

BCA Dispatch

Newsletter of the
Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy

May
2006

Responding to some hecklers outside the hall where he was speaking the president said, "For a country that went through 23 years of authoritarian rule, there is no more pleasant noise than the noise of people shouting. Whether they are in favor or against is not important. What is important is that they are shouting."

—Pres. Lula, at World Council of Churches, Porto Alegre, Feb 2006

ALLIANCE NEWS (Continued on Back Pages)

Chapter Calendar

* * How To Prevent Election Theft * *

Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy's next meeting will be on **Wednesday, May 17**, at 7:00 p.m. at **Cambridge Friends Meeting**, 5 Longfellow Park (9-minute walk from Harvard Square T station, west on Brattle St.), Cambridge.

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Electronic voting machines make election-stealing more likely, with potentially disastrous results for our democracy. But wait—in **6 months** dedicated citizens can **prevent such a tragedy**.

Learn how. Learn what you can do. Join **Jonathan Simon** and **Sally Castleman**—founders of the new Election Defense Alliance. Jonathan is an exit-poll expert and leading advocate of election integrity. Sally is an election integrity activist.

Read their 9 points in box on Page 2 ----->

— Refreshments —

SAVE ELECTION 2006

La Guadalupe Posada / The Ensell



Hand-Counted Paper Ballots in 2008 Honest Vote Counting: How To Do It

by Sheila Parks, *Tikkun magazine*, 14 April 2006

The right to vote, as well as the principle of "one person, one vote," are cornerstones of our democracy. The anti-slavery, women's suffrage, and civil rights movements as well as the expansion of voting to young people are all part of the history of electoral reform in this country. Equally fundamental is the assurance that each voter knows that her or his vote counts and is counted as intended. At this time in our history, many have lost confidence in our voting system.

The presidential elections of 2000 and 2004, and at least six contests in the mid-term elections of 2002, raised many questions about fraud and electronic voting machines. The Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC) established by HAVA, and the Carter-Baker National Commission on Federal Election Reform were all created after the 2000 election to improve the electoral process. All of these efforts, however, have been detrimental to the prevention and detection of election fraud and error due to their advocacy of the use of electronic voting machines. One election reform advocate, Bev Harris of Black (Continued on Page 12 >>)

Republicans Running Scared

Spirited Mexican Immigrants Just Want A Life

by James K. Galbraith, *Guardian (UK)*, 13 April 2006

AUSTIN, TEXAS. I went to, of all things, a rally on Monday. By the standards of the movement sweeping across the nation, it was small: about 500 people, mostly students, gathered on campus a hundred feet from the statue of Martin Luther King that faces east in solitude, tactfully removed from the old Confederates who face south, a quarter of a mile away. But every 15 or 20 minutes a new contingent would march up, 50 or a hundred strong, coming from somewhere.

My state senator, an American of Mexican heritage, spoke with vivid eloquence. On the side, he cracked to me that we'd done better in our day, when it was a matter of life and death. I countered that we could never have turned out half a million people in Dallas. Which had actually happened one day before. That's Dallas, Texas, I repeat. Of course he agreed.

This isn't the anti-war movement, of white college kids, liberal Protestant churches, Dr. Spock, and veterans of the Abraham Lincoln brigades. It's not the civil rights movement, although the crowds everywhere were a gorgeous mixture of American colors, brown and black, yellow and tan. The civil rights marches, as I recall them, were solemn, formal, (Continued on Page 13 >>)

Why You Should Dialog with Jonathan Simon At BCA Meeting Next Wednesday, 17 May.

or email Jonathan at VerifiedVote2004@aol.com

We have six months to do the following things:

- * Get check mechanisms of some sort set up in as many competitive states and districts as possible. These can be independent **exit polls** (possibly with lots of public volunteer participation), possibly **parallel elections**, certainly raised levels of pressure on and scrutiny of **elections officials** (and vendors)
- * Advocate on state and local levels adoption of a **handcount sampling** protocol to serve as an internal (governmental) check mechanism, wherever possible.
- * **Coordinate** such projects where possible to economize on labor and effort.
- * **Prepare for litigation** where results are dubious or anomalous.
- * Establish **liaisons** with campaign staffs and candidates to prepare them to receive analysis of data from check mechanisms and prevent premature concessions.
- * Work the **media** to win over enough of the MSM to prevent a 2004-style lockdown in the MSM (this will take at least a half dozen mainstream journalists with at least the tacit permission of their organizations.
- * Do direct **public outreach** (networking, webwork, movies, songs, books, etc.); be our own media.
- * Plan Election Day and Following Day **MASS RESPONSE** (this was totally absent in 2004 and is critical).
- * Raise **funds** for all these projects.

WISDOM OF THE REZ

With Rape Everywhere, Sioux Defy South Dakota Ban on Abortion

by Rose Aguilar with Cecilia Fire Thunder
Altermet, 4 April 2006

Just two weeks after South Dakota Gov. Mike Rounds signed the state's extreme abortion ban with no exceptions for rape and incest, Cecilia Fire Thunder, the first woman president of the Oglala Sioux tribe, made national headlines after saying she would personally set up a clinic on her tribe's land in South Dakota to preserve a woman's right to choose. There is currently only one clinic in the entire state of South Dakota that provides abortions, and its status, since the ban, is endangered.

President Fire Thunder's decision to take the lead on this issue is nothing short of remarkable considering the number of challenges on the reservation. Almost half of all Native American women in South Dakota are poor, compared with approximately 10 percent of white women, according to the Institute for Women's Policy Research report on the Status of Women in South Dakota. Median annual earnings for women in South Dakota rank last in the nation. Furthermore, the unemployment rate on the reservation is 85 percent and the life expectancy rate is 46 for men and

55 for women.

But President Fire Thunder is a remarkable woman. Besides announcing plans for the clinic, she has continued to focus on the need to address rape as an issue for South Dakota women, particularly Native American women. One in six American women has been the victim of rape or attempted rape, according to the National Crime Victimization Survey. The average annual rate of rape and sexual assault among American Indians is three and a half times higher than the national average.

Fire Thunder is one of the co-chairs of a new coalition called the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families. The group just announced a grassroots plan to contest the abortion ban on the November ballot. They have until June 19 to collect 16,728 signatures.

Calm and Determined Fire Thunder

AlterNet's Rose Aguilar spoke with President Fire Thunder about the clinic, abortion ban and challenges facing women who live in rural areas.

Rose Aguilar (RA): Tell me about the clinic you're planning to build.

Cecilia Fire Thunder (CFT): The proposed clinic would be for all women because right now, if a woman needs an abortion, she needs to go all the way to Sioux Falls. This clinic would go beyond abortion and contraception. We're missing out on teaching our boys and men about what they need to do to avoid pregnancies.

RA: I called the governor's office to find out what the penalty would be for women who have abortions if the law goes into effect, but haven't received a call back. If the law is upheld, will women be able to have legal abortions on your reservation?

CFT: We don't know. We have five Indian lawyers working on this right now. When we go face to face with the South Dakota lawmakers, we'll be ready.

RA: You've made it a point to talk about rape in your interviews. While the abortion ban has received widespread attention, there's been little talk how this law would force a girl who'd been raped by a male relative to have his baby.

CFT: We need to start talking about those issues. Americans should be outraged about the number of women who are raped in this country. We need to also speak out for women in places like Afghanistan and other war-torn areas where rape is happening. This is not new. Rape has always been a part of life. Unfortunately, the world is not always a safe place for women. Ultimately, this is a much bigger issue than just abortion. The women of America should be outraged that policies and decisions about their bodies are being made by male politicians and clergy. It's time for women to reclaim their bodies. Women in America have something that women in other parts of the world don't have. Women in this country don't appreciate their right to free speech. Women in America can be the voice of women around the world. This is a call to arms by women in the United States.

RA: And not only are the anti-choicers going after abortion, they're also going after birth control.

CFT: Women should have access to contraception. No questions asked. Contraception is a solution. Why don't they (politicians) get it?

RA: Do the women on the reservation have access to contraception?

CFT: We have Indian clinics on the reservation, so birth control is available, but it's not enough. We're going to go ahead with the clinic no matter what. If nothing else, we need to establish a place where women feel comfortable.

