

BCA Dispatch

Newsletter of the
Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy

October
2003

*Todos somos Lee!
Lee, hermano, te has hecho Mexicano!
Lee, presente, hoy mañana y siempre!
Lee no murió, la OMC lo asasinó!*

*We are all Lee!
Lee, our brother, you have made yourself Mexican.
Lee, you are with us, today, tomorrow and always!
Lee did not die, he was murdered by the WTO!
—Four chants from protesters at Cancun, 9/15/2003*

Lee Kyung-hae, a Korean farmer, fatally stabbed himself at Cancun in protest of the policies of the World Trade Organization. His note said "It is better that a single person sacrifice his life for ten people, than ten people sacrifice their lives for just one."

"On Sunday night at the fiesta around the memorial to Lee, the mood was triumphant. People from around the world celebrated the death of the WTO and the life of Lee Kyung-hae. His death had crystallized something very important. As one campesina put it, he has given us a great gift; he has reminded us that the policies of the WTO are a matter of life and death."

ALLIANCE NEWS (Continued on page 7)

Chapter Calendar

*** The New Economics ***

The Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy's next meeting will be on **Wednesday, October 22**, from 7:00 to 9:15 p.m. at **Cambridge Friends Meeting**, 5 Longfellow Park (9-minute walk from Harvard Square T station, west on Brattle St.)

— Discussion Agenda —

* **Harvard Professor Stephen Marglin** promotes a progressive, **Hopeful-Science** (not "dismal science") version of **Economics**.

- * BCA's collaborative Voting Integrity project.
- * BCA Projects for the year ahead.

—Refreshments—

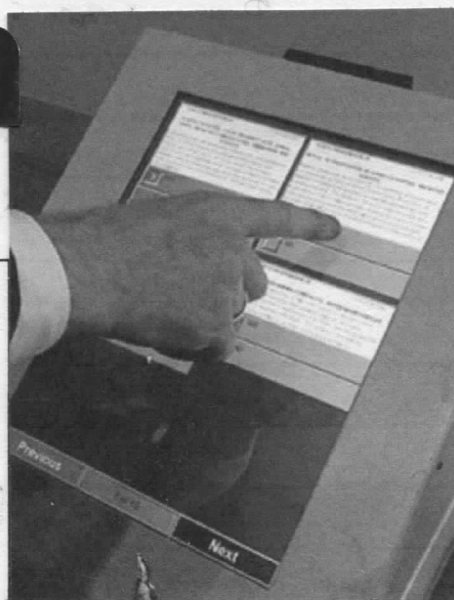
Notice: Next Steering Committee meeting: 29 October, 5:30 pm, 32 Fayette St, Cambridge. 617-864-3931. All members welcome. To confirm, call 617-266-8687

Cancun: WTO Loses, Farmers Win Ministers of Brazil, India, &c Walk Out

Editorial, *Madison (WI) Capital Times*, 17 Sept 2003

Any time the World Trade Organization is prevented from furthering the agenda of the global corporations that seek to dominate the economic, social and political life of the planet, it is cause for celebration. So pop the champagne corks, because the news from Cancun is very good, indeed.

Developing countries walked out of the WTO meeting in that Mexican resort city after the United States, the European Union and Japan rejected demands for by (Continued on page 6>>)



VOTE
RIGGING



Composite picture shows touchscreen voting machine, and artwork from front cover of Tony Clarke's *Silent Coup: Confronting the Big Business Takeover of Canada* (1997) with US Capitol substituted for Canadian Parliament building.

BCA Works to Thwart Vote-Rigging Vermont Starts with Forum and Web Site

by Dave Lewit

After three meetings BCA's Vote-Fraud Working Group has grown to 13 members, now including four from the North Bridge Alliance: **Alice Copeland Brown**, **Jesse Burkhardt**, **Kerry Costello** (president, Boston League of Women Voters), **Brit Eckhart**, **Linda Freedman** (Marblehead LWV), **Lynn Gargill**, **Bill King**, **Dave Lewit**, **Milt Raymond**, **Cynthia Ritscher**, **Stan Robinson**, **Jed Schwartz**, and **Lois Voltmer**. Our goal is to stop voting machine fraud in the 2004 elections and beyond.

Our main objective is to mount a conference, sponsored by a

variety of civic organizations, to influence key people in counties around the US to take measures to prevent voting machine manipulation in their localities. At first we relied on Bryn Mawr's computer science professor **Rebecca Mercuri** to be our consultant and principal speaker, but her workload after assuming her present fellowship at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government has made this difficult. Currently we are also consulting with political science professor **Stephen Ansolabehere** of MIT and the CalTech-MIT Voting Technology Project.

Our plan is challenging—assembling perhaps twenty participants—lawyers, programmers, voting officials, and journalists—from “critical” voting districts around the country to share experiences, and later to share, by internet accessible to people in all counties, new efforts and outcomes as they move toward maximally secure and reliable voting systems in which the public can have great confidence. We need to define “critical”—perhaps to include a see-saw of Democratic and Republican voters, predominance of African-American or Hispanic voters, history of vote fraud, use of hacker-vulnerable voting equipment, and media domination. It may be well also to include a few hand-counting paper-ballot districts, and a few highly liberal and highly conservative districts. We are shooting for a January date. Check us out at www.votingintegrity.com (under construction).

Boston Vote Watchdogs Visit Vermont

Meanwhile, four vote-fraud working group members—**Jesse Burkhardt**, **Dave Lewit**, **Stan Robinson**, and **Jed Schwartz**—drove three hours to Montpelier on October 4 to participate in a forum on voting integrity. The sponsors wanted discussion of their draft legislation which reads:

All ballots cast in the State of Vermont in all elections for public office and on all issues of public interest must be cast on a printed paper ballot marked and/or written-in by each voter pursuant to existing Vermont State law. Ballots must be explicit, fair, and subject to audit, wherein ballots can verified and evidence retained for the public record to ensure the security and integrity of the electoral process. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES shall electronic balloting be used as the sole source of vote counting and recording. Any computer voting must be verified by the aforementioned paper ballot records.

