promise we all felt at dawn on election day deserves to be cherished, nurtured, protected, honored, and cultivated. It is the candle that will someday be a great flame.

And in the light of that flame, we will lift the sword of war from over the heads of our sisters and brothers around the world. We will set this country on the path of partnership with, not domination over, the world community. We will retrieve the Bill of Rights from John Ashcroft's garbage bin. We will use our genius to heal the Earth, not pave it. We will deepen our nation's commitment to human rights for people of all races, religions, genders, and birthplaces.

These are our sacred duties. And we will meet them. When we do, the United States will once again be the leader of the whole world. But this time, not in war. Not in pollution. Not in incarceration rates.

Instead, we will lead the world in human rights and in social justice, in world-saving technologies and sustainable job creation. We will lead by showing the world how a strong, multi-racial nation can unite itself to solve its toughest problems. That's where our new movement has the potential to take us all.

Our moment of truth did not come on November 2. Our moment of truth is today, now, in the aftermath, and in the choices we make going forward. And I know that we will choose wisely.

I know because I saw those long, snaking lines of disenfranchised people, standing for hours in Ohio rainstorms, waiting to vote. I saw those students sleeping on the ground. I saw those Haitian grandmothers in Florida, black hands gripping steel walkers, asserting their dignity and humanity before the whole world. And in seeing that, I looked into the very heart and soul of this amazing movement we are building.

You saw it, too. So did millions of others. And that's why I am confident that the hopes of the world are absolutely safe with us. Still.

Van Jones, B.A. in journalism, U of Tennessee at Martin, and J.D., Yale Law School, is the executive director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, San Francisco (EllaBakerCenter.org). He is also a board member of the California Apollo Project (putting workers' pension money to work for jobs and energy independence), Bioneers, and the Rainforest Action Network.

FLASH

Ten Senators Call for Ohio Investigation

Washington, D.C.—8 December 2004

Senator Barbara Boxer announced on the Senate floor this morning that she and a coalition of nine other senators have found reasonable suspicion, the legal grounds sufficient to call for investigation of the 2004 Presidential Election.

Senator Boxer announced, "After reviewing the mountains of evidence provided by computer scientists, statisticians, poll watchers, and a compendium of over 100,000 complaints by ordinary citizens, I and other concerned senators find it imperative, as guardians of a democracy admired around the world, to lead by example and prove that our systems are above reproach. In the spirit of this great land, let it be known that on this day a full investigation will begin forthwith, and as the letter of the law of our United States instructs us, the confirmation of the pending Presidency must await the outcome of this investigation."

Geeks, Lawyers As Poll Watchers "Confessions of an Unwitting Accessory"

by Ian Solomon, *Hartford Courant*, 11 Nov 2004

Could we have been so naive? Thousands of the country's most credentialed lawyers flocked to Florida to guarantee a fair election. Did we inadvertently miss an election debacle even greater than that of 2000 and negligently allow our client to concede?

I am a Kerry supporter and a Bush critic. I went to Florida because my mother, a Florida resident, asked me to help protect the right of all citizens to vote and to ensure that all votes counted. I walked the polling lines for early voting in Daytona Beach, distributing sample ballots and helping citizens understand their rights. I tried to ensure that poll workers obeyed the laws about provisional ballots and that ballots were correctly fed through the optical scanner machines. And by my presence, along with other Democratic lawyers, I lent an air of legitimacy to the voting process, which, by and large, seemed fair enough.

But one thing really troubled me: Who was checking to make sure the data contained in the digital memory cards actually matched the voters' intentions marked on the paper ballots? Could we take the accurate counting of computer votes for granted, since the CEO of the leading voting machine manufacturer promised to "deliver" Ohio's electoral votes for Bush?

At first, the question didn't matter, because I, like most others, thought Kerry would win. In fact, I was shocked when the official election results started coming in so different from historically reliable exit poll results and my own gut sense of the results in Florida.

But then the stories of voting irregularities poured in. There was the Ohio county where a memory card showed several thousand more votes for Bush than there were total votes cast. There was the machine in North Carolina that "lost" several thousand votes. There were the reports of several counties in Florida, all using optical scanner machines, where democratic precincts voted overwhelmingly for Bush. There was the realization that exit poll errors were correlated with the use of electronic voting machines. There was the sense that the data from the precincts where I had worked understated what felt like a Kerry landslide. And there were the increasing allegations of machine vulnerability to hacking made public by Blackboxvoting.org and others.

And that's when I realized that I might have been an unwitting accessory to fraud. Like every other Democrat, I had prepared to avoid the problems of 2000 only to be blindsided by new problems in 2004. We had been so worried about the safekeeping of paper ballots that we neglected the security of digital memory devices. We had been so worried about voting law that we neglected voting technology. Most important, we had been so worried about voter suppression in poor and minority areas that we didn't pay attention to voter inflation in Republican areas.

We should have had trained observers—computer scientists, not lawyers!—verifying the integrity of polling data from machine upload through the tabulation of countywide and statewide results. Somehow we neglected the most vulnerable step in the vote-

counting process, leaving a gaping hole for error and fraud, casting in doubt the validity of election results in many states.

So what is to be done now? My client conceded the race on the belief that the results were clear. The results are anything but clear, however, and American democratic legitimacy requires an honest reappraisal of the events in Florida and around the country. Three members of Congress have already requested that the General Accounting Office conduct an investigation into the troubling reports of problems with voting machines. The mainstream press must immediately realize that this issue rises above partisanship and demands attention. The time is now for voters from all states that used electronic voting machines to request an audit of results and a manual recount of ballots if possible.

We have a duty as Americans to fix these problems for the future and make sure there is a transparent and trustworthy voting system. What's at stake is not merely the outcome of a close election; what's at stake is our faith in democratic government and the rule of law.

Ian Solomon is Associate Dean of Yale Law School.

US Engineers Ukraine Voting GOP, Dems, USAID, NGOs, Soros Involved

by Ian Traynor, *The Guardian (UK)*, 26 Nov 2004

With their websites and stickers, their pranks and slogans aimed at banishing widespread fear of a corrupt regime, the democracy guerrillas of the Ukrainian *Pora* youth movement have already notched up a famous victory—whatever the outcome of the dangerous stand-off in Kiev. Ukraine, traditionally passive in its politics, has been mobilised by the young democracy activists and will never be the same again.

But while the gains of the orange-bedecked "chestnut revolution" are Ukraine's, the campaign is an American creation, a sophisticated and brilliantly conceived exercise in western branding and mass marketing that, in four countries in four years, has been used to try to salvage rigged elections and topple unsavoury regimes.

Funded and organised by the US government, deploying US consultancies, pollsters, diplomats, the two big American parties and US non-government organisations, the campaign was first used in Europe in Belgrade in 2000 to beat Slobodan Milosevic at the ballot box. Richard Miles, the US ambassador in Belgrade, played a key role. And by last year, as US ambassador in Tbilisi, he repeated the trick in Georgia, coaching Mikhail Saakashvili in how to bring down Eduard Shevardnadze.

Ten months after the success in Belgrade, the US ambassador in Minsk, Michael Kozak, a veteran of similar operations in central America, notably in Nicaragua, organised a near identical campaign to try to defeat the Belarus hardman, Alexander Lukashenko. That one failed. "There will be no Kostunica in Belarus," the Belarus president declared, referring to the victory in Belgrade. But experience gained in Serbia, Georgia and Belarus has been invaluable in plotting to beat the regime of Leonid Kuchma in Kiev.

The operation—engineering democracy through the ballot

box and civil disobedience—is now so slick that the methods have matured into a template for winning other people's elections. In the centre of Belgrade, there is a dingy office staffed by computer-literate youngsters who call themselves the Centre for Non-violent Resistance. If you want to know how to beat a regime that controls the mass media, the judges, the courts, the security apparatus and the voting stations, the young Belgrade activists are for hire.

They emerged from the anti-Milosevic student movement, *Otpor*, meaning resistance. The catchy, single-word branding is important. In Georgia last year, the parallel student movement was Khmara. In Belarus, it was Zubr. In Ukraine, it is *Pora*, meaning high time. *Otpor* also had a potent, simple slogan that appeared everywhere in Serbia in 2000 - the two words "gotov je", meaning "he's finished", a reference to Milosevic. A logo of a black-and-white clenched fist completed the masterful marketing. In Ukraine, the equivalent is a ticking clock, also signalling that the Kuchma regime's days are numbered. Stickers, spray paint and websites are the young activists' weapons. Irony and street comedy mocking the regime have been hugely successful in puncturing public fear and enraging the powerful.