RA: *How will you fund it?*

CFT: I'm not concerned about that. We'll get a lot of support. If it's meant to be, it'll happen. We pray a lot. We trust that there will be people who support it.

RA: *How do these laws directly impact the poor women on the reservation?*

DFT: Women of color and poor women have always known that regardless of what happens, women with money will have access to abortion. Women with money will have access to contraception. No matter which way you cut it, it's always on the backs of poor women. An elder on my reservation said, "So they don't want you to have contraception or abortions after rape? Are they going to step up and take care of that baby?"

RA: *Do you think the pro-choice movement does enough to reach out to poor women?*

CFT: Yes and no. For the most part, we have to empower ourselves. We're becoming much more politically astute, and we're getting a lot more young people involved. We love to get people riled up.

RA: *Tell me about your reservation and the realities women living in rural areas face in this political climate.*

CFT: My reservation is 50 miles by 100 miles long. It's a large rural community of 40,000 people and 60 percent of our people speak our language. Half of our population is under 18. In a perfect world, if a woman is raped, she will call the police, and the police will take her to the emergency room. The emergency room will have components in place to help this woman, including the morning-after pill to prevent the pregnancy. In rural America, that doesn't happen. Many places in rural America do not know about the morning-after pill. On the reservation, we have to take a look at the high rates of alcohol and drug use. More often than not, young women who've been raped while under the influence will be blamed for being drunk. If someone is raped, especially out in the rural community, they may not report it. After three days, they've passed the cut-off point for taking the morning-after pill. How many babies are conceived during the act of violence? We don't know.

RA: *Tell me about your background.*

CFT: I was born and raised on the reservation. Then I went to Los Angeles on a relocation program from 1963 to 1976. The program was the Eisenhower administration's solution to the "Indian problem." What they wanted to do was put us in cities and hope we would disappear. During the '70s, Los Angeles had the largest Indian population in the U.S. I eventually became a nurse and was able to provide for my two children. I returned to the reservation in 1987 and eventually worked for the state health department.

RA: *And eventually became the first woman president of your tribe.*

CFT: Yes, it says a lot about my tribe. My job is to look after 2.7 million acres of land. My job is to take care of the water. My responsibilities are not only about the two-legged, but the four-legged. I have to make sure we have an infrastructure in

place, that our educational systems are working, that we have healthcare and that our people have enough food to eat. Right in my own backyard, I have great possibilities. We're very patriotic on my reservation, however, it's time to get out of Iraq. We need to let people make their own decisions about their future. As a woman and a mother, I personally don't want any more women to cry.

RA: *Are many men from the reservation in Iraq and Afghanistan?*

CFT: You bet. We have hundreds of guys over there, and they volunteer to go. We just had a big funeral here last month. It was our first casualty.

RA: *How old was he?*

CFT: He was 22. So many of our resources have been taken away from us to support that war. There's a huge groundswell of Americans that say enough is enough. It's time to get out of there.

RA: *What are your plans from here?*

CFT: I'll continue pushing the envelope and exerting our sovereignty. A long time ago, we had medicines that were available to terminate a pregnancy. Women like my grandmother were medicine women, and they had it in their possession. So you look at every culture in the world, and there were ways we took care of ourselves. You didn't have people passing laws to control a woman's body. As a woman, it's my job to support women. It's my job to support my sisters.

Rose Aguilar is a San Francisco-based journalist who recently returned from a six-month road trip through the so-called "red states." She is writing a book about her journey.

LETTERS

Local Police As Federal Agents

Why haven't they come for me? I'm just as anti-Bush as the next guy. Like this guy Picariello, that the red-eyed commie outfit IAC [*International Action Center*] has been backing. (I keep getting emails from IAC, and I could get off their list I suppose, but hey, I need to know what's goin on, don't I?)

Picariello, it seems, was a noisy street activist who was being watched by the FBI for years and finally the Boston police arrested him for leafleting, they say, at the Democratic National Convention two years ago. Boy, if that isn't a crime! So they bring the case to Massachusetts courts where they have a dozen hearings because the judge doesn't get it—how embarrassing it would be for the Boston cops not to find a single dangerous person shouting "down with Bush". And it was federal lawyers in this state court trying to convict Picariello.

And why should this Boston thing be monkeywrenched by federal agents? Because—now get this—the Boston cops are suddenly FEDERAL agents, at least for the Dem NATIONAL Convention. Why? Because some eager-beaver federal bureaucrats figured out how to deputize local police departments after that vacuum-cleaner spy agency, J Edgar HOOVER's COINTELPRO, was declared illegal.

—Joe Sweetwater, Boston

(More letters on Page 14 >>)

LOCALIZATION

Compromised: Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting Faces New Powers

by Daniel Chavez, *Red Pepper* (UK), May 2006

Six years after he first reported from Porto Alegre for *Red Pepper*, Daniel Chavez returns to the home of 'participatory budgeting' in Brazil to find a struggle taking place over the soul of local democracy that has great relevance to debates in the UK over 'localism' and 'community empowerment'

Between 1989, when the radical *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT, the Workers' Party) won the election for mayor, and 2004, when its candidate was defeated, the government and people of Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, developed an exemplary model of democratic local government. I wrote about it for *Red Pepper* ('Cities for People', June 1999), describing how the idea of the 'participatory budget' was transforming urban residents who had been powerless under the rule of authoritarian and corrupt elites into active subjects with growing power over the decisions shaping their daily lives.

Through 16 years of trial and error, citizens, public servants and elected politicians negotiated a city-wide system of open, participatory decision-making over new public investments to replace the secret, centralised and corrupt ways of traditional local government. In the process the citizens and their local organisations built up what seemed to be a source of public power with a dynamism independent of any particular government. The popular roots of the participatory budget gave it a real influence over government and marked a genuine innovation in democratic practice. It is this popular decision-making power that is now at stake in a very practical conflict over the meaning of participatory budgeting and participatory government more generally. And important though this conflict is for the 1,360,000 inhabitants of Porto Alegre, it also has significance for urban politics across Latin America and the rest of the world.

By the time Porto Alegre was hosting the first World Social Forum in 2001, it had become a global beacon for participatory democracy, winning 'best practice' awards from mainstream international development agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and UN-Habitat. In Latin America it is practised—depending on how one defines it—in between 250 and 2,500 municipalities. The smaller figure refers to those cities where the process was implemented as a local government initiative, while the larger number would include all the municipal governments recently required by national laws to consult civil society on budget priorities, as is now prescribed in Bolivia, Nicaragua, and Peru.

The appeal of Porto Alegre has also reached Europe. The potentialities and limitations of participatory democracy in Europe have been tested with mixed results in places as diverse as the small town of Grottamare, on the Adriatic coast, and Seville, the capital of Andalusia. The EU has even allocated substantial funding for the creation of a network of co-operation (Urb-AI) between European and Latin American municipalities focused on participatory budgeting. Currently this has 252 members from Latin America and 122 from Europe.

Mainstream Governments Use PB as Window Dressing

How far the participatory process elsewhere involves the kind of shared power between government and autonomous popular bodies essential to the Porto Alegre model and how far it is

merely a process of consultation varies enormously. There have been strong efforts by the World Bank and other mainstream 'development' institutions to attempt to 'pasteurise' the lessons from Porto Alegre, suppressing its original political objectives of deepening democracy and strengthening popular power, by presenting participatory budgeting as just another managerial technology for efficient government. Nowadays, in parts of Latin America and in Europe, even conservative and neo-liberal municipal governments are implementing what they call 'participatory budgeting', all too often as a source of democratic legitimacy as they implement market-driven policies. At the same time, however, the original objectives of the Brazilian left are being taken up by leftists around the world. For example, Ubiratã de Souza, former head of the planning and budget office in Porto Alegre, is currently advising on the extension of participatory budgeting in the framework of the Bolivarian revolution of Venezuela.