Twenty concerned and informed citizens showed up, including ourselves and the organizers: stage and radio personality **Jim Hogue**, Green Party officer **Craig Hill**, and noise-fighter **Peter Buknatski**. First, congress member **Rush Holt** (D-NJ) was shown on videotape explaining his “Voter Confidence and Increased Accessibility” bill H.2239, requiring a voter-verified paper trail for all voting machines. Then Vermont director of elections **Kathy DeWolfe** explained that Vermont was safe—had assured recount capability—because 75 percent of its districts used hand-counted ballots, and the other 25 percent used optical-scan machines to tally votes, with the voter-marked paper ballots saved for possible recount, consistent with Holt's bill. [MIT professor Stephen Ansolabehere indicates that all New England states but Connecticut are safe for the same reason. —Ed.]

State representative **Terry Bourcius** (Burlington) fingered a pivotal issue—impairment-friendly voting equipment. Touch-screen ATM-like voting machines can be supplied with an audio section so that the blind can don earphones and be guided by a template to areas of the screen with their preferred candidates. However, touch-screen electronics are demonstrably vulnerable to hacking which can switch votes without the voter knowing. Nevertheless, the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), signed by acting president George W. Bush, requires every precinct to have one or more such machines, to accommodate the visually impaired as well as others. [But is the touch-screen machine the only way to accommodate the physically impaired with reasonable privacy? —Ed.]

American Civil Liberties Union lawyer **Ben Scotch** cautioned against over-reliance on technology. He advocated a national movement which would convoke representatives of the disabled, elders, civic organizations, League of Cities & Towns, university departments and others to debate and advocate voting systems to meet the needs of all. Lively discussion ensued, dealing with a wide range of voting issues—accuracy, security, accessibility, universal acceptability. One citizen asserted that Left and Right

alike want fair elections, so that their candidates or issues will not be defeated by power elites or partisan manipulators.

The forum wound up deciding to set up “Vermonters for Voting Integrity” with the aim of developing public awareness before promoting legislation. Their web site of the same name appeared the very next day. See box for their mission statement.

Vermonters for Voting Integrity

<http://www.geocities.com/vtvoting/>

A non-partisan people's assembly formed to insure the integrity of the vote by means of a printed ballot marked by the voter, and/or a ballot-by-ballot paper trail, in all elections for public office and in all issues of public interest.

Our Mission:

Education:

We shall strive to inform the public and those who make and carry out election law of the perilous state of our democracy. Though suffrage in the United States has historically been plagued with unfairness and fraud, we now face a challenge from those who would seek to render the ballot irrelevant.

Example:

To serve as inspiration to others who see the risks of “touch-screen” (or “black box”) voting, and as a source for links to other sites.

Prosecution:

To serve as a source for ways and means to prosecute election fraud, defined here as any attempt to alter, change, tamper with, manipulate, or disable safeguards in order to foil the intentions of voters.

Mobilization:

To help coordinate the efforts of others who believe in the democratic process, and to assemble a grassroots coalition to preemptively strike against those who would seek to undermine the will of the people.

Our next meeting is on Tuesday, October 21, 2003 at 5:30 p.m., at the Kellogg-Hubbard Library, Montpelier. Contact: lrhogue1@yahoo.com

Voting System Skepticism Is In the Air

On 10 October National Public Radio's program All Things Considered aired a 6-minute segment “Recall puts focus back on voting machines” with Pam Fessler and her taped interviewees. It emphasized that Broward and Miami-Dade counties in Florida bought touch-screen machines to replace punch cards and other mechanical voting devices, only to worry about their vulnerability to hacking. So officials there are considering replacing them with optical-scan machines, or retrofitting them with printers for recountable paper ballots. [Watch out where in the circuitry you tap for printing—before or after a hacked section! —Ed.] Fessler goes on narratively to present the views of voting officials, technical experts, equipment manufacturers, paper-trail advocates, the disabled, and public advocates. If you have a home computer with speakers, you can hear this segment at www.npr.org/features/feature.php?wfid=1462178 where you can also buy a transcript. Play this segment as an informative and punchy introduction to any voting-forum you organize. #

California: Fishy Tallies on Diebold Machines

Information from weblog of **Mark Crispin Miller**, 8 October 2003
California had many candidates vying for governor in its recent recall election. Eleven counties used Diebold “Optiscan” and two used Diebold touchscreen equipment, covering about 18% of the state's voters. Focusing on Tulare county (Central Valley) he found various minor, unknown candidates with big totals—a pattern very different from those in non-Diebold counties, suggesting that these machines had shifted votes from one or more better-known candidates. The Diebold equipment has no paper “receipts” for recount/validation. So skeptics will never know. #

Roundup of Voting Machine News

by Liz Rich, New York NY, Lizrich151@aol.com 13 October 2003

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PASSES RESOLUTION DEMANDING A VOTER VERIFIABLE AUDIT TRAIL

Submitted by six members from California, Arkansas, and DC, the resolution reads

...*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the DNC goes on record demanding that all electronic voting equipment used in public elections must incorporate an accessible voter-verified paper audit trail as soon as practical, but in no case any later than the November 2004 general election and further calls for full funding of the Help America Vote Act. It was adopted October 4, 2003. Now, we need a national Republican resolution (and Libertarian, and Green, etc.)*

MAJOR NATIONAL UNION PASSES RESOLUTION FOR PROPER VOTING EQUIPMENT

In late August, the Communications Workers of America (a labor union affiliated with the AFL-CIO) passed a resolution in support of proper voting equipment. It condemns "touch screens" since they have no physical record to audit, and it points out that without a physical record, it is impossible to discover if the equipment is recording the voter's choice correctly.

The resolution supports optical scanning systems (which have a paper ballot) and only those DRE and "touch screen" machines with the ability to provide the voter with a view of a paper ballot that is stored and available for audits. It also resolves to communicate the need for auditable paper ballot trails to the AFL-CIO, its affiliated unions, and other civic minded organizations that the officers of CWA deem appropriate.

<http://www.notablessoftware.com/Press/CWAResolution.html>

This is the first resolution I've seen at the national level from a major union.

BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA, RETHINKS PURCHASE OF TOUCH SCREENS

Less than two years after spending \$17 million to replace Broward County's election system, county Commissioners have expressed growing apprehension about electronic voting and decided to rethink what they had done.