Last year, before becoming president in Georgia, the US-educated Mr Saakashvili travelled from Tbilisi to Belgrade to be coached in the techniques of mass defiance. In Belarus, the US embassy organised the dispatch of young opposition leaders to the Baltic, where they met up with Serbs travelling from Belgrade. In Serbia's case, given the hostile environment in Belgrade, the Americans organised the overthrow from neighbouring Hungary—Budapest and Szeged. In recent weeks, several Serbs travelled to the Ukraine. Indeed, one of the leaders from Belgrade, Aleksandar Maric, was turned away at the border.

The Democratic party's National Democratic Institute, the Republican party's International Republican Institute, the US state department and USAid are the main agencies involved in these grassroots campaigns as well as the Freedom House NGO and billionaire George Soros's open society institute. US pollsters and professional consultants are hired to organise focus groups and use psephological data to plot strategy.

The usually fractious oppositions have to be united behind a single candidate if there is to be any chance of unseating the regime. That leader is selected on pragmatic and objective grounds, even if he or she is anti-American.

In Serbia, US pollsters Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates discovered that the assassinated pro-western opposition leader, Zoran Djindjic, was reviled at home and had no chance of beating Milosevic fairly in an election. He was persuaded to take a back seat to the anti-western Vojislav Kostunica, who is now Serbian prime minister.

In Belarus, US officials ordered opposition parties to unite behind the dour, elderly trade unionist, Vladimir Goncharik, because he appealed to much of the Lukashenko constituency.

Officially, the US government spent \$41m (£21.7m) organising and funding the year-long operation to get rid of Milosevic from October 1999. In Ukraine, the figure is said to be around \$14m.

Apart from the student movement and the united opposition, the other key element in the democracy template is what is known as the "parallel vote tabulation", a counter to the election-rigging tricks beloved of disreputable regimes. There are professional outside election monitors from bodies such as the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, but the Ukrainian poll, like

its predecessors, also featured thousands of local election monitors trained and paid by western groups.

Freedom House and the Democratic party's NDI helped fund and organise the "largest civil regional election monitoring effort" in Ukraine, involving more than 1,000 trained observers. They also organised exit polls. On Sunday night those polls gave Mr Yushchenko an 11-point lead and set the agenda for much of what has followed.

The exit polls are seen as critical because they seize the initiative in the propaganda battle with the regime, invariably appearing first, receiving wide media coverage and putting the onus on the authorities to respond.

The final stage in the US template concerns how to react when the incumbent tries to steal a lost election. In Belarus, President Lukashenko won, so the response was minimal. In Belgrade, Tbilisi, and now Kiev, where the authorities initially tried to cling to power, the advice was to stay cool but determined and to organise mass displays of civil disobedience, which must remain peaceful but risk provoking the regime into violent suppression.

If the events in Kiev vindicate the US in its strategies for helping other people win elections and take power from anti-democratic regimes, it is certain to try to repeat the exercise elsewhere in the post-Soviet world. The places to watch are Moldova and the authoritarian countries of central Asia. #

Marriage According to Scripture Want To Put It Into Our Constitution?

* Marriage in the United States of America shall consist of a union between one man and one or more women. (*Genesis 29:17-28; II Samuel 3:2-5.*)

* Marriage shall not impede a man's right to take concubines in addition to his wife or wives. (*II Samuel 5:13; I Kings 11:3; II Chronicles 11:21*)

* A marriage shall be considered valid only if the wife is a virgin. If the wife is not a virgin, she shall be executed. (*Deuteronomy 22:13-21*)

* Marriage of a believer and a non-believer shall be forbidden. (*Genesis 24:3; Numbers 25:1-9; Ezra 9:12; Nehemiah 10:30, 2 Corinthians 6:14*)

* Since marriage is for life, neither the U.S. Constitution nor any state law shall permit divorce. (*Deuteronomy 22:19; Mark 10:9-12*)

* If a married man dies without children, his brother must marry the widow. If the brother refuses to marry the widow, or deliberately does not give her children, he shall pay a fine of one shoe and be otherwise punished in a manner to be determined by law. (*Genesis 38:6-10; Deuteronomy 25:5-10*)

* In lieu of marriage (if there are no acceptable men to be found), a woman shall get her father drunk and have sex with him. (*Genesis 19:31-36*)

Conyers to Blackwell: Explain Ohio Irregularities

One Hundred Eighth Congress Congress of the United States
House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary
2138 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington DC 20515-6216 (202) 225-3951

December 2, 2004

The Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell
Ohio Secretary of State
180 East Broad Street, 16th Floor
Columbus, OH 43215

Dear Secretary Blackwell:

We write to request your assistance with our ongoing investigation of election irregularities in the 2004 Presidential election. As you may be aware, the Government Accountability Office has agreed to undertake a systematic and comprehensive review of election irregularities throughout the nation. As a separate matter, we have requested that the House Judiciary Committee Democratic staff undertake a thorough review of each and every specific allegation of election irregularities received by our offices.

Collectively, we are concerned that these complaints constitute a troubled portrait of a one-two punch that may well have altered and suppressed votes, particularly minority and Democratic votes. First, it appears there were substantial irregularities in vote tallies. It is unclear whether these apparent errors were the result of machine malfunctions or fraud.

Second, it appears that a series of actions of government and non-government officials may have worked to frustrate minority voters. Consistent and widespread reports indicate a lack of voting machines in urban, minority and Democratic areas, and a surplus of such machines in Republican, white and rural areas. As a result, minority voters were discouraged from voting by lines that were in excess of eight hours long. Many of these voters were also apparently victims of a campaign of deception, where flyers and calls would direct them to the wrong polling place. Once at that polling place, after waiting for hours in line, many of these voters were provided provisional ballots after learning they were at the wrong location. These ballots were not counted in many jurisdictions because of a directive issued by some election officials, such as yourself.

We are sure you agree with us that regardless of the outcome of the election, it is imperative that we examine any and all factors that may have led to voting irregularities and any failure of votes to be properly counted. Toward that end, we ask you to respond to the following allegations:

I. Counting Irregularities

A. Warren County Lockdown - On election night, Warren County locked down its administration building and barred reporters from observing the counting. When that decision was questioned, County officials claimed they were responding to a terrorist threat that ranked a "10" on a scale of 1 to 10, and that this information was received from an FBI agent. Despite repeated requests, County officials have declined to name that agent, however, and the FBI has stated that they had no information about a terror threat in Warren County. Your office has stated that it does not know of any other county that took these drastic measures.

In addition to these contradictions, Warren County officials have given conflicting accounts of when the decision was made to lock down the building. While the County Commissioner has stated that the decision to lockdown the building was made during an October 28 closed-door meeting, emailed memos - dated October 25 and 26 - indicate that preparations for the lockdown were already underway.

This lockdown must be viewed in the context of the aberrational results in Warren County. In the 2000 Presidential election, the Democratic Presidential candidate, Al Gore, stopped running television commercials and pulled resources out of Ohio weeks before the election. He won 28% of the vote in Warren County. In 2004, the Democratic Presidential candidate, John Kerry, fiercely contested Ohio and independent groups put considerable resources into getting out the Democratic vote. Moreover,

unlike in 2000, independent candidate Ralph Nader was not on the Ohio ballot in 2004. Yet, the tallies reflect John Kerry receiving exactly the same percentage in Warren County as Gore received, 28%.

We hope you agree that transparent election procedures are vital to public confidence in electoral results. Moreover, such aberrant procedures only create suspicion and doubt that the counting of votes was manipulated. As part of your decision to certify the election, we hope you have investigated these concerns and found them without merit. To assist us in reaching a similar conclusion, we ask the following:

1. Have you, in fact, conducted an investigation of the lockdown? What procedures have you or would you recommend be put into place to avoid a recurrence of this situation?
2. Have you ascertained whether County officials were advised of terrorist activity by an FBI agent and, if so, the identity of that agent?
3. If County officials were not advised of terrorist activity by an FBI agent, have you inquired as to why they misrepresented this fact? If the lockdown was not as a response to a terrorist threat, why did it take place? Did any manipulation of vote tallies occur?