The international conflict over the prospects and potential of participatory democracy is nowhere more intense, appropriately enough, than in its birthplace. The heterogeneous local coalition that took office after the PT's electoral defeat in 2004 launched a new institutional scheme called 'local solidary governance', which has been praised by the World Bank and the EU but strongly criticised by local NGOs, other civil society organisations and by many of the most active participants in the participatory budget process itself.

During the election campaign, the new mayor, José Fogaça, committed himself to maintaining the PT's participatory budget programme, and also to political and logistical support for the World Social Forum. The catchphrase of Fogaça, a member of the Partido Popular Socialista (PPS, the Socialist People's Party, founded by former communists and until 2004 an ally of the PT in the federal government) and his coalition of 12 parties was 'Let's keep whatever is working and let's change whatever is not'.

The PT remained the largest single party in Porto Alegre, winning 47 per cent of the vote. Fogaça narrowly won the mayoral election with a strategy that played on a desire for change after 16 years of continuous *petista* (that is, PT-led) administration while explicitly recognising the left's record of good government. According to Sergio Baierle, one of Brazil's sharper political analysts, 'It wasn't the participatory budgeting process nor the World Social Forum who were defeated in 2004, but the government led by the PT.'

Workers Party Neglects and Disappointments

After more than a decade in power, focusing on the social and political dimensions of municipal rule, the left had not paid enough attention to financial sustainability and growing administrative problems. The PT began to lose its political hegemony, first among the middle class and then among those who had been the main beneficiaries of the strategy of 'inverse investment priorities'—prioritising the poorer neighbourhoods and social sectors.

The PT mayoral candidate, former mayor (and current PT secretary general) Raul Pont, also pointed to disenchantment with the federal government as contributing to the setback. In his view, 'The anti-PT feeling promoted by the conservative sectors converged with falling expectations and hope after the changes that were expected when Lula took office never materialised.'

The declared commitment of the new mayor to participatory budgeting seems hollow when you look at his background and

that of the main figures in the local administration. Fogaça was for many years a paid consultant for Fiergs, the industrial federation of Rio Grande do Sul and the face of big business in the state, and Grupo RBS, the powerful private media conglomerate that controls TV broadcasting and the press in southern Brazil. The new policy co-ordinator of the municipality, César Busatto, was finance secretary in the state government between 1995-1998, when he had been responsible for extensive privatisations and generous fiscal incentives for large corporations.

In recent months César Busatto has given several keynote presentations on citizens' participation at international conferences in Latin America and Europe. But most of the social activists I interviewed in Porto Alegre at the beginning of March—many of them members of the participatory budgeting council, the nucleus of the participatory process, composed of delegates elected from different regions [of the city] to decide on final budget priorities and negotiate with the municipal government—saw these frequent declarations as mere pleasantries without substance.

The fate of the participatory budget under the first year of the new administration justifies these doubts. The title of an article published in the December 2005 issue of *De Olho no Orçamento* (Watching the Budget), a bulletin published by Cidade, the most active local NGO in the field of urban politics, says it all: 'Formality maintained, without the effective contents of direct participation.'

New Admin Cuts Accountability Info, Returns to Clientism

The article documents a serious deterioration in the participatory process. Members of the participatory budgeting council complain that the government no longer provides adequate information, that elected and appointed officials no longer attend the local assemblies and that there is generally a decline in accountability around the administration of financial resources and carrying out of public works. These complaints imply a return of the traditional clientelism that used to permeate politics across Brazil, with the *vereadores* (city councillors) and municipal staff once again doing deals to arrange individualised delivery of public works and services in exchange for political allegiance.

Another sign that the original democratic purpose of the participatory budget is not safe in the hands of the new administration is the recentralisation of decision-making power in the hands of government officials.

Felisberto Luisi, a social activist with over a decade of engagement in the process of participatory budgeting, gave me an example: 'Before, the *plano plurianual* (multi-year investment plan) was discussed by the participatory budgeting council, but in 2005 that plan came already written by the government and we were allowed only two meetings for deliberation. The mayor's office and the *câmara municipal* (city council) are beginning to take back the power that had been granted to the people.'

Government officials retort that the new commitment to 'local solidary governance' means that deliberation will no longer be restricted to the municipal budget. It will also include the 'social budget' to be contributed by civil society organisations and the business community of the city, including financial, physical and human resources.

Corporate Noses, Austerity, Privatization

They also insist that the new strategy aims to include those 'excluded' from the participatory budgeting process—referring to private companies, foundations, universities, churches and public

agencies of the state and federal as well as the municipal government. In this context, popular organisations become just one actor among many. Cidade argues that this is tantamount to rejecting 'the importance of the principle of popular sovereignty that always characterised participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre'.

At the same time Fogaça has implemented fiscal austerity measures that put financial stability before the social needs of the poor. Public services are being corporatised, including in the housing and water and sanitation departments, which increasingly operate as private companies. The municipality now also offers tax incentives to large corporations and promotes public-private partnerships as the way to foster urban development.

Poor People Betrayed, Belligerent

In spite of the municipal government's efforts to entice the private for-profit sector to be a partner in 'local solidary governance', few of the allegedly excluded sectors have taken an active role. The forums created by the municipality have been attended mostly by representatives of the government and of low-income neighbourhood associations, with thin participation from other sectors. The popular sectors that had sustained participatory budgeting in the past years have turned these meetings into confrontations with the new mayor and his team, pressuring them to meet the obligations of the participatory budget process and subverting their intended new role.

Any politically-aware Briton travelling to the south of Brazil these days would soon realise that there are many similarities between the 'new localism' promoted by New Labour in the UK and Porto Alegre's local solidary governance. Both approaches appear to encourage the devolution of decision-making closer to 'local communities'.

In Britain, representatives of the voluntary and community sector are requested to participate in new institutional arrangements such as local strategic partnerships, foundation trusts and neighbourhood management initiatives, with the promise of positive outcomes for service users and the community as a whole. In Porto Alegre, local solidary governance was conceived, in the words of César Busatto, as 'an executive, non-deliberative forum; it is a network created to foster joint responsibility agreements (between private, government and voluntary and community sectors). In this space there is no conflict, no elections, no delegates.'

Corp Co-opting via Public-Private Partnerships

In Britain, Brazil and elsewhere, however, the real aim seems to be the shift of responsibilities away from the state through 'partnerships' that in practice are a new form of privatisation. This requires the subordination of popular organisations to the rules and interests of the most powerful—large private business, in particular.

At an EU-sponsored international conference (Urb-AI) in Porto Alegre at the beginning of March, members of the participatory budgeting council openly challenged the views of municipal officials and academic 'experts' who had questioned their experience of building participatory democracy.

The supporters of participatory budgeting are divided, though, and many of the most experienced activists have lost their connections with the wider community, contributing to the 'NGO-isation' of the urban movement. At least two new NGOs have been created by present and current members of the participatory budgeting council, with competing strategies and

views on urban politics. From the outset, the new political administration has tried to incorporate grassroots leaders and technical staff formerly affiliated with the left, offering them leading positions in the new government.

Confusion on the Left

On the political front, too, the situation is not optimistic. By the late 1990s the left had become increasingly bureaucratized; the Workers Party had tried to compensate for the loss of its social base by co-opting social leaders, starting a cycle that weakened both the party and the movement. More fundamentally, the PT—weakened and atomized by the electoral defeat in Porto Alegre and the wider crisis of the party across Brazil caused by the *mensalão* (last year's revelations of systemic political corruption by elements of the PT leadership)—has not been able to develop a coherent strategy to deal with the new situation.

In short, after the local defeat of the left in 2004, Porto Alegre has become the scene of a sharp conflict between opposed political strategies. Analysis of the conflict unfolding in the city can help to decode the rhetoric and realities of the latest global wave of 'citizens' participation' and 'community empowerment'. Only by debating the promises and limitations of experiments in popular participation such as this one will we be able to radicalise urban politics and build the foundations for deeper and stronger democracies in Brazil and elsewhere.

Daniel Chavez, a Uruguayan anthropologist, is a fellow of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam.

Guantanamo Prisoners' Secret Garden They Grow Melon, Peppers, Lemon Sapling

by Andrew Buncombe, *The Independent*, Washington, 29 Apr 2006

With their bare hands and the most basic of tools, prisoners at Guantanamo Bay have fashioned a secret garden where they have grown plants from seeds recovered from their meals. For some of the detainees—held without charge for more than four years and who the US say are now cleared for release—the garden apparently offers a diversion from the monotony and injustice of their imprisonment.