Commissioners ordered their staff to explore retrofitting the new touch-screen voting machines to print copies of each ballot or ditching the machinery in favor of paper ballots read by optical scanners. They want the study completed in the next couple of months so they can make any changes before next year's presidential elections.

"There is no confidence in the equipment and no confidence that it will work properly," Commissioner John Rodstrom said. "We were rushed into making a decision, and now we need to figure out a better way because there is no way to go back and recount. We need to have integrity in our voting system."

Broward County's actions come on the heels of a similar decision in Miami-Dade County earlier this month. Miami-Dade officials decided against immediately installing printers on their 7,200 voting machines but to undertake a four-month study. http://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/local/southflorida/sfl-cvoting28sep28_0,6340104.story?coll=sfla-wbzl-shared

BENTON COUNTY, IOWA IS PLEASED WITH ACCUVOTE OPTICAL SCAN MACHINES

After borrowing Accuvote optical scan machines for an election, Benton County officials and voters are very impressed and ready to buy their own. They point out that the machines use paper ballots, that the ballots are counted immediately at the precinct, and if there's an error in the ballot it is rejected and the voter has a chance to correct the mistake. When polls close, results are transmitted by telephone to the Auditor's office. The system even allows for live broadcasts of results on a screen in the courthouse lobby.

Roger Witt of the Benton County Data Processing office said,

"I don't think you will find too much wrong with this system. One of the things I heard from people was they really like the paper ballot, and they really like having their vote counted right away."

<http://www.wfcourier.com/articles/2003/09/19/news/regional/400202e809f5c0c186256da60041bab6.txt>

MARYLAND

A lot has been happening in Maryland. The SAIC report on Diebold systems, ordered by Maryland's Governor Robert L. Ehrlich Jr., was completed. Of the approximately 200 pages in the report, only 69 heavily redacted pages were released to the public on September 24, 2003. State officials say they withheld the information to avoid providing a "roadmap" for hackers to disrupt election results.

The report is very critical of the security of the Diebold system, and it confirms many of the findings of the Johns Hopkins/Rice report. Nevertheless, it also includes what seem to be politically-motivated attacks on the Hopkins/Rice report. I have posted a review of the released version at:

http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article_text.asp?articleid=143.

Inexplicably, Maryland decided to adopt the machines, and Mark Radke, a Diebold executive, said the report "really confirms our stance that our equipment is as secure, if not more secure, than any other electronic system in the marketplace."

<http://www.newscientist.com/news/news.jsp?id=ns99994205>

Then, two days later, Gov. Ehrlich asked the State Ethics Commission to examine a lobbyist with a possible conflict of interest in the debate over whether Maryland should buy costly new touch-screen voting machines.

Gilbert J. Genn, who is registered to lobby on behalf of Diebold Election Systems, the manufacturer of the electronic voting machines, is also authorized to represent Science Applications International Corp. Genn claims there is no conflict of interest since he was not involved in securing the contract to SAIC.

http://www.sunspot.net/news/local/bal-voting0927_0,1771648.story?coll=bal-local-headlines

OHIO

SAIC is talking about investing \$5 million in voting machine vendor Hart InterCivic. Their evaluation of Diebold's machines for Ohio just got cancelled because of it.

This conflict further explains SAIC's biased evaluation of Diebold's equipment in Maryland, since they wouldn't want to raise problems that might apply to ALL electronic voting machines. Why didn't SAIC reveal this conflict of interest to the State of Maryland? Or did Maryland ignore it.

SAIC was being considered to help conduct the security review of Ohio's newly-certified voting machines. But then the office of Ohio Secretary of State Ken Blackwell discovered that an arm of SAIC had promised to make a \$5 million investment that would benefit Hart Intercivic, one of four voting machine vendors qualified to sell voting machines to Ohio counties.

Blackwell said his office's procedures for identifying potential conflicts "surfaced a potential area of conflict [for SAIC] that saved us from embarrassment and probably legal entanglements." <http://www.cleveland.com/news/plaindealer/index.ssf?/base/news/1064914213164350.xml>

FLORIDA PLANNING TO SUE DIEBOLD

The Duval County elections supervisor testified Friday that he intends to sue the manufacturer of the county's voting system because ballot machines accessible to blind voters don't have the necessary certification to be used.

John Stafford told a federal judge that he is planning the lawsuit against Diebold for failing to get state certification for machines accessible to blind voters as Diebold had repeatedly promised.

<http://www.ohio.com/mld/ohio/business/6874495.htm>

Why Fight for Iraqi-Caspian Oil? US Indians Have 300 Gigawatts of Wind

by Winona LaDuke, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 20 Sept 2003

While the national energy bill lumbers through Congress, politicians and communities would do better to look toward alternatives. Current proposals focus on "cleaning up" dirty coal plants, building pipelines in Alaska and expanding transmission lines. It's time to look to renewable energy sources.

The United States is the wealthiest and most dominant country in the world, yet we can't keep the lights on in New York City or provide power in "liberated" Baghdad. Centralized power production based on fossil fuel and nuclear resources has served to concentrate political power, disconnect communities from responsibility and control over energy, and to create a vast, wasteful system. Democratizing power production is key to returning power to the people.

We are energy junkies. The United States is the largest energy market in the world; as 5 percent of the population we consume one-third of the world's energy resources. Ninety-seven percent of the total world oil consumption occurred in the past 70 years. We even slather oil-based fertilizers and herbicides on our food crops.

These addictions have overtaken our common sense and a good portion of our decency. We live in a country with the largest disparity of wealth between rich and poor of any industrialized country in the world. As Lee Raymond, chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil, remarks, "Energy is the biggest business in the world, there just isn't any other industry that begins to compare." Energy companies have immense influence in public policy and often flaunt their violations of the law. (Just take a look at the closed-door meetings with V.P. Dick Cheney if you need a refresher course).