B. Perry County Election Counting Discrepancies - The House Judiciary Committee Democratic staff has received information indicating discrepancies in vote tabulations in Perry County. For example, the sign-in book for the Reading S precinct indicates that approximately 360 voters cast ballots in that precinct. In the same precinct, the sign-in book indicates that there were 33 absentee votes cast. In sum, this would appear to mean that fewer than 400 total votes were cast in that precinct. Yet, the precinct's official tallies indicate that 489 votes were cast. In addition, some voters' names have two ballot stub numbers listed next to their entries creating the appearance that voters were allowed to cast more than one ballot.

In another precinct, W Lexington G AB, 350 voters are registered according to the County's initial tallies. Yet, 434 voters cast ballots. As the tallies indicate, this would be an impossible 124% voter turnout. The breakdown on election night was initially reported to be 174 votes for Bush, and 246 votes for Kerry. We are advised that the Perry County Board of Elections has since issued a correction claiming that, due to a computer error, some votes were counted twice. We are advised that the new tallies state that only 224 people voted, and the tally is 90 votes for Bush and 127 votes for Kerry. This would make it appear that virtually every ballot was counted twice, which seems improbable.

In Monroe Township, Precinct AAV, we are advised that 266 voters signed in to vote on election day, yet the Perry County Board of Elections is reporting that 393 votes were cast in that precinct, a difference of 133 votes.

4. Why does it appear that there are more votes than voters in the Reading S precinct of Perry County?
5. What is the explanation for the fluctuating results in the W Lexington AB precinct?
6. Why does it appear that there are more votes than voters in the Monroe Township precinct AAV?

C. Perry County Registration Peculiarities

In Perry County, there appears to be an extraordinarily high level voter registration, 91%; yet a substantial number of these voters have never voted and have no signature on file. Of the voters that are registered in Perry County an extraordinarily large number of voters are listed as having registered in 1977, a year in which there were no federal elections. Of these an exceptional number are listed as having registered on the exact same day: in total, 3,100 voters apparently registered in Perry County on November 8, 1977.

7. Please explain why there is such a high percentage of voters in this County who have never voted and do not have signatures on file. Also, please help us understand why such a high number of voters in this County are shown as having registered on the same day in 1977.

D. Unusual Results in Butler County

In Butler County, a Democratic Candidate for State Supreme Court, C. Eilen Connally received 59,532 votes. In contrast, the Kerry-Edwards ticket received only 54,185 votes, 5,000 less than the State Supreme Court candidate. Additionally, the victorious Republican candidate for State Supreme Court received approximately 40,000 less votes than the

Bush-Cheney ticket. Further, Connally received 10,000 or more votes in excess of Kerry's total number of votes in five counties, and 5,000 more votes in excess of Kerry's total in ten others.

It must also be noted that Republican judicial candidates were reportedly "awash in cash," with more than \$1.4 million and were also supported by independent expenditures by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce.

While you may have found an explanation for these bizarre results, it appears to be wildly implausible that 5,000 voters waited in line to cast a vote for an underfunded Democratic Supreme Court candidate and then declined to cast a vote for the most well-funded Democratic Presidential campaign in history. We would appreciate an answer to the following:

8. Have you examined how an underfunded Democratic State Supreme Court candidate could receive so many more votes in Butler County than the Kerry-Edwards ticket? If so, could you provide us with the results of your examination? Is there any precedent in Ohio for a downballot candidate receiving on a percentage or absolute basis so many more votes than the Presidential candidate of the same party in this or any other presidential election? Please let us know if any other County in Ohio registered such a disparity on a percentage or absolute basis.

E. Unusual Results in Cuyahoga County

Precincts in Cleveland have reported an incredibly high number of votes for third party candidates who have historically received only a handful of votes from these urban areas. For example, precinct 4F in the 4th Ward cast 290 votes for Kerry, 21 for Bush, and 215 for Constitution Party candidate Michael Peroutka. In 2000, the same precinct cast less than 8 votes for all third party candidates combined.

This pattern is found in at least 10 precincts throughout Cleveland in 2004, awarding hundreds of unlikely votes to the third party candidate. Notably, these precincts share more than a strong Democratic history: the use of a punch card ballot. In light of these highly unlikely results, we would like to know the following:

9. Have you investigated whether the punch card system used in Cuyahoga County led to voters accidentally voting for third party candidates instead of the Democratic candidate they intended? If so, what were the results? Has a third party candidate ever received such a high percentage of votes in these precincts.

10. Have you found similar problems in other counties? Have you found similar problems with other voting methods?

F. Spoiled Ballots

According to post election canvassing, many ballots were cast without any valid selection for president. For example, two precincts in Montgomery County had an undervote rate of over 25% each - accounting for nearly 6,000 voters who stood in line to vote, but purportedly declined to vote for president. This is in stark contrast to the 2% of undervoting county-wide. Disturbingly, predominantly Democratic precincts had 75% more undervotes than those that were predominantly Republican. It is inconceivable to us that such a large number of people supposedly did not have a preference for president in such a controversial and highly contested election.

Considering that an estimated 93,000 ballots were spoiled across Ohio, we would like to know the following:

11. How many of those spoiled ballots were of the punch card or optical scan format and could therefore be examined in a recount?

12. Of those votes that have a paper trail, how many votes for president were undercounted, or showed no preference for president? How many were overcounted, or selected more than one candidate for president? How many other ballots had an indeterminate preference?

13. Of the total 93,000 spoiled ballots, how many were from predominantly Democratic precincts? How many were from minority-majority precincts?

14. Are you taking steps to ensure that there will be a paper trail for all votes before the 2006 elections so that spoiled ballots can be individually re-examined?

G. Franklin County Overvote - On election day, a computerized voting machine in ward 1B in the Gahanna precinct of Franklin County recorded a total of 4,258 votes for President Bush and 260 votes for Democratic challenger, John Kerry. However, there are only 800 registered voters in

that Gahanna precinct, and only 638 people cast votes at the New Life Church polling site. It was since discovered that a computer glitch resulted in the recording of 3,893 extra votes for President George W. Bush.

Fortunately, this glitch was caught and the numbers were adjusted to show President Bush's true vote count at 365 votes to Senator Kerry's 260 votes. However, many questions remain as to whether this kind of malfunction happened in other areas of Ohio. To help us clarify this issue, we request that you answer the following:

15. How was it discovered that this computer glitch occurred?

16. What procedures were employed to alert other counties upon the discovery of the malfunction?

17. Can you be absolutely certain that this particular malfunction did not occur in other counties in Ohio during the 2004 Presidential election? How?

18. What is being done to ensure that this type of malfunction does not happen again in the future?

H. Miami County Vote Discrepancy - In Miami County, with 100% of the precincts reporting on Wednesday, November 3, 2004, President Bush had received 20,807 votes, or 65.80% of the vote, and Senator Kerry had received 10,724 votes, or 33.92% of the vote. Miami reported 31,620 voters. Inexplicably, nearly 19,000 new ballots were added after all precincts reported, boosting President Bush's vote count to 33,039, or 65.77%, while Senator Kerry's vote percentage stayed exactly the same to three one-hundredths of a percentage point at 33.92%.

Roger Kearney of Rhombus Technologies, Ltd., the reporting company responsible for vote results of Miami County, has stated that the problem was not with his reporting and that the additional 19,000 votes came before 100% of the precincts were in. However, this does not explain how the vote count could change for President Bush, but not for Senator Kerry, after 19,000 new votes were added to the roster. To help us better understand this anomaly, we request that you answer the following:

19. What is your explanation as to the statistical anomaly that showed virtually identical ratios after the final 20-40% of the vote came in? In your judgment, how could the vote count in this County have changed for President Bush, but not for Senator Kerry, after 19,000 new votes were added to the roster?

20. Are you aware of any pending investigations into this matter?

I. Mahoning County Machine Problems - In Mahoning County, numerous voters reported that when they attempted to vote for John Kerry, the vote showed up as a vote for George Bush. This was reported by numerous voters and continued despite numerous attempts to correct their vote.