Using water to soften soil baked hard by the Caribbean sun and then scratching away with plastic spoons, a handful of prisoners have reportedly produced sufficient earth to grow watermelon, peppers, garlic, cantaloupe and even a tiny lemon plant, no more than two inches high.

The revelation of the garden has now been seized on by campaigners, seeking to close the prison camp in Cuba, who have urged supporters around the world to send them seeds which they will in turn seek to send to the prisoners. They have termed their campaign "Seed of Hope".

The existence of the garden—apparently prohibited by the US military authorities—was revealed by the Boston-based lawyer Sabin Willett who was informed of it by one of his clients, Sadiq Ahmed Turkistani, held at Guantanamo Bay since 2002.

Mr Willett said that, last year, the US military deemed Mr Turkistani was no longer an "enemy combatant" but that he remained in legal limbo because no country was prepared to take him. Mr Willett said lawyers had regularly pressed the authorities of Joint Task Force Guantanamo [JTFGTMO] about establishing a garden

but that they had refused.

Mr Willett told *The Independent* that he was explaining this to Mr Turkistani on a recent visit when he was told the prisoners already had a garden. "I could not believe it," he said. "I knew they had no tools. If you take in court papers you have to take the staples out. The look on his face as he told me how they had unscrewed the mop handles and used buckets of water [to build the garden] was something wonderful."

Mr Turkistani said he and other prisoners held in part of the prison known as Camp Iguana softened the ground with water overnight and then used the spoons to dig. Every day they managed to loosen more soil until they had enough for a bed for planting. "We have lots of time here," he said.

Gardening has long been associated with POW camps. At the Harperley POW Camp, in County Durham, built by the British for German and Italian prisoners during the Second World War, gardening was encouraged, along with educational classes and football.

Mr Willett said that, when he put the request to JTFGTMO, he was told gardening was not permitted. "These people have been put in such a hellish situation and yet, somehow, they have found a way to create life, literally," he said. "They have had to take the seeds from their meals and then scratch at the soil in order to get that going." Mr Willett, who first wrote about the garden in *The Washington Post*, said he had not personally seen the prisoners' garden but had been told of it by three different detainees.

Mr Turkistani's plight is especially pitiful. An ethnic Uighur who was living in Afghanistan, he had been jailed by the Taliban for three years and then freed by the Washington-backed Northern Alliance in late 2001 before being transferred to US custody. Last year, Mr Turkistani, who was born and raised in Saudi Arabia, was cleared for release from Guantanamo Bay. His lawyers say he is guilty of no crime and should never have been seized by the US. He was accused by the Taliban of being involved in a plot to kill Osama bin Laden—an allegation he denies.

But the future of Mr Turkistani and the eight other cleared prisoners—five Chinese Uighurs, a Russian, an Algerian and an Egyptian—who live in the less restrictive Camp Iguana, remains uncertain. He does not hold Saudi citizenship and the US does not want to send him to China because of the discrimination against Uighurs there.

The UK-based campaign group Reprieve has urged people to send seeds. They have established a PO Box, details of which can be found on the group's website www.reprieve.org.uk.

Reprieve's legal director, Clive Stafford Smith, said: "The massive might of the US military is intent on holding prisoners in an environment that is stripped of comfort, humanity, beauty and even law. Yet the prisoners held there have overcome this with a plastic spoon and a lemon seed. It is the beginning of the end of Guantanamo Bay."

Spurred by the fact that only a handful of detainees have been charged, there have been repeated calls for the closure of Guantanamo Bay, which was established for prisoners captured in the so-called "war on terror". A UN Human Rights Commission report published in February called for its immediate closure...

The Pentagon said this week that around 140 of the 500 prisoners held at Guantanamo had been reclassified and were no longer considered enemy combatants.

Bush Hedges in Signing Laws Flouts Congress, Eyes Court

by Charlie Savage, *Boston Globe*, 30 April 2006

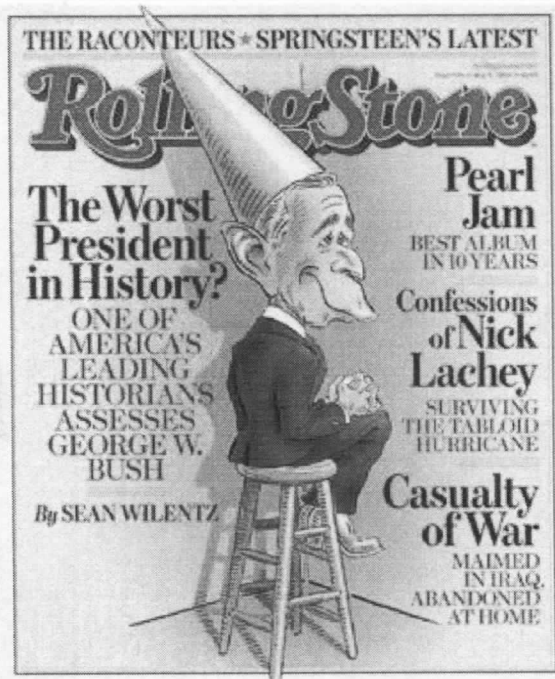
Since taking office in 2001, President Bush has issued signing statements on more than 750 new laws, declaring that he has the power to set aside the laws when they conflict with his legal interpretation. The federal government is instructed to follow the statements when it enforces the laws. Here are 10 examples [in italics] and the dates Bush signed them:

March 9: Justice Department officials must give reports to Congress by certain dates on how the FBI is using the USA Patriot Act to search homes and secretly seize papers.

"The president can order Justice Department officials to withhold any information from Congress if he decides it could impair national security or executive branch operations."

Dec. 30, 2005: US interrogators cannot torture prisoners or otherwise subject them to cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment.

"The president, as commander in chief, can waive the torture ban if he decides that harsh interrogation techniques will assist in preventing terrorist attacks."



Dec. 30: When requested, scientific information "prepared by government researchers and scientists shall be transmitted [to Congress] uncensored and without delay."

"The president can tell researchers to withhold any information from Congress if he decides its disclosure could impair foreign relations, national security, or the workings of the executive branch."

Aug. 8: The Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and its contractors may not fire or otherwise punish an employee whistle-blower who tells Congress about possible wrongdoing.

"The president or his appointees will determine whether employees of the Department of Energy and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission can give information to Congress."

Dec. 23, 2004: Forbids US troops in Colombia from participating in any combat against rebels, except in cases of self-defense. Caps the number of US troops allowed in Colombia at 800.

"Only the president, as commander in chief, can place restrictions on the use of US armed forces, so the executive branch will construe the law 'as advisory in nature.'"

Dec. 17: The new national intelligence director shall recruit and train women and minorities to be spies, analysts, and translators in order to ensure diversity in the intelligence community.

"The executive branch shall construe the law in a manner consistent with a constitutional clause guaranteeing "equal protection" for all." (In 2003, the Bush administration argued against race-conscious affirmative-action programs in a Supreme Court case. The court rejected Bush's view.)

Oct. 29: Defense Department personnel are prohibited from interfering with the ability of military lawyers to give independent legal advice to their commanders.

"All military attorneys are bound to follow legal conclusions reached by the administration's lawyers in the Justice Department and the Pentagon when giving advice to their commanders."

Aug. 5: The military cannot add to its files any illegally gathered intelligence, including information obtained about Americans in violation of the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable searches.

"Only the president, as commander in chief, can tell the military whether or not it can use any specific piece of intelligence."

Nov. 6, 2003: US officials in Iraq cannot prevent an inspector general for the Coalition Provisional Authority from carrying out any investigation. The inspector general must tell Congress if officials refuse to cooperate with his inquiries.

"The inspector general "shall refrain" from investigating anything involving sensitive plans, intelligence, national security, or anything already being investigated by the Pentagon. The inspector cannot tell Congress anything if the president decides that disclosing the information would impair foreign relations, national security, or executive branch operations."