It's 14 years after the Exxon Valdez oil spill, and only two of 28 species almost obliterated by the accident are recovering. ExxonMobil has thus far wiggled out of paying the \$5 billion fine levied against the corporation for its negligence. It seeks to reduce the fine to \$25 million — \$17.5 million less than Lee Raymond made in 2002. Halliburton is the happy recipient of a \$1.7 billion no-bid contract in addition to hundreds of millions in other no-bid contracts to keep Iraqi oil flowing. And, while power-broker Enron's Kenneth Lay, who, along with his colleagues was able to loot \$2.1 billion from the 401(k) pension funds of thousands of Enron employees, might get a slap on the wrist, Martha Stewart is skewered. Although a dozen of the 9/11 hijackers held Saudi passports, we have made few comments, and, instead, invaded two countries with only marginal, at best, relationships with the 9/11 incident.

Meanwhile, the Great Plains — the Saudi Arabia of Wind Power — has potential that is only beginning to be tapped. Twenty-three Indian tribes have more than 300 gigawatts of wind generating potential. There is also ethanol to be developed here. That represents more than half of present U.S. installed electrical capacity. Those tribes live in some of the poorest counties in the country, and yet they are putting up wind turbines that could power America — if they had more contracts and access to power lines. The Rosebud Sioux Tribe's 750-kilowatt wind turbine is the first commercial turbine, with 30-megawatt projects planned on other reservations in the region. As well, White Earth, Leech Lake, Red Lake, Fond du Lac and Grand Portage reservations all just received Energy Department grants to look at wind and other renewable energy for this region.

Renewable energy makes economic sense. The Apollo Project points out that America has lost 2.7 million high-paying manufacturing jobs since 2000. Investing in alternative energy is investing in jobs. The European Union estimates 2.77 jobs in wind for every megawatt produced, 7.24 jobs/megawatt in solar, and 5.67 jobs/megawatt in geothermal. We can either create jobs and economic stability in many rural areas, or we can continue to line the pockets of CEOs.

We stand on the cusp of something important. By democratizing power production, we are investing in homeland security. After all, who's going to fly an airplane into a wind tower or stop farmers and Native people from putting wind into the grid? In the end, renewable energy will offer our communities, our

political institutions and our country more good choices for the economy, the environment, foreign policy and our collective future.

US Army Bulldozes Iraqi Orchards Jazz Blares, Soldier Weeps

by Patrick Cockburn, *The Independent (UK)*, 12 October 2003

DHULUAYA, IRAQ—US soldiers driving bulldozers, with jazz blaring from loudspeakers, have uprooted ancient groves of date palms as well as orange and lemon trees in central Iraq as part of a new policy of collective punishment of farmers who do not give information about guerrillas attacking US troops.

The stumps of palm trees, some 70 years old, protrude from the brown earth scoured by the bulldozers beside the road at Dhuluaya, a small town 50 miles north of Baghdad. Local women were yesterday busily bundling together the branches of the uprooted orange and lemon trees and carrying them back to their homes for firewood.

Nusayef Jassim, one of 32 farmers who saw their fruit trees destroyed, said: "They told us that the resistance fighters hide in our farms, but this is not true. They didn't capture anything. They didn't find any weapons."

Other farmers said that US troops had told them, over a loudspeaker in Arabic, that the fruit groves were being bulldozed to punish the farmers for not informing on the resistance which is very active in this Sunni Muslim district.

"They made a sort of joke against us by playing jazz music while they were cutting down the trees," said one man. Ambushes of US troops have taken place around Dhuluaya. But Sheikh Hussein Ali Saleh al-Jabouri, a member of a delegation that went to the nearby US base to ask for compensation for the loss of the fruit trees, said American officers described what had happened as "a punishment of local people because 'you know who is in the resistance and do not tell us'." What the Israelis had done by way of collective punishment of Palestinians was now happening in Iraq, Sheikh Hussein added.

The destruction of the fruit trees took place in the second half of last month but, like much which happens in rural Iraq, word of what occurred has only slowly filtered out. The destruction of crops took place along a kilometer-long stretch of road just after it passes over a bridge.

Farmers say that 50 families lost their livelihoods, but a petition addressed to the coalition forces in Dhuluaya pleading in erratic English for compensation, lists only 32 people. The petition says: "Tens of poor families depend completely on earning their life on these orchards and now they became very poor and have nothing and waiting for hunger and death."

The children of one woman who owned some fruit trees lay down in front of a bulldozer but were dragged away, according to eyewitnesses who did not want to give their names. They said that one American soldier broke down and cried during the operation. When a reporter from the newspaper *Iraq Today* attempted to take a photograph of the bulldozers at work a soldier grabbed his camera and tried to smash it. The same paper quotes Lt Col Springman, a US commander in the region, as saying: "We asked the farmers several times to stop the attacks, or to tell us who was responsible, but the farmers didn't tell us."

Informing US troops about the identity of their attackers would be extremely dangerous in Iraqi villages, where most people are related and everyone knows each other. The farmers who lost their fruit trees all belong to the Khazraji tribe and are unlikely to give information about fellow tribesmen if they are, in fact, attacking US troops.

Asked how much his lost orchard was worth, Nusayef Jassim said in a distraught voice: "It is as if someone cut off my hands and you asked me how much my hands were worth." #

What Are You Talkin' About, Wes? Is Clark a Stalking Horse for Hillary '08?

by Sean Gonsalves, *Cape Cod Times*, 23 September 2003

Though Bill Clinton is considered to be the poster boy for the "New Democrat," historians may end up regarding him as the symbol of the Last Democrat. By out-GOP-ing the Republicans in the '90s, the Donkey Party is now facing an identity crisis. And the field of candidates out there right now, with Howard Dean leading the mule pack, doesn't appear to have enough guts or vision to appeal to the millions of disillusioned, war-weary, financially struggling would-be Democratic voters in America itching for "regime change" in Washington, D.C.

The notable exception is Ohio Congressman Dennis Kucinich, who currently has a slightly better chance of winning his party's nomination than actor Gary Coleman has in winning the California gubernatorial recall election, thanks to a "liberal" news media that has helped keep the Kucinich campaign far away from the consciousness of the news-starved masses.

Actually, Gary Coleman's trademark question from his "Different Strokes" days is a good one to ask of Clinton's Rhodes scholar buddy and most recent addition to the field of presidential hopefuls, retired Gen. Wesley Clark. What you talkin' bout Wes?

Oh sure, on the surface Clark looks like a strong candidate with the potential to uproot Bush in a showdown that pits "The General vs. the Texas Air National Guard deserter," as Michael Moore put it.