21. Please let us know if you have conducted any investigation or inquiry of machine voting problems in the state, including the above described problems in Mahoning County, and the results of this investigation or inquiry.

II. Procedural Irregularities

A. Machine Shortages

Throughout predominately Democratic areas in Ohio on election day, there were reports of long lines caused by inadequate numbers of voting machines. Evidence introduced in public hearings indicates that 68 machines in Franklin County were never deployed for voters, despite long lines for voters at that county, with some voters waiting from two to seven hours to cast their vote. The Franklin County Board of Elections reported that 68 voting machines were never placed on election day, and Franklin County BOE Director Matt Damschroder admitted on November 19, 2004 that 77 machines malfunctioned on Election Day. It has come to our attention that a county purchasing official who was on the line with Ward Moving and Storage Company, documented only 2,741 voting machines delivered through the November 2 election day. However, Franklin County's records reveal that they had 2,866 "machines available" on election day. This would mean that amid the two to seven hour waits in the inner city of Columbus, at least 125 machines remained unused on Election Day.

Franklin County's machine allocation report clearly states the number

of machines that were placed "By Close of Polls." However, questions remain as to where these machines were placed and who had access to them throughout the day. Therefore, what matters is not how many voting machines were operating at the end of the day, but rather how many were there to service the people during the morning and noon rush hours.

An analysis revealed a pattern of providing fewer machines to the Democratic city of Columbus, and more machines to the primarily Republican suburbs. At seven out of eight polling places, observers counted only three voting machines per location. According to the presiding judge at one polling site located at the Columbus Model Neighborhood facility at 1393 E. Broad St., there had been five machines during the 2004 primary. Moreover, at Douglas Elementary School, there had been four machines during the spring primary. In one Ohio voting precinct serving students from Kenyon College, some voters were required to wait more than eight hours to vote. There were reportedly only two voting machines at that precinct. The House Judiciary Committee staff has received first hand information confirming these reports.

Additionally, it appears that in a number of locations, polling places were moved from large locations, such as gyms, where voters could comfortably wait inside to vote to smaller locations where voters were required to wait in the rain. We would appreciate answers to the following:

22. How much funding did Ohio receive from the federal government for voting machines?

23. What criteria were used to distribute those new machines?

24. Were counties given estimates or assurances as to how many new voting machines they would receive? How does this number compare to how many machines were actually received?

25. What procedures were in place to ensure that the voting machines were properly allocated throughout Franklin and other counties? What changes would you recommend be made to insure there is a more equitable allocation of machines in the future?

B. Invalidated Provisional Ballots

As you know, just weeks before the 2004 Presidential election, you issued a directive to county election officials saying they are allowed to count provisional ballots only from voters who go to the correct precinct for their home address. At the same time, it has been reported that fraudulent flyers were being circulated on official-looking letterhead telling voters the wrong place to vote, phone calls were placed incorrectly informing voters that their polling place had changed, "door-hangers" telling African-American voters to go to the wrong precinct, and election workers sent voters to the wrong precinct. In other areas, precinct workers refused to give any voter a provisional ballot. And in at least one precinct, election judges told voters that they may validly cast their ballot in any precinct, leading to any number of disqualified provisional ballots.

In Hamilton County, officials have carried this problematic and controversial directive to a ludicrous extreme: they are refusing to count provisional ballots cast at the correct polling place if they were cast at the wrong table in that polling place. It seems that some polling places contained multiple precincts which were located at different tables. Now, 400 such voters in Hamilton county alone will be disenfranchised as a result of your directive.

26. Have you directed Hamilton County and all other counties not to disqualify provisional ballots cast at the correct polling place simply because they were cast at the wrong precinct table?

27. While many election workers received your directive that voters may cast ballots only in their own precincts, some did not. How did you inform your workers, and the public, that their vote would not be counted if cast in the wrong precinct? How many votes were lost due to election workers telling voters they may vote at any precinct, in direct violation of your ruling?

28. Your directive was exploited by those who intentionally misled voters about their correct polling place, and multiplied the number of provisional ballots found invalid. What steps have you or other officials in Ohio taken to investigate these criminal acts? Has anyone been referred for prosecution? If so, what is the status of their cases?

29. How many provisional ballots were filed in the presidential election in Ohio? How many were ultimately found to be valid and counted? What were the various reasons that these ballots were not counted, and how many ballots fall into each of these categories? Please break down the

foregoing by County if possible.

C. Directive to Reject Voter Registration Forms Not Printed on White, Uncoated Paper of Not Less Than 80 lb Text Weight

On September 7, you issued a directive to county boards of elections commanding such boards to reject voter registration forms not "printed on white, uncoated paper of not less than 80 lb. text weight." Instead, the county boards were to follow a confusing procedure where the voter registration form would be treated as an application for a form and a new blank form would be sent to the voter. While you reversed this directive, you did not do so until September 28. In the interim, a number of counties followed this directive and rejected otherwise valid voter registration forms. There appears to be some further confusion about the revision of this order which resulted in some counties being advised of the change by the news media.

30. How did you notify county boards of elections of your initial September 7 directive?

31. How did you notify county boards of elections of your September 28 decision to revise that directive?

32. Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many registration forms were rejected as a result of your September 7 directive? If so, how many?

33. Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many voters who had their otherwise valid forms rejected as a result of your September 7 directive subsequently failed to re-register? If so, how many?

34. Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many of those voters showed up who had their otherwise valid forms rejected to vote on election day and were turned away? If so, how many?

We await your prompt reply. To the extent any questions relate to information not available to you, please pass on such questions to the appropriate election board or other official. Please respond to 2142 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515 by December 10. If you need more time to investigate and respond to some of these inquiries, we would welcome a partial response by that date and a complete response within a reasonable period of time thereafter. If you have any questions about this inquiry, please contact Perry Apelbaum or Ted Kalo of the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff at (202) 225-6504.

Sincerely,

Rep. John Conyers, Jr. [D, MI]

Rep. Melvin Watt [D, NC]

Rep. Jerrold Nadler [D, NY]

Rep. Tammy Baldwin [D, WI]

Alliance Needs Names of Reporters, TV Producers &c

At present the Alliance office has no database for distributing items such as press releases. To help build such a database, I request that you send me (via e-mail, phone, or post) names, addresses, preferred method of contact of people you think would be interested in receiving such items as press releases from AfD. These could be workers in the media (including main stream) and other influential people, including elected officials.

This database would not be used only for press releases. AfD might influence the media via letters to editors, ombudsmen, meetings with editors, op-eds, etc. If we know who might be interested in our issues, our outreach can be more efficient.

—Joanna Herlihy, 410 Norfolk St., Cambridge, MA 02139
joanna_herlihy@yahoo.com 617-864-0506

The 6-Percent Solution

Australia—Boycott US Megacorporations

by Johan Galtung, speech (excerpt) at rally, Brisbane, April '03

We do not want to hit the American republic. Like Gore Vidal, I make a distinction between the US empire and the American republic: I hate the US empire. I love America—I have lived there great parts of my life—its generosity, its innovative capacity, its fantastic perseverance. And like all other countries, it has its faults. We are there to help them—but the US *empire* is totally, in all regards, illegitimate.

A former planner for the Pentagon gave the best definition of imperialism I have ever heard—much better than my own: "The purpose of the US armed forces is to protect our economic assets abroad and our cultural assault. To this end there will be a fair amount of killing."

Fair? FAIR?

* 12-16 million [dead] by overt killing by the Pentagon

* 6 million, at least, [dead] by the CIA

* By the structural violence,* at whose head the US is located, [millions dead per month].

Fair?— No my friends!

One way of bringing this to a stop is to deprive them of the income from abroad. That means systematic consumer boycotting of consumer goods, boycott of capital goods, and boycott of financial goods. I say *boycott*. "Sanctions" are what countries do. And I propose that it be done in a Gandhian spirit, maintaining our contact with USA, entering into dialogue. I myself am there at least every second month. Entering into dialogue, helping the forces that want to change—a regime change—badly needed. But you are not going to bomb them. And if out of boycott should come exceeding distress at the bottom of society, we would help. In other words, what we want to do is to cut the tentacles *abroad*.