Nov. 5, 2002: Creates an Institute of Education Sciences whose director may conduct and publish research "without the approval of the secretary [of education] or any other office of the department."

"The president has the power to control the actions of all executive branch officials, so 'the director of the Institute of Education Sciences shall [be] subject to the supervision and direction of the secretary of education.'"

Earlier, Walter Dellinger, Assistant Attorney General, wrote to an adviser to G W Bush:

So far as we have been able to determine, Presidential signing statements that purported to create legislative history for the use of the courts was uncommon—if indeed it existed at all—before the Reagan and Bush Presidencies. However, earlier Presidents did use signing statements to raise and address the

legal or constitutional questions they believed were presented by the legislation they were signing. Examples of signing statements of this kind can be found as early as the Jackson and Tyler Administrations, and later Presidents, including Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter, also engaged in the practice. [Following are two examples. —Ed.]

In 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt confided an unpublished Presidential legal opinion objecting to the "two-House veto" provision in the Lend Lease bill to then-Attorney General Robert Jackson. Roosevelt found the provision "clearly unconstitutional," but signed the bill as a matter of diplomatic and political necessity. Robert H. Jackson, *A Presidential Legal Opinion*, 66 Harv. L. Rev. 1353, 1357 (1953). President Roosevelt also signed the Urgent Deficiency Appropriations Act of 1943, which included a section prohibiting the payment of a government salary or other compensation to certain named government employees deemed to be subversive. While signing the bill because it appropriated funds urgently needed to carry on the war, Roosevelt "plac[ed] on record my view that this provision is not only unwise and discriminatory, but unconstitutional." *United States v. Lovett*, 328 U.S. 303, 313 (1946).

President Truman issued a statement on the occasion of signing the General Appropriation Act of 1951 in which he addressed a provision of the bill authorizing loans to Spain. Truman construed the provision in a manner that avoided what he thought would be an unconstitutional outcome, declaring that "I do not regard this provision as a directive, which would be unconstitutional, but instead as an authorization, in addition to the authority already in existence under which loans to Spain may be made." *Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman*, 616 (1950).

Israel Lobby and US Interests Which Tail Wags Which Dog?

by Uri Avnery, *People Who Give a Damn* (blog), 22 April 2006

I don't usually tell these stories, because they might give rise to the suspicion that I am paranoid. For example: 27 years ago, I was invited to give a lecture-tour in 30 American universities, including all the most prestigious ones—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, MIT, Berkeley and so on. My host was the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a respected non-Jewish organization, but the lectures themselves were to be held under the auspices of the Jewish Bet-Hillel chaplains.

On arrival at the airport in New York I was met by one of the organizers. "There is a slight hitch," he told me, "29 of the Rabbis have cancelled your lecture."

In the end, all the lectures did take place, under the auspices of Christian chaplains. When we came to the lone Rabbi who had not cancelled my lecture, he told me the secret: the lectures had been forbidden in a confidential letter from the Anti-Defamation League, the thought-police of the Jewish establishment. The salient phrase has stuck to my memory: "While it cannot be said that Member of the Knesset Avnery is a traitor, yet..."

And another story from real life: A year later I went to Washington DC in order to "sell" the Two-State solution, which at the time was considered an outlandish, not to say crazy, idea. In the

course of the visit, the Quakers were so kind as to arrange a press conference for me.

When I arrived, I was amazed. The hall was crammed full, practically all the important American media were represented. Many had come straight from a press conference held by Golda Meir, who was also in town. The event was to last an hour, as is usual, but the journalists did not let go. They bombarded me with questions for another two hours. Clearly, what I had to say was quite new to them and they were interested.

I was curious how this would be reported in the media. And indeed, the reaction was stunning: Not a word appeared in any of the newspapers, on radio or TV. Not one single word.

By the way, three years ago I again held a press conference, this time on Capitol Hill in Washington. It was an exact replica of the last time: the crowd of reporters, their obvious interest, the continuation of the conference well beyond the appointed time—and not a single word in the media.

Mearsheimer-Walt Accuses Israel Lobby

I could tell some more stories like these, but the point is made. I recount them only in connection with the scandal recently caused by two American professors, Stephen Walt of Harvard and John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago. They published a research paper on the influence of the Israel lobby in the United States.

In 80 pages, 40 of them footnotes and sources, the two show how the pro-Israel lobby exercises unbridled power in the US capital, how it terrorizes the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, how the White House dances to its tune (if indeed a house can dance), how the important media obey its orders and how the universities, too, live in fear of it.

The paper caused a storm. And I don't mean the predictable wild attacks by the "friends of Israel"—which means almost all politicians, journalists and professors. These pelted the authors with all the usual accusations: that they were anti-Semites, that they were resurrecting the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and so forth. There was something paradoxical in these attacks, since they only illustrated the authors' case.

But the debate that fascinates me is of a different nature. It broke out between senior intellectuals, from the legendary Noam Chomsky, the guru of the Left throughout the world (including Israel), to progressive websites everywhere. The bone of contention: the conclusion of the paper that the Jewish-Israeli lobby dominates US foreign policy and subjugates it to Israeli interests—in glaring contradiction to the national interest of the US itself. A case in point: the American assault on Iraq.

The Villain: Israel Lobby or Corporations?

Chomsky and others rose up against this assertion. They do not deny the factual findings of the two professors, but object to their conclusions. In their view, it is not the Israel lobby that directs American policy, but the interests of the big corporations that dominate the American empire and exploit Israel for their own selfish aims.

Simply put: does the dog wag its tail, or does the tail wag its dog?

I am nervous about sticking my head into a debate between such illustrious intellectuals, but I feel obliged to express my view nevertheless.

I'll start with the Jew, who went to the Rabbi and complained about his neighbor. "You are right" the Rabbi declared. Then came the neighbor and denounced the complainant. "You are right" the Rabbi announced. "But how can that be," exclaimed the Rabbi's wife, "Only one of the two can be right!" "You are right, too," the Rabbi said.

I find myself in a similar situation. I think that both sides are right (and hope to be right, myself, too).

The findings of the two professors are right to the last detail. Every Senator and Congressman knows that criticizing the Israeli government is political suicide. Two of them, a Senator and a Congressman, tried—and were politically executed. The Jewish lobby was fully mobilized against them and hounded them out of office. This was done openly, to set a public example. If the Israeli government wanted a law tomorrow annulling the Ten Commandments, 95 Senators (at least) would sign the bill forthwith.

President Bush, for example, has withdrawn from all the established American positions regarding our conflict. He accepts automatically the positions of our government [Israel], be they as they may. Almost all the American media are closed to Palestinians and Israeli peace activists. As to professors—almost all of them know which side of their bread is peanut-buttered. If, in spite of that, somebody dares to open their mouth against the Israeli policy—as happens once every few years—they are smothered under a volley of denunciations: anti-Semite, Holocaust denier, neo-Nazi.

By the way, American guests in Israel, who know that at home it is forbidden to mention the influence of the Jewish-Israeli lobby, are dumbfounded to see that here the lobby does not hide its power in Washington but openly boasts of it.

The question, therefore, is not whether the two professors are right in their findings. The question is what conclusions can be drawn from them.

Let's take the Iraq affair. Who is the dog? Who the tail?

Common Enemy, Different Reasons

The Israeli government prayed for this attack, which has eliminated the strategic threat posed by Iraq. America was pushed into the war by a group of Neo-Conservatives, almost all of them Jews, who had a huge influence on the White House. In the past, some of them had acted as advisers to Binyamin Netanyahu.

On the face of it, a clear case. The pro-Israeli lobby pushed for the war, Israel is its main beneficiary. If the war ends in a disaster for America, Israel will undoubtedly be blamed.

Really? What about the American aim of getting their hands on the main oil reserves of the world, in order to dominate the world economy? What about the aim of placing an American garrison in the center of the main oil-producing area, on top of the Iraqi oil, between the oil of Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Caspian Sea? What about the immense influence of the big oil companies on the Bush family? What about the big multinational corporations, whose outstanding representative is Dick Cheney, that hoped to make hundreds of billions from the "reconstruction of Iraq"?