Though it would be nice to see "Mr. Either-You're-With-Us-Or-Against-Us" unable to cower Clark into silence with right-wing ad hominem attacks that call into question someone's patriotism for making the perfectly reasonable distinction between people and policy, Democrats shouldn't start licking their lamb chops quite yet.

Given our collective recurring political amnesia, let's turn to an eye-opening August 1999 report from our British friends at *The Guardian*, concerning Clark's role as Supreme Allied Commander—a post viewed by Clark supporters as a major qualification to be our next president.

"NATO justified the bombing of the Belgrade TV station, saying it was a legitimate military target. 'We've struck at his TV stations and transmitters because they're as much a part of his military machine prolonging and promoting this conflict as his army and security forces,' U.S. General Wesley Clark explained—'his,' of course, referring to Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic. It wasn't Milosevic, however, who was killed when the Belgrade studios were bombed, but rather 20 journalists, technicians and other civilians... The targeting of the studio was a war crime, perhaps the most indisputable of several war crimes committed by NATO in its war against Yugoslavia."

If you think the *Guardian* editors were being overly harsh in describing this as a "war crime," keep in mind that a panel of 16 judges from 11 countries who, at a people's tribunal meeting in New York before 500 witnesses, found U.S. and NATO leaders guilty of war crimes against Yugoslavia in the March 24 to June 10, 1999, "humanitarian" attack on that country.

As for Clark's reputation among the rank and file in our military establishment, the highly decorated and straight-talking Col. David Hackworth has written that Clark is "known by those who've served with him as the 'Ultimate Perfumed Prince.' (He) is far more comfortable in a drawing room discussing political theories than hunkering down in the trenches where bullets fly and soldiers die."

And we haven't even scratched the surface in discussing Clark's idealization of the Powell Doctrine, which led to NATO forces dropping tons of depleted uranium bombs on Kosovo, creating widespread civilian sickness as a result of contamination associated with DU.

So why is Wes running? Political analyst Lloyd Hart theorizes: "I believe Gen. Wesley Clark is Bill Clinton's wrecking ball to destroy the work of the progressives in the Democratic Party...so that Bush can have his second term and the DLC can put up their candidate in 2008, Sen. Hillary Clinton."

However this all turns out, the DLC better hope Condi Rice doesn't run in 2008. Imagine: a black female Republican conservative hawk gunning for the presidency—a nightmare for PC-conscious Democrats. #

Schwarzenegger a Populist? Echoes of Shays' 1787 W. Mass. Rebellion

by David M. Kennedy, *Stanford U*, *New York Times*, 5 Oct 2003

On January 25, 1787, 1,200 desperate farmers brandishing barrel staves and pitchforks attacked the federal arsenal in Springfield, Massachusetts. They called themselves the Regulators. Led by a debt-plagued veteran of Bunker Hill and Saratoga named Daniel Shays, they sought firearms with which to enforce their threats to close the courts in western Massachusetts and compel the legislature to enact debt-relief measures, including an inflationary paper currency and an end to mortgage foreclosures.

A single cannon volley killed four of the embattled farmers. Then a Revolutionary War hero, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, arrived with a militia that scattered the remaining rebels and relentlessly hunted them down through the heavy snow. Yet the Regulators' failed outburst had consequences that have shaped the character of American politics for more than two centuries, up to the current recall election in California.

The uprising was handily crushed. But it intimidated the Massachusetts legislature into enacting laws that menaced the interests of the monied class. Many leaders in the founding generation gagged on this apparently craven pandering to the popular will. Outright insurrection was one thing, but the state legislature's cavalier disregard for property rights was a far more insidious threat. "An elective despotism," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "was not the government we fought for."

Shays' Rebellion, in short, had demonstrated that America was not immune from the inherent affliction that theorists of democracy had warned against since the days of the ancient Greeks: that a government based on the will of the majority would inevitably yield to the demands of the "mob" and lead to a tyranny of the majority. Such a polity would be resentful toward excellence and callous toward minority rights. Worst of all, it would wield the power of the state against more prosperous members of society and confiscate their wealth.

To protect the United States from that unhappy fate, leaders like James Madison called for radically revising the Articles of Confederation, under whose rules the fledgling republic was then governed. The result was the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which convened four months after General Lincoln turned back the rebels. At the convention, Madison and others drafted a new fundamental law whose checks and balances and elaborate federal structure would, among other things, frustrate the confiscatory designs of future would-be Regulators. For better or worse, Daniel Shays thus deserves to be recognized as a founder.

Over time, many Americans came to believe that the Constitution's drafters had seen their duty—and overdone it. The framers had created a federal governmental apparatus too well insulated from the popular will, too difficult to mobilize for any common purpose, whether confiscatory or constructive, and too easily hijacked by special interests whose machinations eluded public scrutiny. At the dawn of the 20th century, that kind of thinking animated a host of so-called progressive reformers, conspicuously including a cantankerous California Republican named Hiram Johnson.

A self-styled "natural rebel" (and Arnold Schwarzenegger's improbable political hero), Johnson was elected governor of California in 1910. In a flurry of political innovation unmatched before or since in the state, Johnson flamboyantly battled giant corporations like Southern Pacific Railroad and incorporated several radical reforms into the California constitution. They included the direct election of United States senators, previously selected by the legislature; the initiative, by which citizens can directly write laws; the referendum, by which they can undo the work of the legislature; and of course the recall, which provides for the removal of elected officials.

In the spirit of Daniel Shays, Hiram Johnson sought to transform California into a model of majoritarian, popularly responsive, direct democracy. But one must always be careful

what one wishes for: Johnson would probably be appalled by many of the results of his reforms.

The initiative process that he championed has contributed to the near-fatal weakening of the legislature, and has created prodigious opportunities for manipulating and mismanaging the state's political business. Legislators have been reduced to diddling uselessly in Sacramento while various interest groups routinely bamboozle the electorate with proliferating ballot initiatives that are poorly written, often contradictory, and nearly always bad law. Proposition 13, for example, which passed in 1978, addressed a real problem—wildly rising property taxes—with an inept combination of inequitably defined tax limits and impossibly large supermajority requirements for any revisions in the law.