For every Coca Cola, drink a Mecca Cola. For every franchise for Coca Cola, recommend Mecca Cola. The French address is available on the Internet. Instead of Microsoft you can use the free-of-charge Linux, a Finnish product.

When you are looking out for your next travel, have a look at which aircraft it is. If it is a Boeing, change your plane. When you are looking for the kind of currency you want to bring with you, don't buy dollars. Not necessarily Euros. Just don't buy dollars.

They are printing dollars now to finance the war. Their basic concern is that government and firms will invest in the US government by buying US bonds, and US firms by investing in their stocks. The South African regime was extremely shaken by the divestment movement. Do the same.

You will be helped by the decline in the value of the dollar. It is predicted that at the present rate of flushing out dollar accounts, the dollar will depreciate by 40% this year. It is in your own interest. The average rate of profit for an American corporation is 6%. *A 6% decline in sales and we are in business, or to put it more bluntly, out of business.* They will react! They will launch sanctions against countries with particularly heavy boycotts.

The method is *solidarity* with those countries and instead of boycott, having what someone has proposed to call "*gircott*", the positive approach—buying products from the places that you would like to have them.

They may push the burden onto the working class, in order to keep the profits. They do not have much margin in that regard

because they have done it [cut wages] for the last years very consistently already. They have reduced the acquisitive power of the bottom 50%—maybe 70%—of the US population, down to a point where consumer spending inside the US is going down. The likelihood of a significant popular movement against the economics of the current regime is very high. Against that double pressure, I would suggest some basic yielding will come.

Do we boycott *all* firms? No!

The UN has three goals—peace, development, environment. I think the way one should do it is to boycott the worst.

*In the field of peace, boycott the military contractors or those who have links to military procurement, to military destruction and deployment.

*In the field of development, boycott those who treat minorities badly. Harming women for instance through the evil instrument of pregnancy tests, in order to know whom not to employ and whom to fire. To firms that more than others buy up the capital goods, the production factors needed for poor people—the land, the seeds, the water, the manure. Those are the firms at the top of the list.

*In the field of environment, those who cause the most destruction to the pressured planet, our home. The home for all of us. They are committing crimes—these corporations. Every dollar you spend buying their goods is a contribution to them.

Now if you are worried about a franchise on Australian soil and you have a feeling that the boycott will hit them, recommend to them to change franchise. They are not tied legally to one particular brand. They can change it. Have a dialogue with them. That dialogue is important.

When you are filling up the tank of your car, you are not obliged to buy Exxon, Chevron and Shell. You can pass by them. There are alternatives. If they feel a decline in sales beyond 6%, they can change. You can have a dialogue with them. You can help them. By all the time indicating the substitutes you are going to buy, you are also indicating that you are in it for the long run.

Why are we in it for the long run? Because they are in it for the long run. 12-16 million killed through 67 military interventions not counting Afghanistan and Iraq. The figures are not yet in. It is not fair—"Fair amount" of killing. Please! Please!

American friends! We are not here to hurt you. We are here to help you revolt against the people who have made a coup in your own country.

"Structural violence" is harm, including premature death, resulting from social and political institutions rather than direct assault.

Johan Galtung is professor of peace studies at the University of Hawaii and Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto. Author of hundreds of books and papers, he organized Transcend, a development and peace network of 100 scholars and activists.



Crisis of the Empire Challenges to the Movement

by Walden Bello, *Focus on Trade* (excerpts), Dec 2004

While America marches rightward, it fails to drag the rest of the world along with it. Indeed, most of the rest of the world is headed in the opposite direction. Nothing illustrated this more than the fact that in the very week Bush was reelected, a coalition of left parties came to power in Uruguay; Hugo Chavez, Washington's new nemesis in Latin America, swept state elections in Venezuela; and Hungary served notice it was withdrawing its 300 troops from Iraq. Although the American Right is consolidating its hold domestically, it cannot halt the unraveling of Washington's hegemony globally.

The principal cause of what we have called the crisis of overextension, or the mismatch between goals and resources owing to imperial ambition, is the massive miscalculation of invading Iraq. This crisis is likely to continue, if not accelerate, in Bush's second term. The key manifestations of the imperial dilemma stand out starkly:

* Despite the recent US-sponsored elections in Afghanistan, the Karzai government effectively controls only parts of Kabul and two or three other cities. As UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has said, despite the elections, "without functional state institutions able to serve the basic needs of the population throughout the country, the authority and legitimacy of the new government will be short-lived." And so long as this is the case, Afghanistan will tie down 13,500 US troops within the country and 35,000 support personnel outside.

The US war on terror has backfired completely, with Al Qaeda and its allies much stronger today than in 2001. In this regard, Osama bin Laden's pre-election video was worth a thousand words. The invasion of Iraq, according to Richard Clarke, Bush's former anti-terrorism czar, derailed the war on terror and served as the best recruiting device for Al Qaeda. But even without Iraq, Washington's heavy handed police and military methods of dealing with terrorism were already alienating millions of Muslims. Nothing illustrates this more than Southern Thailand, where US anti-terrorist advice has helped convert simmering discontent into a full-blown insurgency.

* With its full embrace of Ariel Sharon's no-win strategy of sabotaging the emergence of a Palestinian state, Washington has forfeited all the political capital that it had gained among Arabs by brokering the now defunct Oslo Accord. Moreover, the go-with-Sharon strategy, along with the occupation of Iraq, has left Washington's allies among the Arab elites exposed, discredited, and vulnerable. With the death of Yasser Arafat, Tel Aviv and Washington may entertain hopes of a settlement of the Palestinian issue on their terms. This is an illusion.

* The Atlantic Alliance is dead, and in the coming period, trade conflicts will combine with political differences to push the US and Europe even farther apart. Europe is key to the sustainability of the American empire. As the neoconservative writer Robert Kagan notes, "Americans will need the legitimacy that Europe can provide, but Europeans may well fail to grant it." But the widening Atlantic gulf is not only one based on different approaches to

securing global stability; Europeans increasingly fear that an aggressively militaristic US is the greatest strategic threat to their regional security.

* Latin America's move to the left will accelerate. The victory of the leftist coalition in Uruguay is simply the latest in a series of electoral victories for progressive forces, following those in Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina, and Brazil. Along with electoral turns to the left, there may also be in the offing more mass insurrections such as that which occurred in Bolivia in October 2003. Speaking of the turn towards the left and away from the empire, one of the US' friends, former Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda, assesses the situation thus: "America's friends... are feeling the fire of this anti-American wrath. They are finding themselves forced to shift their own rhetoric and attitude in order to dampen their defense of policies viewed as pro-American or US-inspired, and to stiffen their resistance to Washington's demands and desires."

Supporting the Iraqi people's struggle to create the sovereign space to create a national government of their choice continues to be one of the two overriding priorities of the global anti-war movement. The other is ending the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the trampling of the Palestinian people's rights. At a moment marked by the conjunction of a resurgent Right in the US and a continuing crisis of empire globally, what will it take to advance this goal?

1 The movement has to graduate beyond spontaneity and arrive at a new level of trans-border coordination, one that goes beyond synchronizing annual days of protest against the war. The critical mass to affect the outcome of the war will not be attained without a rolling wave of global protests similar to that which marked the anti-Vietnam war mobilizations from 1968 to 1972—one that puts millions of people in a constant state of activism. Coordination, moreover, will mean coordinating not only mass demonstrations but also civil disobedience, work on the global media, day-to-day lobbying of officials, and political education. More effective coordination and, yes, professionalization of the anti-war work must not, however, be achieved at the expense of the participatory processes that are the trademark of our movement.

2 In terms of tactics, new forms of protests must be engaged in. Sanctions and boycotts are methods that must be brought into play. At the Mumbai World Social Forum earlier this year, Arundhati Roy suggested starting with one or two US firms benefiting directly from the war such as Halliburton and Bechtel and mobilizing to close down their operations worldwide. It is time to take her suggestion seriously, not only with respect to US firms but also with Israeli firms and products.

Moreover, the level of militance must be raised, with more and more civil disobedience and non-violent disruptions of "business as usual" encouraged. We must tell Washington and its allies that there can be no business as usual so long as the war continues. The kind of debate taking place in Britain, whether to push peaceful demonstrations or civil disobedience, is fruitless, since both are essential and must be combined in innovative and effective ways.