The lesson of the Iraq affair is that the American-Israeli connection is strongest when it seems that American interests and Israeli Interests are one (irrespective of whether that is really the case in the long run). The US uses Israel to dominate the Middle East, Israel uses the US to dominate Palestine.

But if something exceptional happens, such as the Jonathan Pollard espionage affair or the sale of an Israeli spy plane to China, and a gap opens between the interests of the two sides, America is quite capable of slapping Israel in the face.

American-Israeli relations are indeed unique. It seems that they have no precedent in history. It is as if King Herod had given orders to Augustus Caesar and appointed the members of the Roman senate.

I don't think that this phenomenon can be wholly explained by economic interests. Even the most orthodox Marxist must recognize that it also has a spiritual dimension. It is no accident that American (as well as British) fundamentalist Christians invented the Zionist idea well before Theodor Herzl hit upon it. The evangelical lobby is no less important in today's Washington than the Zionist one. According to its ideology, the Jews must take possession of all the Holy Land in order to make the Second Coming of Christ possible (and then—the part they don't shout about—some Jews will become Christians and the rest will be annihilated at Armageddon, today's Meggido in Northern Israel).

Israel vs Palestinians = US vs Indians

At the basis of the phenomenon lies the uncanny similarity between the two national-religious stories, the American myth and the Israeli. In both, pioneers persecuted for their religion reached the shores of the Promised Land. They were forced to defend themselves against the "savage" natives, who were out to destroy them. They redeemed the land, made the desert bloom, created, with God's help, a flourishing, democratic and moral society.

Both societies live in a state of denial and unconscious guilt feelings—over there because of the genocide committed against the Native Americans and the horrifying slavery of the blacks, here because of the uprooting of half the Palestinian people and the oppression of the other half. Both here and there, people believe in an eternal war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

Anyhow, the American-Israeli symbiosis is unique and far too complex a phenomenon to be described as a simple conspiracy. I am sure that the two professors did not mean to do so.

The dog wags the tail and the tail wags the dog. They wag each other.

Uri Avnery was a member of Israel's parliament 1965-73 and 1979-81, and founded Gush Shalom (Peace Bloc) 1993-present.. This article is posted at <http://pwqd.org/qs/2006/04/22/19>

Palestine Parliament Forced to Convene by TV

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 Hamas never promised the voters a peace agreement with Israel. It promised an end to corruption and to the growing anarchy. Instead, it has entered the vortex of a war of all against all. The coffers are empty. The police from the Fatah days, still armed but unpaid, have taken to the streets. Amid all this, Hamas isn't even able to convene as a government. Israel won't let the legislators leave Gaza for Ramallah or vice-versa, so parliamentary sessions must be conducted by video camera before the eyes of the world. Transparency indeed!

—Roni Ben Efrat, *Challenge* (leftist, Jaffa), May-June 2006

## Brandeis Yields to Jingoos Palestine Teens' Art Is Taken Down

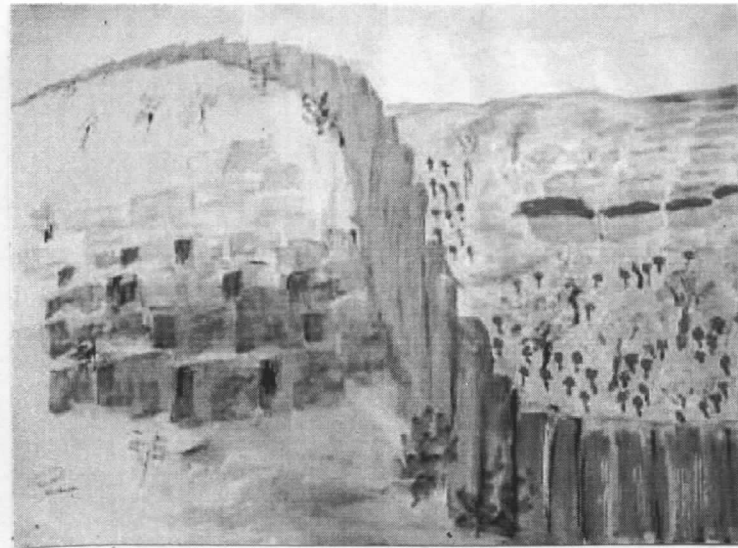


Hussam Al-Azza is 16 years old, was born in Beit Jibrin camp, but his family are refugees from Beit Jibrin destroyed village in 1948.

Hobbies: Theater, football, basketball, table tennis, chess and swimming.

Dream: Liberation of Palestine and hopes to become Nerves surgeon or genetic Engineer.

A Word to the World: I want to tell the world about Palestine, and I ask them to search the reality about our case, and I am full of hope.



(Illustration by Robert Grossman)

by Amy Goodman, [www.DemocracyNow.org](http://www.DemocracyNow.org), 3 May 2006

### Brandeis University Removes Palestinian Youth Art Exhibit

A free speech controversy has erupted at Brandeis University over the removal of an exhibition featuring the paintings of Palestinian youths. The exhibit's 17 paintings depicted the young artists' perspectives on life under Israeli military occupation. But just four days into a two-week run, the exhibit was removed by Brandeis officials after several complaints from students. A university spokesperson said the school would consider re-mounting the paintings if they were to appear alongside paintings showing an Israeli perspective. The exhibition was curated by an Israeli Jewish student who said she wanted to showcase a Palestinian perspective on campus. The student, Lior Halperin, said: "This was an opportunity to bring to Brandeis the Palestinian voice that is not spoken or heard through an Israeli or an American Jew, but directly delivered from Palestinians. Obviously that was just too much for Brandeis."

by Daniel Terris, Brandeis University, 5 May 2006

### Dear Members of the Brandeis University Community:

Over the past several years, the International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life [*Terris is Director—Ed.*] and Brandeis as a whole have developed an increasingly deep and robust set of connections with Palestinian individuals and institutions. This comes as part of a self-conscious effort to bring a variety of perspectives on the Middle East to our campus, in order to enrich our intellectual climate and to encourage the Brandeis community to pursue a goal of mutual understanding. These activities have included:

- \* A multi-year, multi-dimensional partnership with Al-Quds University, the Palestinian university in Jerusalem, involving dozens of faculty members, students, and administrators from both institutions
- \* Partnerships on coexistence projects with Palestinian NGOs in Nablus, Ramallah, East Jerusalem, and Bethlehem
- \* Assisting with the development of the Arab-Jewish dialogue group on the Brandeis campus, as well as developing activities specifically involving Brandeis students from the Middle East
- \* Dozens of courses, lectures, performances, and discussions, representing a variety of points of view, on Middle East topics on the Brandeis campus

We have learned many things from this array of projects, but one thing stands out:

Projects focused on the Middle East must be conducted with great care, because sensitivities are high and opponents of peace on all sides are vigilant for opportunities to undermine honest attempts at dialogue and understanding...

The exhibit consists of images of paintings by young Palestinians, ages 13-16, accompanied in each case by text expressing political hopes and dreams. Some of the paintings contain controversial images, alongside text about the future of a "free Palestine" that some members of our campus community would likely find troubling. I became concerned that—in the relative absence of context or explanation—the exhibit would have for many viewers precisely the opposite effect that Lior intended... Later that weekend, the senior administration of the University acted to take it down, following a decision in which I did not participate...

During the week of the exhibit controversy, I was spending most of my time as the principal host for a group of eight Palestinian administrators at Al-Quds University. They spent their time on campus discussing issues of management, information technology, and financial planning with their Brandeis counterparts. They also shared their feelings and concerns about the future of the Middle East with members of our campus community...

*Ed. Note: The exhibit was moved to MIT's Building 38 TSMC lobby, 4-11 May. You can view the paintings and brief bio's online at [www.rule19.org/pal-art-0605.htm](http://www.rule19.org/pal-art-0605.htm), courtesy P.F. Soto. See example above.*

## Nantucket Views for Millionaires Last Hurrah Before Sustainable Society?

by Jack Coleman, 14 April 2006

<http://polnotes.typepad.com/windfarmblog/>

**D**o the results of Tuesday's ballot question on Nantucket accurately reflect wider public opinion of Cape Wind? Only if the island is a microcosm of the state as a whole—which it's not. Far from being reflective of anything, Nantucket is more akin to a snow globe—and changing much within one is never easy.