Proposition 13 led directly to drastic slippage in financing for local schools, and has contributed heavily to the state's current fiscal crisis. But as Warren Buffett found out when he urged Arnold Schwarzenegger to make the overhaul of Proposition 13 the centerpiece of his gubernatorial campaign, even suggesting changes to that infamous initiative is forbidden. (Mr. Schwarzenegger told Mr. Buffett that if he mentioned Proposition 13 again he would have to do 500 push-ups. Mr. Buffett has not been heard from since.)

Proposition 13's untouchability, and Mr. Schwarzenegger's fierce commitment to it, suggest that something has happened in American society that would have mystified Daniel Shays — and Hiram Johnson as well. In their very different ways, they sought greater democracy as the means to a government that was more responsive to the masses.

But in California more democracy has produced not more attacks on the wealthy and big business but chronic chaos and even paralysis—a kind of political catatonia perversely sanctified by neoconservative and libertarian dogmas that assert, as another former governor of California put it, that "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem." (Shays may have agreed with the second clause of that sentence, but certainly not with the first; he wanted to use the government to protect debtors and the disadvantaged.)

To the extent that Californians—and Americans—subscribe to that view, they have confounded the predictions of countless theorists about the nature of democratic politics. Among those theorists, Alexis de Tocqueville is an exception, for he identified the peculiarities of the American case now so vividly manifest in California, that most American of states. The characteristic social class that American society nurtured, said Tocqueville, was composed of "eager and apprehensive men of small property." Though born in revolution, their country was unlikely ever again to undergo revolutionary upheaval. "They love change, but they dread revolutions," Tocqueville concluded, because "they continually and in a thousand ways feel that they might lose by one."

That social class of small property owners, and its attendant attitudes, are now ascendant in California, and perhaps in the nation at large. Their influence explains why the government from which Shays demanded relief, and the government that Johnson tried to place more firmly in the hands of the people, has now become the object of popular suspicion and hostility. Americans apparently prefer misgovernment that will leave them to their own devices to an effective government that might actually do something for them—or ask something of them.

We've come a long way from the Regulator to the Terminator.

Cancun (Continued from page 1)

trade policies that address the needs of the world's poor, rather than the bottom lines of the multinational corporations that are the prime beneficiaries of WTO rule making. The walkout representatives of India, Brazil and small countries that are concerned about the threat the WTO's corporate free trade agenda poses to development and democracy caused the collapse of what had been a critical gathering for the international organization that came into being [self-assertively] nine years ago with a charge to define global rules for trade.

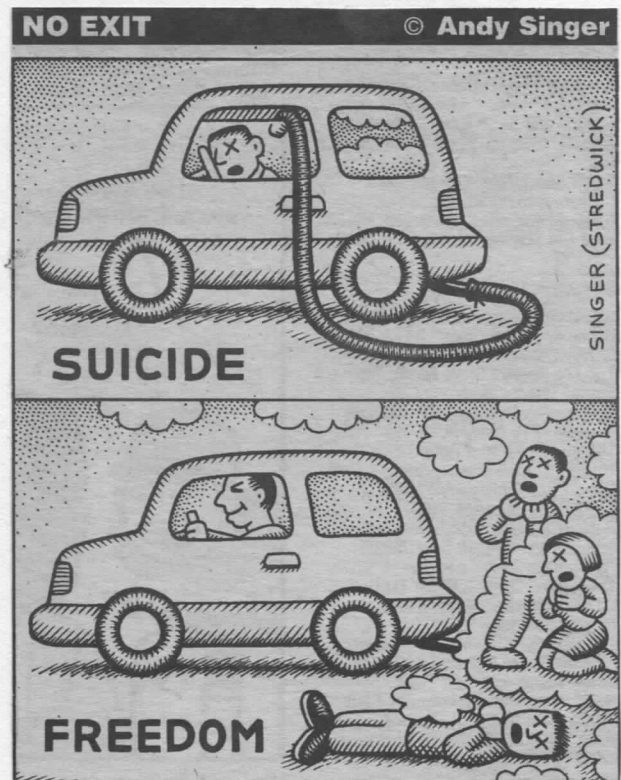
Organizations representing workers, farmers, environmentalists and human rights campaigners the world over had organized to prevent the WTO from launching a new push to restructure

trade rules to favor corporations. There was particular concern that an agreement reached in Cancun could lead to a major assault on the limited protections that remain for small farmers around the world. Such an initiative would have provided tremendous benefits for agribusiness corporations, but it would have been devastating for farmers from Iowa County to India.

"No agreement is better than a bad agreement," explained David Waskow, trade policy coordinator for Friends of the Earth. "Despite intense pressure by the business lobby and by the U.S. and EU, [the ministers of] developing countries stood their ground. This is a tremendous development for people and the protection of the environment."

For Wisconsin's working farmers, the victory is especially sweet. Corporate free trade schemes that benefit California agribusiness and factory farm interests are, by their nature, a threat to family farming. That's why farmers from Wisconsin traveled to Mexico to join family farmers from around the world in protests against the WTO's corporations-first, people-last agenda.

The protesters delivered a message that was heard by representatives of developing countries, if not by U.S. representatives.



That message was summed up by Mark Ritchie, the president of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy who has long maintained close ties to family farm activists in Wisconsin. "We can't continue a global trading system that primarily benefits the interests of multinational corporations and doesn't address the serious concerns of farmers, workers and people around the world."

As the Wisconsinites and others who traveled from the United States to Cancun return home, they face a new challenge. The Bush administration continues to position the United States as the primary advocate for multinational corporations. It is unlikely that the [acting] president, who collects most of his campaign money from individuals and groups associated with those corporations, will change course.

But it is possible to change the politics of the United States. Trade needs to become a central issue in the 2004 campaign. In 2000, Republican Bush and Democrat Al Gore sounded troublingly similar on issues of trade, and Gore's failure to distinguish himself cost him votes. Many of the Democrats who want to oppose Bush appear to have learned from Gore's mistake. Even former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, a one-time defender of the corporate free trade agenda, now says he favors trade policies that protect workers, farmers and the environment.