In the US, activists can draw on the immensely powerful tradition of disobedience to unjust law that motivated people such as the abolitionists, Henry David Thoreau, the Quakers,

and the Berrigan Brothers. Indeed, this kind of resistance might be the key to stopping not only the imperial drive but also the rush to restrict political liberties and democracy. At no other time than today, when the electoral option is gone, is it more necessary to resist the imperial writ nonviolently by invoking a higher law.

3 It is clear that Great Britain and Italy—Britain especially—are the principal supports of Bush's war policy outside the United States. Bush constantly resorts to invoking these governments to legitimize the US adventure. What happens in Italy, in turn, affects what happens in Britain. Both countries have solid anti-war majorities that must now be converted into a powerful force to disrupt business as usual in these countries ruled by governments complicit in the American war. Both countries have the hallowed tradition of the general strike that, combined with massive civil disobedience, can significantly raise the costs to their government of their support for Washington. When asked why the demonstrations of March 20, 2004 drew significantly fewer people than those of February 2003, many activists in Britain and Italy respond: because people felt their actions had not been able to prevent the US from going to war anyway. That sort of defeatism and demoralization can only be countered not by lowering the demands on people but by upping them, by asking them to put their bodies on the line through acts of nonviolent civil resistance.

4 With the Middle East being the strategic battleground of the next few decades, it will be essential to forge links between the global peace movement and the Arab world. The governments of the Middle East are notoriously supine when it comes to the US, so that, as in Europe, it is forging the ties of solidarity among civil movements that must be the main thrust of this effort. This will actually be a courageous and controversial step since some of the strongest anti-US movements in the Middle East have been labeled "terrorist" or "terrorist sympathizers" by the US and some European governments. What is important is not to let US-imposed definitions stand in the way of people reaching out to one another to see if there is a basis for working together. Likewise, it is critical for the Palestinian movement and the Israeli anti-Zionist and peace movements to get beyond the labels imposed by governments and find ways of cooperating to end the Israeli occupation. Process has a way of bringing people together from seemingly non-reconcilable political positions. In this regard, the Beirut Anti-War Assembly that took place in mid-September 2004, with strong representation from the global peace movement and social movements from all over the Arab world, was a significant step in this direction.

But even as the global peace movement focuses on Iraq and Palestine, national and regional movements must continue to intensify existing struggles or open up new fronts against US hegemony in their areas. Indeed, there is a dialectical relationship between global and local struggles against imperialism. Weakening the US base structure in East Asia, for instance, will affect US military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Similarly, a quagmire in Iraq for the US may contribute to a mood of isolationism in the US that will also translate into pressures to withdraw from bases and facilities in East Asia.

As it enters its second term, the Bush agenda remains the same: global domination. Our response is also the same: global resistance. There is only one thing that can frustrate the empire's

dark aims in Iraq, Palestine, and elsewhere: militant solidarity among world's peoples. Making that solidarity real and powerful and ultimately triumphant is the challenge before us.

**Walden Bello is executive director of the Bangkok-based Focus on the Global South and professor of sociology and public administration at the University of the Philippines.*

Fallujah and Guernica Can Blair Survive This Atrocity?

by Ken Coates, CommonDreams.org, 19 Nov 2004

It was on April 26th 1937 that the name of Guernica was immortalized. A little town, home to 7000 people, Guernica was the local market place for a cluster of hill villages. It straddled a valley only ten kilometers from the sea, and thirty from Bilbao. It was a cultural center for the Basque country, with a hallowed oak tree upon which for centuries the public power in Spain has been obliged recurrently to affirm an oath to respect the rights of the Basque people.

April 26th was a Monday, market day. It went ahead peaceably, although the Civil War was raging thirty kilometers away. The air raid was not announced (by an urgent call from the Church bells) until half past four in the afternoon. Ten minutes later Heinkels arrived, scattering their bombs across the town, and then machine gunning the streets. Following the Heinkels came the Junkers. The German Air Force was celebrating a major practice run. When the people ran away, they, too, were machine-gunned. One thousand six hundred and fifty-four people were killed, and eight hundred and eighty-nine were wounded. The town center was destroyed, and Europe received its first baptism of aerial bombardment on a modern scale.

The shock reverberated far beyond the Basque country. Spain was not a remote colony like Iraq, from which news could take an age to travel. Within a week Picasso began his painting, his masterpiece which is at present installed in a special gallery attached to the Prado. In preparation for this, he feverishly prepared a desperately poignant series of sketches and cartoons, one of which we feature on our cover. Picasso gave us a portrait of naked horror. Europe was soon to learn the face of that horror at first hand. It is said that when some German officers visited Picasso in his studio in occupied France, they said of Guernica, drawings from which were hung in the room, "Did you do this?" The master is said to have replied: "No, you did".

But it was not only the German Air Force which tore away at the fabric of European cities. Coventry and London pale into insignificance when compared with Hamburg and Dresden: it was an American soldier, Kurt Vonnegut, who was to create a memorial to Dresden, in his extraordinary work *Slaughterhouse Five*. Slaughterhouses, since, we have seen in profusion. Before the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there was the massive "conventional" air raid on Tokyo which killed many tens of thousands of people. Then we lived through the Cold War, and the nuclear arms race, until we entered, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, into the age of Full Spectrum

Dominance from Washington. Now the center of that domination sits in Iraq, and for the time being the carnage radiates out from the city of Falluja.

We are told that Falluja had to be destroyed, in order to carry out elections to an Iraqi constituent assembly on the 27th January 2005. We will see whether any elections take place. There are those among us who doubt whether such elections were actually intended in any more than a fictional exit strategy for the purposes of another election, in the United States. Mr. Bush has won that, and may not need the one in Iraq. It is greatly to be doubted whether the conditions for an election exist in the aftermath of the destruction of Falluja.

Kofi Annan warned Bush, Blair, and their puppet, Iyad Allawi, that elections required "a broader spectrum of Iraqis to join the political process" and the persuasion of "elements who are currently alienated from, or skeptical about, the transition process". He expressed his "increasing concern at the prospect of an escalation in violence, which I fear could be very disruptive for Iraq's political transition".

Kofi Annan was entirely specific:

"I have in mind not only the risk of increased insurgent violence, but also reports of major military offensives being planned by the multinational force in key localities such as Falluja. I wish to express to you my particular concern about the safety and protection of civilians. Fighting is likely to take place mostly in densely populated urban areas, with an obvious risk of civilian casualties ... The threat or actual use of force not only risks deepening the sense of alienation of certain communities, but would also reinforce perceptions among the Iraqi population of a continued military occupation."

Guernica was struck down out of a clear sky, and none of the victims expected it. But Falluja was planned in great detail for months before the culmination of the American election made it possible to risk the criticism of domestic public opinion. Indeed the British allies were redeployed to seal off what was eloquently described as the "rat run" from Falluja, in spite of the consternation in Scotland, whose Black Watch soldiers were put at very dire risk. All that took time. It took time, up to two months, to cut off the water supplies to Tall Afar, Samarra, and Falluja. We publish in our dossier a careful report by Cambridge Solidarity with Iraq, which describes how this was done, in breach of international humanitarian law, and without consultation with any of the allies. Towards the end of a week of remorseless bombing and bombardment, the Red Crescent succeeded in sending a convoy of food and medicines into the outskirts of Falluja. American forces denied them the right to move beyond a hospital on the outskirts of the town.

As happened before, during the invasion by coalition forces, news has been comprehensively and carefully managed, so that we cannot tell what the true level of casualties has been. At the end of the first week, the Americans were reported as having sustained 38 deaths and to have suffered 275 other casualties. They also claim to have killed, variously, 1000 or 1600 insurgents and to have captured between 450 and 550 others. But the insurgents claim vastly smaller casualties. Al-Dulaimi said that the number of Falluja's defenders, "martyrs who were killed", did not exceed 100. "We lost 15 of our men", he said. Nobody, but nobody, can offer any credible figures about the civilian death toll.

We shall not be able to calculate anything approaching the true mortality for some time, just as it took more than a year before The Lancet was able to publish research about the true human cost of the occupation.