Look no further than its real estate listings for proof. Despite the potential for an alleged industrial eyesore on the horizon, waterfront homes on Nantucket routinely sell for several million dollars—and the prices keep getting steeper. A listing this week for a newly-built summer home of "quintessential 1920s style"—ah, Gatsbyesque!—is on the market for \$19 million. The house boasts views of Nantucket Sound "so grand they are unmatched from any location"—apparently even those from south and east of the island without possible offshore windmills cluttering the ambiance.

Yes, this house is on the high end of the market, but there's not much of a low end. Here's one of the few properties to be found there—a "whimsical and charming Madaket Beach property" ("at the beach," not on it) selling for a paltry \$945,000. "Whimsical and charming" is real estate lingo here for what would elsewhere be considered a drafty shack.

It's not just the island's real estate market that reveals how Nantucket is a place far, far apart. So does demographic data compiled by the US Census Bureau. Sixty percent of Nantucket homes are valued at \$500,000 and above—compared to 19 percent for the state as a whole. And this is based on census data collected in 2000; the percentage for the island is surely even higher now due to the surge in housing costs. Nearly 56.1 percent of the houses are seasonal second homes—compared to 3.6 percent for the state as a whole.

Nantucket is a place where a mere .02 percent of residents rely on public transportation for commuting to work, compared to 8.7 percent for the state. Where one in five households have three vehicles or more, compared to only one in eight households across the state. Where 22 percent of households rely on "bottled, tank or LP gas" to heat their homes—all of which must be transported by boat to the island—compared to 2.6 percent for the state. Where 26.1 percent of residents use electricity for heating, invariably the most expensive method, compared to 12.4 percent across the state.

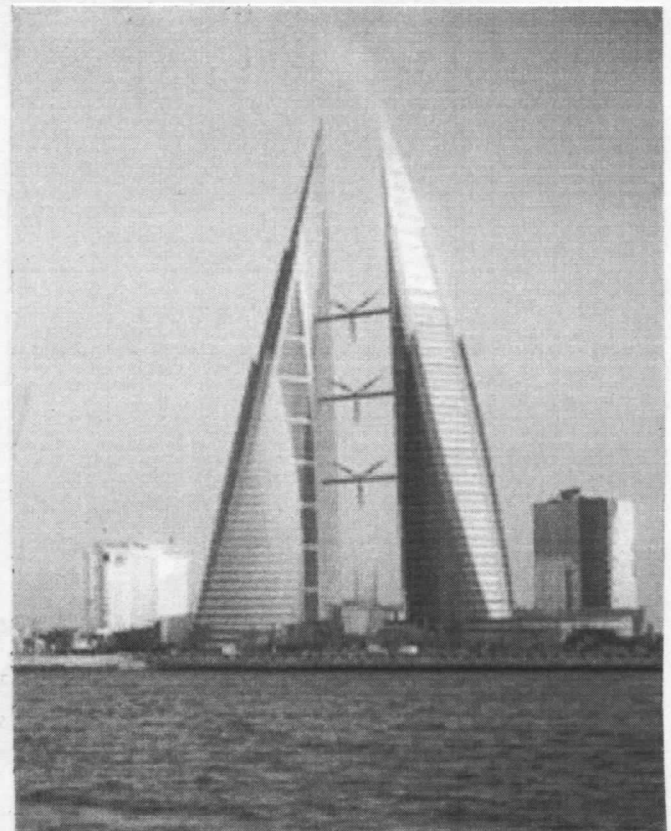
Where 46 percent of those who rent pay more than \$1,000 a month to do so—and this was six years ago—compared to 18.7 for the state. Where 10.7 percent of residents earn \$150,000 or more annually—compared to 6.8 for the state. And where .06 percent of the island's workforce—35 people, according to the census, who identified themselves as working in "farming, fishing and forestry occupations"—compared to .02 percent for the state.

*Ed. Note: Two environmental values are clashing. Economic vs. Esthetic. Senator Kennedy is all economic environmentalism until it's NIMBY—in his back yard, Nantucket. So he fights against electricity windmills in Nantucket Sound like he's saving the whale.*

*I sympathize—I love unobstructed views of nature. I love the vista of trees and far-away hills. I hate factories, chimneys, noisy-smelly trucks, and rusty bridges breaking up our horizon. But there's an irony here. The same people willing to pay a million dollars for an unobstructed view of the ocean are the ones whose stock investments put those factories and chimneys on a thousand horizons. And also ironically, all the oil-dependent architectural ugliness will soon be obsolete as we deplete the earth's oil.*

*Soon we will realize that our intimate surroundings—the more or less ugly artifacts of capitalist convenience and luxury—must go. Hooray! Suburbia will be abandoned. People will have to live more simply and convivially in urban clusters, within walking or biking distance of work and amenities. The land now covered with ticky-tack, McMansions, and roads will have to be restored for vegetable farming and forests.*

*So finally the Ted Kennedys of this world will have their terrestrial vistas after all. The big question is, what do we do with the billions of tons of rubble? Here are careers for a million repentant military men. #*



Bahrain's World Trade Center  
to be built by a Danish firm  
with 3 225-kilowatt elevator wind turbines

Box Voting, provides a particularly vivid glimpse into the scope of the problems associated with electronic voting machines. She notes that, at a special Texas meeting of the Carter-Baker Commission, "I asked a member of the Panel why they [the Commission] had not asked a single question about how hacks can be done. He said it is not necessary to understand how the system can be compromised in order to protect it.

### **The Electronic Trap**

The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) in its nonpartisan September 2005 report on elections states in its conclusions: "Numerous recent studies and reports have highlighted problems with the security and reliability of electronic voting systems...the concerns they raise have the potential to affect election outcomes."

Currently there is no government agency that regulates the voting machine industry in the United States. Roughly 80% of votes in the 2004 presidential election were cast and counted on machines manufactured by two private companies, Diebold and ES&S (Election Systems & Software, Inc.), both controlled by registered Republicans. There are two principal types of machines now in use: (1) touch-screens (DRE – Direct Response Electronic), on which no audit or recount is possible because they have no paper trail and (2) optical scans, which use paper ballots for the vote but are counted by central tabulators (particularly susceptible to fraud).

Although several bills currently pending in the U.S. House and Senate, introduced by both Republicans and Democrats, propose changes to electronic voting machines, as do HAVA, the EAC and the Carter-Baker Commission, none consider hand marked, hand counted paper ballots (HCPB) as a possible solution. Most of the proposed legislation advocates for what is variously called a voter verified paper audit trail (VVPAT), a voter verified paper trail (VVPT) or a voter verified paper ballot (VVPB). A discussion of the nuances between and among these systems is beyond the scope of this article, but all share a potential weakness – namely, there is no way to prevent hacking of electronic voting machines later in the process, whether a voter receives a record of how she or he voted and/or whether there is a paper trail in the machine. Mandated random audits of the vote raise the question of whether the audit will really be random and bring back flashes of Florida in 2000 and a long drawn out struggle. Will the Supreme Court again put a non-elected person in office as president of the United States?

Although much has been published on the Internet, the mainstream media have mostly chosen to ignore or dismiss the questions of fraud and error raised in relation to electronic voting machines. Notable exceptions are discussions by Keith Olbermann on MSNBC's "Countdown" and Mark Crispin Miller's article "None Dare Call It Stolen" in Harper's Magazine, in which he strongly suggests that the presidential election of 2004 was rigged, much of it by electronic voting machines.

### **Why Hand-Count?**

HCPB are an alternative to the current widespread and increasing use of electronic voting machines. An HCPB system of voting has the following major advantages over electronic voting machines: (1) Counting of ballots is publicly done, observed and filmed by everyday citizens who are registered voters in the precinct where the counting takes place. (2) Security safeguards are much more easily built in to protect against tampering. (3) The cost is far less.