It is essential that the Bush administration's free trade agenda be challenged—not just in Cancun but in the 2004 election. #

Opposing the USA PATRIOT Act Vets Show Jefferson, Franklin Sentiments

by Paul Brailsford, Ipswich, and Paul Saint-Amand, Rockport

The two authors spoke at an event sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union held at the State House in Boston on September 22nd, to rally opposition to the USA Patriot Act. Five members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation including U.S. Rep. John Tierney, D-Salem, were honored there for having voted against the legislation. Brailsford is a BCA member.

Brailsford: Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

My colleague and I are dressed this morning in colonial cloth to represent the two gentlemen from Massachusetts, Mr. Nathaniel Gorman and Mr. Rufus King, and to celebrate the anniversary of their signing in 1787 of the Constitution of the United States.

I'm also here as Paul Brailsford, a member of the Samantha Smith Chapter of Veterans for Peace, to honor Thomas Jefferson, who, with James Madison, put together the Bill of Rights that was later annexed to our Constitution minus, unfortunately, an important amendment they both wanted: That there be no monopolies of commerce.

Today I find it regrettable that Jefferson's worst fears have come to pass. After decades of corporate lawyers referring to their clients as "artificial persons," a court recorder named C. Bancroft Davis for the Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad case wrote that "Corporations are persons..." giving them the same personal citizen rights as freed slaves under the 14th Amendment!

This slip of the recorder's pen has been used to give wealthy, corporate monopolies personhood—a precedent that has let them use the same Bill of Rights that was intended to protect natural persons, to shield them from regulations needed now to curb their greed.

As the ACLU posters clearly state: If you let them take away one freedom, soon they'll all be gone.

Saint-Amand:

My colleague, Ben Franklin, said it best: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty or safety."

Our group, Veterans for Peace, wants to thank these representatives for their courage under fire and willingness to give up their political safety for an essential set of principles.

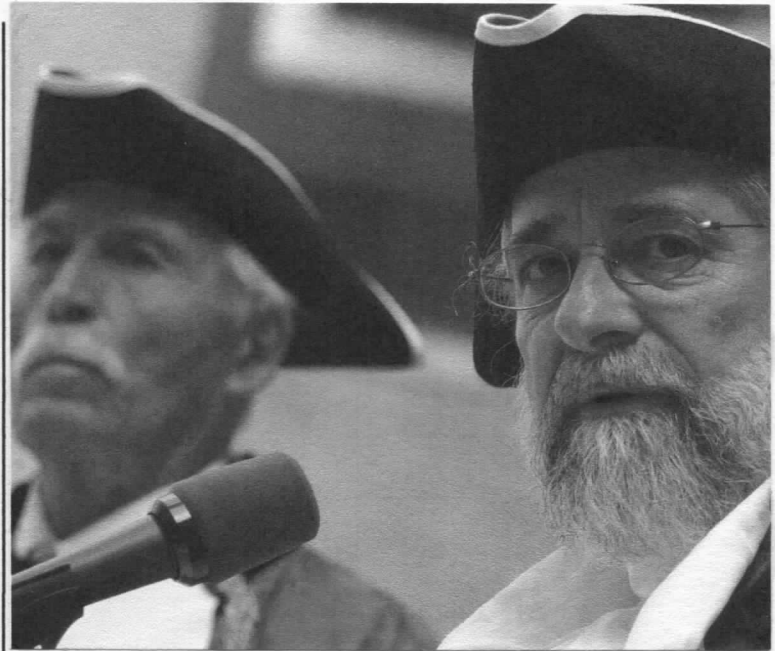
I start with a personal anecdote as a way to thank these brave voices and to speak out against the Patriot Act on this occasion.

In 1964, at age 17, I enlisted for a four-year tour of duty in the U.S. Air Force. Like each of my fellow veterans before you, I took the following oath: "I, Paul Saint-Amand, do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same ..."

Who would have thought 40 years later I would invoke the authority of this oath once again to join others in defending the Constitution and the Bill of Rights?

Veterans for Peace has joined with the ACLU to challenge the rationale and implementation of Patriots Act I and II. We do so because our fellow veterans who have seen combat first-hand have given us a simple truth: There is no safety in fear. So we distrust those who would offer us fear as their treacherous antidote to foreign terror. Such abuse of power is in itself a type of domestic terrorism.

As Veterans for Peace, we stand shoulder to shoulder today with the ACLU and its honorees, refusing to abdicate our lawful responsibilities to the Constitution we swore to protect. Let the Bill of Rights stand as it has stood for more than 210 years as a beacon of civil liberty for all to see and embrace!



Left to right: Paul Brailsford, Paul Saint-Amand. Photo: Eagle-Tribune

ALLIANCE CHAPTER & REGIONAL NEWS

continued from page 1

Jim Hightower's Rolling Thunder Down Home Democracy Tour blossomed in Manchester NH on September 20th, organized mostly by New Hampshire enthusiasts. About eight people from BCA and North Bridge chapters converged on the Merrimack restaurant for brunch before the Tour events got underway in the park across the street just before noon. Several people from the Seacoast chapter and from Save Our Groundwater also attended, including **Denise Hart**, who spoke from the main stage. But you know what?—Jim Hightower couldn't attend because of a death in the family, so **Michael Moore** volunteered and entertained us while promoting solidarity in presidential campaigning—not especially for **Clark**. Among many other speakers were **Amy Goodman** of Pacifica Radio, the indefatigable **Granny D**, and **Ross Gelbspan** who sketched a cautionary nightmare requiring us to demand sustainable energy now.

Dennis Kucinich stole the day for yours truly, holding forth energetically and intelligently under a crowded tent to one side, because the Tour wouldn't allow stump speeches from the main stage. **Brit Eckhart** tossed me a question to ask Kucinich, which he handled very constructively—"What should we do about vote fraud?" Wow—he had already drafted a bill which would demystify and open voting-machine software to qualified inspectors from the public, and like Rep Rush Holt's bill would require a voter-verified paper trail for hand recounting. The bill is still being vetted, so we can't read it yet.