What is absolutely clear is that large swathes of Falluja have been literally pulverized, ground to powder by the kind of destructive machine that Hermann Goering could hardly imagine. Just as we do not know how many innocents have been massacred, neither do the Iraqi people. But they know about the moral depth of this atrocity. They know that Iraqi lives do not count for the coalition, nor for its servants in the Iraqi detachments of American intelligence, who now call themselves Ministers.

The highest Shia authority in Baghdad, Shaikh Muhammad Mahdi al-Khalissi, condemned the assault on Falluja as an "aggression and dirty war", and said:

"No matter how powerful the occupation forces are, they will be driven out of Iraq sooner or later. The current savage military attack on Falluja by US occupation forces and the US appointed Iraqi Government is an act of mass murder and a crime of war".

The Association of Muslim Scholars, a Sunni powerhouse, proclaimed a Fatwa prohibiting Iraqis from joining in the American attack. Muqtada al-Sadr withdrew the support of his movement for the January elections. His aide declared:

"There has been a chance for a peaceful solution, but the Government always chooses the military solution because the United States wants that".

Meantime, open insurgency rages in Kirkuk, Tikrit, Samarra, Baiji, and in Iraq's third largest city, Mosul. Other towns have given refuge to fighters fleeing from Falluja itself, as has Ar Ramadi.

The official story put out by the coalition is that strong contingents of foreign fighters and supporters of the old regime constitute tightly knit minorities who can be hunted down, to the relief of the majority of peace loving Iraqis. The destruction of Falluja will destroy this myth. The American occupation stands revealed, red in tooth and claw. It does not intend to go away. It would like to establish economically viable bases, for sure, and to withdraw many soldiers for deployment elsewhere. But it does not intend to relinquish control of the resources it had thought it had won. Oil remains very high on the agenda.

Quite why Tony Blair supports these brigands is very difficult to understand. There may not be many spoils of war for him. But he has earned a due share of the opprobrium which attaches to war criminals. A brave attempt to impeach him has been made on the initiative of Plaid Cymru's MP Adam Price, and we have published the magisterial indictment prepared by Glen Rangwala and Dan Plesch. The impeachment concerns the lies that were told in preparation for the invasion. More lies are following all the time, and they are more desperately told, as the truth about this illegal war, and this incredibly brutal occupation, begins to make itself plain. Unlike President Bush, the Prime Minister's election is in front of him. It is difficult to see how anyone with a conscience will be able to support the renewal of his mandate.

Ken Coates is chairman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (UK) and edits its journal, The Spokesman

South America Balks at US War No Terrorists—Only Hunger, Unemployment

by Bruce Finley, *Denver Post*, 18 Nov 2004

Quito, Ecuador - A U.S. push to expand the war on terrorism in partnership with Latin America is proving difficult. Defense chiefs from Brazil, Argentina and Chile this week balked at mobilizing armed forces in that cause. And from mothers on the street to well-connected activists in office suites, U.S. military overtures sparked suspicion.

The efforts U.S. officials propose are a veiled attempt "to consolidate control" over Ecuador's water and oil, said Gen. Rene Vargas, a former head of Ecuador's armed forces, an ex-congressman and now a political player. "In Latin America, there are no terrorists - only hunger and unemployment and delinquents who turn to crime. What are we going to do, hit you with a banana?"

U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld made a high-level pitch for concerted action Wednesday morning at a meeting here of defense ministers from 33 countries. Latin American "terrorists, drug traffickers, hostage takers and criminal gangs form an anti-social combination that increasingly seeks to destabilize civil societies," Rumsfeld told his counterparts. "These enemies often find shelter in border regions and areas beyond the effective reach of governments. ... They (seek) seams in our collective security arrangements that they can exploit. No one nation can meet these new challenges alone."

President Bush may weigh in when he visits Chile on Saturday for an economic summit and then Colombia, where U.S.-backed forces have battled drug-financed rebels in a 40-year civil war. U.S. military planners say smugglers easily could move weapons or terrorists from Latin America into the United States. They say anti-Israel terrorist groups Hamas and Hezbollah have raised funds in South America. Lawless areas in Ecuador and elsewhere, they say, could give terrorists a base.

But as Rumsfeld pressed for nations to cooperate militarily, anti-U.S. sentiments simmered.

In Chile on Wednesday, students protested Bush's impending visit. In Ecuador on Tuesday, hundreds of mothers and toddlers gathered, calling for more attention to children. "They need health and school," said Rocio Naranjo, 30, a mother of three who tries to support them by selling lemons on the street.

Rally organizer Marco Guaman questioned U.S. terrorism warnings. "We don't believe in all this," he said. "The United States always uses us." A cabbie driving away from the scene, 63-year-old Galo Perez, who has grandchildren in the United States, said Bush officials are pushing to broaden the terrorism war to "sell more weapons."

Latin American leaders assembled here—who receive growing amounts of U.S. military assistance—discussed emphasis and tactics, military versus diplomatic methods to combat terrorism.

"The only way to fight terrorism is to increase democracy," Brazilian Vice President Jose Alencar said in an interview. "The cause of terrorism is not just fundamentalism but misery and hunger. Developed countries must help less-developed countries." He said Rumsfeld "agreed that some actions against social problems must be improved."

In a speech Wednesday, Alencar said arms trafficking, central to any global terrorist threat, will persist "if the highly armed powers do not take measures toward disarmament."

Chile's defense minister, Jaime Ravinet, said the United Nations "is the only forum with international legitimacy to act globally on security issues." Chile and others opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Argentina's defense minister, Jose Pampurro, said police and military forces in his country will cooperate in information-sharing against terrorism, within the limits of laws that bar military involvement in civilian affairs.

Gen. Julio Hang, a member of Argentina's delegation, said that mobilizing forces against terrorism is not a top priority. "Today, we are very good at taking care of our borders," Hang said. "Terrorism is a concern but not a top priority."

Fueling suspicions, Navy and Coast Guard vessels patrolling the eastern Pacific earlier this year sank at least eight Ecuadorian boats that U.S. officials said were involved in smuggling. Disputes over what happened have gone as high as the Ecuadorian presidency. "Now, I can't work," said Manuel Santana, 53, who contends his boat, blown up March 3 near the Galapagos Islands, carried "only fishermen." Human-rights workers advocating for those who lost boats say these incidents enraged many people.

Even U.S. humanitarian projects face suspicion. Last year, military forces planned storage facilities for disaster relief supplies around the country in case one of Ecuador's many active volcanoes erupts. But charges that the facilities would be operating bases for U.S. military forces blocked construction.

U.S. officials say they are trying to be sensitive in pushing for a broader war on terrorism.

Flanked by palace soldiers wearing uniforms from the early 1800s—when liberation leader Simon Bolivar's forces fought Spanish rulers—Rumsfeld assured Ecuadorian journalists that "the role that Ecuador should play is the role that Ecuador decides is important." Each country here "has a different perspective," said Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Rogelio Pardo-Maurer, the top Pentagon official for Western Hemisphere affairs. "You cannot tell any country how to do it."

LETTERS

Chilean Voter Participation Dwarfs US

Never has there been such discrepancy between exit polls and final reports! Then Kerry-Edwards wimped out. And to begin with—such a poor choice between two very wealthy men, Yale alums and members of the Skull and Bones secret society.

When Dubya said "the American People have spoken" I said to myself, "yes, and they said none of the above." 40% of the eligible voters rejected [both] Bush and Kerry. That means that Dubya received only 25.5% of the total possible votes. Why, the US supported the removal of Salvador Allende because he had only received 39% of the vote in Chile and his election was sent to the Chilean Congress. Well, almost 95% of Chileans voted in that election! Allende got much more of a percentage than any US president!

—Ignacio Castuera, Claremont CA

You Can't Just Dismiss the Exit Polls

On 27 November Richard Morin, the *Washington Post's* director of polling, ran a column in the *Manchester Union Leader* smearing exit-polling in hopes of burying it. He never mentioned that the problem may lie with inaccurate or false vote tallies. *BCA's* Jonathan Simon pondered this, and writes the following:

The media lockdown on coverage of our apparently uncontroversial little domestic election is a disgrace. Paradoxically the lockdown is potentially far more destabilizing than those who have so scrupulously observed it seem to realize. Conspiracy theories arise out of the vacuum of frustrating silence, and paint increasingly garish pictures on a whitewashed canvas. The truth probably lies somewhere between denial of the cancer, and hypochondria. But when the process is polarized into equally extreme speculation [Morin's?] and coverup [Morin's?], the picture remains utterly out of focus and a kind of perceptual political vertigo ensues. This is where we are going and it's not a good place to be.