BCA's **Globalization Impact Bill**, first introduced in the Massachusetts legislature three years ago by **Rep. Byron Rushing**, is back. We figure with Bush's foreign policy now under critical fire, and with ministers from the Global South walking out of WTO negotiations, it's high time to lobby decisively for the bill's passage. So **Brit Eckhart**, **Dave Lewit** and **Jed Schwartz** teamed up with **Newell Hendricks** and **Prof. Dick Peet** (who came out from Clark U/Worcester for the meeting). Because **Senator Steven Tolman** was called to the floor, we spoke with his legislative director **Elizabeth Fahey**, and will see the senator directly after he reviews our materials, including an excellent video prepared by **Anna Hendricks** and others from **Jobs with Justice**, focused on the local (Massachusetts) impact of WTO and other trade treaties.

Dave continues to represent BCA at planning meetings of Boston's **Anti-FTAA Coalition** preparatory to demonstrations in connection with early November meetings of Western Hemisphere trade ministers in Miami, to derail the Free Trade Area of the Americas, a.k.a. **NAFTA on Steroids**. (Continued >>>)

The embryonic **New England Alliance for Democracy** is taking shape under the aegis of **Ruth Weizenbaum** and **Bill Haff**, the northeast region's two representatives to AfD's national council. Their focus is on three or four ongoing projects—to extend them regionally—and collaborate with other civil society organizations throughout the region. The projects include airing Alliance materials on local cable TV stations; training us as speakers for civic, church, business, and other community groups; model projects for community action; and linking and equipping ourselves, including a New England Alliance website. The TV project is already well under way. Ruth emphasizes expanded collaboration with **United for Justice with Peace**, a Boston area coalition with links to western MA and potential links nationwide. Ruth and Bill: BCA has started the **Voting Integrity project**, with a website, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, with links already to Vermont, and great interest for sure throughout New England.

The bad news for BUGBLOC, the campaign to stop BU's building a **Level-4 bioterror lab** in the South End, is that BU's application for federal government funding has been approved. The struggle continues, however, with Boston City Councillors **Chuck Turner** and **Felix Arroyo's** bill to bar the deal wherein Boston tax-payers would give land to BU for this lab at no charge and with-out an environmental impact statement.

Everyone: Heads Up for AfD's **Democracy Caravan**, touring the USA spreading the populist message and looking for local drivers and speakers when they reach New England in a couple of months. Contact **Ben Sher** at www.democracycaravan.org. #

ACTION ALERTS!!

Now thru Nov 4 (Election Day). Boston. **Work to re-elect Boston City Councillor Felix Arroyo**, endangered councillor with the big picture. Volunteer by calling United for Justice with Peace at 617-338-1197; MA Peace Action at 617-354-2169; Pat Keaney, Arroyo campaign manager, 617-522-8683.

Sat. 25 Oct. Washington DC. **Mass Mobilization Against Iraq War**. Details: see <http://justicewithpeace.org> or call the United for Justice with Peace office at 617-338-1197. **Bus** round-trip \$55 regular; \$25 students, seniors, unemployed. Leaving Boston (617-338-1197), Arlington (olga.kahn@verizon.net), North Shore/Lowell (Lynne Lupien info@greaterlowellpeace.org), Riverside/Newton (David Klawter dkalfter@bitsandpieces.org).

Wed. 29 Oct. 7:30 p.m. Norwell MA. **"It's the System, Stupid!"** – discussion with Dave Lewit. Sponsor: Mass Bay South chapter of AfD. Car pickup from Braintree T stop on Red Line: call Jean Maryborn 781.826.2482, or Dave 617.266.8687.

Approx. Wed. 29 Oct. 6-8 p.m. Boston. Forum on **Blocking B.U.'s Bioterror Lab** in Boston's South End. Sponsors: BUGBLOC and our Fenway associates. At Boston Public Library, Copley Sq. Call to confirm date: 617.442.3343 x25.

Fri-Sun noon, 7-9 Nov. Madison WI. **National Conference on Media Reform**. 55 speakers include John Conyers, Russ Feingold, Robert McChesney, Mark Crispin Miller, Bill Moyers, Bernie Sanders, Danny Schechter, John Sweeney, Makani Themba-Nixon, Lori Wallach. Info: 413.585.1533 www.mediareform.net/conference.php

Sat., 15 Nov. 9-5 conference, 5:30-9:30 reception. Cambridge. **"Sow Justice, Reap Security"** with activists from Brazil, Eritrea, Haiti, Mexico and Palestine. Keynote: Maude Barlow. Benefit sponsor: Grassroots International. \$50-100. Episcopal Divinity School, Harvard Sq. Info: www.grassrootsonline.org 617.524.1400.

ERRATUM

The top quotation in our last issue identified the speaker as Barbara (Mrs. George W.) Bush, when it should have been (Mrs. George H. W.) Bush. *Newsday* columnist Jimmy Breslin puts the

quotation in context:

The following is from an immensely interesting transcript of Barbara Bush on an ABC-TV morning show. She was asked if she and her husband, the former president, watch television.

"He sits and listens and I read books because I know perfectly well that - don't take offense - that 90 percent of what I hear on television is supposition, when we're talking about the news. And he's not, not as understanding of my pettiness about that. But why should we hear about body bags and deaths and how many, what day it's going to happen, and how many this or what do you suppose? Oh, I mean, it's, not relevant. So why should I waste my beautiful mind on something like that? And watch him suffer."

LETTERS

Wesley Clark a Red Herring

I was disappointed at the *Boston Globe* article on Gen. Clark featured in the last issue of *BCA Dispatch*. From what I know, he is a red herring that only decided he was a democrat at 60 years of age, commanded troops that illegally killed civilians at Waco from Ft. Hood, nearly started WWII in Serbia/Kosovo, experimented on Haitians in the detention camps, was pro-war with Iraq—and is being backed by Clinton after being promoted by him on a fast track post-Waco. He is detested by the military. Neither the military or intelligence community wanted the Iraq war. —Bill Pagum, Kittery ME

Generals are always iffy politically. In this issue Sean Gonsalves is also critical of Clark. Unfortunately our pluralitarian electoral system forces us to calculate—with our own flawed formulas—who can win according to our perceptions of other voters: a complex version of The Prisoners' Dilemma game. Most unfortunately, apart from vote fraud, the corporate media hold most of the aces. —Ed.

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., 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? _ \$ _

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