It is time for a few courageous editors and writers (heck, I'd settle for a couple of cartoonists, who for a time were the only ones not following the company line on 9/11 and Iraq: we know this lockdown is dead serious when the cat's got their tongue) to step up, come out of hiding, and at least let the people know that questions remain unanswered and that the search for answers has not ended quite yet. It is up to us to let them know that their blanket silence is unacceptable.

—Jonathan Simon, *Arlington*

The Republican Dictionary

by Katrina vanden Heuvel, *The Nation*, 10 Nov 2004

At least until the draft comes, progressive Americans will not be fleeing en masse to Canada, despite the charming offer of so many compassionate Canadians to sacrifice their singlehood to save us from the "cowboy" Bush. (As the *New Yorker's* Hendrik Hertzberg says, the Canadians make us proud to be North Americans.)

After all, who is to say Canada is safe from a preemptive strike? Canada's leaders are a bunch of socialists hostile to our president just like the Baathists were, Canada might have hidden stockpiles of WMD, it possesses a natural resource—cheap prescription drugs—critical to our people's security, and historically-speaking it would be a really bad idea (see Quebec, Battle of; 1812, War of).

No, alas, we will stay and fight to retake our country from the forces of extremism, corruption, and incompetence that have set up shop in the White House, Capitol Hill, and K Street. Taking our cue from the venerable military strategist Sun-tzu, the first stage of this battle is to understand our opponents, who are as bold as they are devious.

Nowhere is their deception more in need of debunking than in the realm of political discourse, where they have over the last several decades created a veritable Orwellian Code of encrypted language. The key to their linguistic strategy is to use words, which sound moderate to us but mean something completely different to their base. Their tactics range from the childish use of antonyms, i.e., "clean" = "dirty" to the pseudo-academic use of

prefixes—"neo" is a favorite—to the pernicious (and very expensive) rebranding of traditional political labels—"liberal"—as an insult.

We need to break the code by building a Republican dictionary. Here's a small list I've put together to get us started. Please feel free to add your own contributions by clicking here. I'll be publishing more examples in the coming weeks.

BI-PARTISANSHIP, *n.* When conservative Republicans work together with moderate Republicans to pass legislation Democrats hate.

CLARIFY, *v.* Repeating the same lie over and over again.

CLEAN, *adj.* The word used to modify any aspect of the environment Republican legislation allows corporations to pollute, poison, or destroy.

FAIRER, *adj.* Regressive.

FAITH, *n.* The stubborn belief that God approves of Republican moral values despite the preponderance of textual evidence to the contrary.

FAITH COMMUNITY, *n.* Evangelicals, because they are saved, and hawkish conservative Jews, because they are useful. Israel is the bait-on-the-hook just waiting for God to take that Rapturous bite.

FISCAL CONSERVATIVE, *n.* A Republican who is in the minority.

FREEDOM, *n.* What Arabs want but can't achieve on their own without Western military intervention. It bears a striking resemblance to chaos.

GROWTH, *n.* The justification for tax cuts for the rich. What happens to the deficits when Republicans cut taxes on the rich.

HONESTY, *n.* Lies told in simple declarative sentences: "Freedom is on the march."

HUMBLE FOREIGN POLICY, *n.* The invasion of any sovereign nation whose leadership Republicans don't like.

HUMBLED *adj.* What a Republican says right after a close election and right before he governs in an arrogant manner.

MORAL VALUES, *n.* Hatred of homosexuals dressed up in Biblical language.

MANDATE, *n.* What a Republican claims to possess when only 49 percent of the voting public loathes him instead of 51 percent.

THE MEDIA, *n.* Immoral elitist liberally-biased traitors who should leave Republicans alone so they can complete God's work on Earth in peace and quiet, behind closed doors.

PHILOSOPHY, *n.* Religion.

SIMPLIFY, *tr. v.* To cut the taxes of Republican donors.

SLAVE, *n.* A person without legal rights, e.g. a fetus.

BONUS DEFINITION: NEOCONSERVATIVES, *n.* Nerds with Napoleonic complexes.

CHAPTER AND ALLIANCE NEWS

Promoting Popular Governance in New England

Fifteen activist leaders from 4 of the 6 New England states gathered at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst on Saturday,

13 November, to share perspectives on strengthening local self-reliance in the region, and on integrating regionally. This was the first of what may be quarterly or every-four-months strategic roundtables, in a different New England town each time.

The conference was organized by BCA's **Dave Lewit** in collaboration with AfD's **Ruth Caplan** and UMass sociology professor **Gianpaolo Baiocchi**, as part of the Alliance's effort to safeguard public water and to develop social infrastructure to sustain this and all other public rights. In addition to Ruth's commentary on water, Gianpaolo outlined participatory budgeting in his native Brazil, **Stephanie Luce** discussed living wage issues, and Dave set the stage with New England's history of local self-reliance. During the balance of the day each participant discussed these and other issues of concern in his or her locality, and five task groups were formed:

- * Information, Education & Media
- * Democratizing Town Government
- * Participatory Budgeting



Judy
Atkins



Len
Krimerman



Gianpaolo
Baiocchi



Ward
Morehouse



Deedee
Consolati



Martha
Spiess



Ruth
Caplan



Annette
Smith

- * Local Prodemocracy Initiatives
- * Planning (for the above)

A videotape of the discussion will be available from Maine water activist **Martha Spiess** at mspiess@suscom-maine.net. We expect to schedule the next roundtable in Springfield MA in mid-February or early March.

Alliance Reacts to Stolen Election

The Alliance nationally has reacted vehemently to the avalanche of voting irregularities in Ohio which all favored George W Bush. Council member **Cliff Arnebeck** initiated the action in his home city of Columbus. AfD is not involved in the recounting of votes, which has been arranged according to Ohio law by two of the

losing candidates with the support (friend of the court) of the Kerry-Edwards campaign. AfD's task is to investigate irregularities, especially electronic. Cliff, a lawyer, has taken the necessary legal steps, has testified both in the media and before Congress (Conyers group), and is recruiting more lawyers for the project.

Meanwhile **Ronnie Dugger**, who collaborated with Cliff, led a discussion of post-election remedies in Lincoln at the home of **Lynn Gargill**, with about 20 AfD/North Bridge members participating. Ronnie promoted the idea of forming a parallel government.



Lois Voltmer Stan Robinson David Ronnie Dugger

ACTION ALERTS

"Our Purses Are Ready — Steady, Friends, Steady....."

The Ohio vote count and vote process need work NOW!! Put your money where you mouth is, like financing the American Revolution. Give by check, or online at the web site.

For **vote recount**, send \$\$\$ to National Voting Rights Institute
27 School Street, Suite 500, Boston, MA 02186
(617) 624-3900 <http://www.nvri.org> nvri@nvri.org

For **vote process**, send \$\$\$ to the Alliance for Democracy
P.O. Box 540115, 760 Main St., Waltham MA 02454-0115
(781) 894-1179 www.thealliancefordemocracy.org
peoplesall@aol.com

JOIN THE BCA

YOU DON'T HAVE TO LIVE IN BOSTON TO LOVE BCA

Please help us as we fight to make a better future for ourselves and our children -- Join the Boston/Cambridge Alliance for Democracy.

(Cut out this form and send it to:
Dave Lewit, 271 Dartmouth St. #2h, Boston, MA 02116.)
BOSTON-CAMBRIDGE ALLIANCE for DEMOCRACY PLEDGE

- ___ \$26/Year - "Count me in!"
___ \$52/Year - "Contributor" (We need to average this amount.)
___ \$104/Year - "Sustainer" (Helping us thrive.)
___ \$208/Year - "Community Steward"
___ \$500/Year - "Realize the vision!"
___ What's fair for YOU? _\$_____

Name: _____ Date: _____

Street, No./Box/Apt: _____

Town and Zip: _____

Phone: Day _____ Night: _____

E-mail: _____

COLOPHON

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