There have been two recent efforts to promote an HCPB system in the United States, and a third will take place later in 2006. In 2004, voting rights activists Sharona Merel, Kaen Renick, Ellen Theisen, and Kathleen Wynne proposed federal legislation for federal offices. In 2005, four voting rights activists (this writer and three members of CASE Ohio – John Burik, Phil Fry, and Dorri Steinhoff) began work on a protocol for HCPB. Some of this writing has been modified and is included in this paper in the specifics for HCPB. In November 2006, voting rights activist Joanne Karasak plans to promote a state constitutional amendment for HCPB in Ohio. There are 18 states where such constitutional amendments are possible.

### **HCPB Step-By-Step**

The key elements of an HCPB system are as follows: (1) Electronic voting machines are not involved in this process in any way whatsoever. (2) Nothing used in an HCPB system is purchased from companies or vendors who have ties to partisan political groups or parties. (3) Each voter hand marks a sturdy paper ballot with a black felt pen provided at the precinct. (4) The counting process happens at each precinct immediately after the polls close. (5) Each ballot is hand counted by registered voters from that precinct in full view of other registered voters from that precinct. (6) The counting process is filmed. (7) A chain of custody of the ballots and ballot boxes is specified. (8) Ballot boxes are observed and filmed as they are opened and closed and move from place to place.

Three categories of registered voters are included in this process: the official counters, the official observers of the counters, and the public watchers of the counters and observers. The hand marked, paper ballots are hand counted in full view of the public in each precinct by a specified number of registered voters in that precinct – e.g., four, six or eight voters. Half of the counters will consist of one person from each party on the ballot, chosen by the party itself; the other half of the counters will consist of registered voters, chosen by lottery. The hand counting is observed by the same number of registered voters (e.g., four, six or eight), and chosen in the same way as the counters. Counting is filmed by a video projection unit; a process will be set up to determine how the videotaping unit will be selected. The videotaping will be broadcast over closed-circuit TV and streamed over the Internet while the counting is happening. All watchers may also videotape and/or take photographs.

Each polling place must be arranged so that registered voters from that precinct (in addition to the above mentioned official observers) can easily watch the vote counting. These watchers are not to be confused with the observers of the counters. Watchers will include two registered voters from each party on the ballot, chosen by the party, and eight registered voters chosen by lottery. The polling place must be large enough to accommodate these numbers.

Even with all these safeguards in place, the chance for fraud still exists. Therefore, immediately after the first count, there will be a 100% hand counted audit of the vote, carried out in the same way as the first hand count, but in the audit, the observers will be the counters and the counters will be the observers.

Ballot boxes must be clearly marked and visible in plain view. Ballot boxes will be sealed and locked whenever they contain ballots and are not being actively used. Ballot boxes are secured from the beginning of voting until the end of counting by a chain of custody procedure. Ballot boxes never leave the precinct until

after the vote is counted, audited and certified. Each time ballot boxes move from the physical control of or visual contact from one person to another, a duplicate record signed by all counters and observers must be made relinquishing and gaining control. There will be a documentation process wherein each ballot box will have a record of its handling from the beginning of the day to the end of counting. On the web site of computer science expert Professor Douglas W. Jones, there is a very clear and detailed protocol for "Ballot and Ballot Box Transportation" and "Ballot Storage."

### Break Thru the Inertia—Start Campaigning Locally

The call to action now is: HCPB for all federal races in the 2008 elections. This would mean hand counting just 1-3 races (the president and vice president; your U.S. senator if s/he is up for re-election; your U.S. Representative). Yes, we would need two ballots, one for these races and one for all other contests and questions on the ballots. Canada already uses an HCPB system for its federal races. Various states and municipalities already have protocols for HCPB, and one has been presented in this paper. These could easily be adapted from one jurisdiction to another. Elections are governed by state rather than federal statutes (HAVA notwithstanding). According to electionline.org, a website that provides an ongoing analysis of election reform, "Each state strikes a unique balance in allocating responsibility for elections between state and local governments. A survey of all 50 states reveals a wide spectrum of power-sharing arrangements." There is a "Snapshot of the States" on pp. 11-14 of the Election Reform Briefing. When you begin this work, call your local Secretary of State and get the exact rules for your state.

It is time to make electronic voting machines a NIMBY issue (not in my back yard and not in anyone else's back yard either). To begin a movement for HCPB, ordinary citizens, registered voters, must begin organizing door-to-door with their neighbors to petition their local election officers and demand HCPB in their city or town. Although organizing could also proceed on a state level, going municipality by municipality is a good way to start, depending on your state's laws.

*Sheila Parks, Ed.D., Boston, has been working against electronic voting machines for four years. Get involved in HCPB campaigning at sheila.parks@verizon.net .*

### MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS (Continued from Page 1)

more spiritual and religious than these; they were the marches of a deprived people determined to take their place, in the face of extreme official violence.

The spirit of the immigration marches seems quite different. It is festive. It is wholly patriotic. The immigrants, their families, and their supporters, are not angry with America. On the contrary, they are happy to be here. Mostly they aren't even demanding what they haven't got. They are trying to protect what they have, or what they are already hard at work to get. One sign I saw, "My father was illegal; I'm a law student," pretty much captured the spirit of the day.

### Right to Work

Vietnam was about war. Civil rights was about racial justice. But these marches are, mainly, about work. They are about the right to work, and to live from work, in simple dignity, independence and freedom. And that freedom, which exists as a practical matter

for many immigrants in America today, is under threat.

The bill the House passed is a cruel farce, which would turn (it is said, but no one really knows) 11 million working people into felons and criminalize all who assist them, including church and social workers. The compromise under consideration in the Senate is less cruel, but it is a fantasy that somehow one can separate those who have been in the country two and five years or longer from those who haven't.

There is only one just solution. Immigrants, who come and work, are going to be here a long time. They aren't criminals and they also aren't guests. The fact that their presence may be illegal is a problem not with the people but with the law. Under the constitution, their children are citizens the day they are born. The migrants should become citizens too, not without some wait and effort, but efficiently. And they should vote.

I think the country knows this. Making Americans is one thing it does pretty well. And adding 11 million, or (say) 20 million, working people who are here anyway to the citizenship rolls, in a country of 300 million, just isn't that big a deal to most people. Especially when the other choice is to have a guest worker underclass in a police state. A headline in today's Wall Street Journal read: "Employers Have a Lot to Lose." But the story wasn't about how business felt threatened by the rallies. It was about a landscaper in California, who is speaking out to get his workers made legal.

### Electoral Threat to GOP

Who is opposed? The leaders of the Republican party are opposed. Why? Because they know that immigrants have the power to sweep them all away. That already happened, in California, in the wake of an infamous proposition denying undocumented immigrants access to the public schools. On the electoral maps, California went from Reagan red to solid blue [*Democrat*], and it's not going back.

And now they've made the same mistake again. Like Tojo at Pearl Harbor, they've awakened a giant. Only this time, it's all across the country—a divided country where a California change in only a few states, such as Arizona or Virginia, or Florida, could tip our politics right over. Looking out at the kids yesterday, you could almost imagine it happening in Texas.

For those of us from the Vietnam era, well, it looks like it's morning in America again.

*James Galbraith is a professor of government/business relations at the Lyndon B Johnson school of public affairs, the University of Texas at Austin.*

**Ed. Note:** (1) California is part of Mexico, stolen by the US. Of course before Mexico it was the land of Ishi and other tribal people, animals, and other living things. What needs rethinking is not "native/foreign" so much as the "ownership society"—capitalism and imperialism. (2) GOP leaders are doubtless setting up the 2006 and 2008 elections to steal even now—to create "red" states where only a shrinking minority support them. (3) The US set up the surge in immigration from Mexico by passing NAFTA. That infamous treaty enabled subsidized US corn to overwhelm native corn, impoverish Mexican villages, and attract villagers to maquiladora slum living and low-paying jobs across the US border. So "blame the victim"? Or just "my [political] job and privilege come first"? [And by the way, that US corn comes twisted with genetic modification—limiting and polluting our plant gene pool.]

## LETTERS

### Vote Fraud—Where's the Outrage?

Bravo Bev [Harris],  
I love the poetry: "Like an antibiotic that's too weak, we believe that H.B. 550 [the Holt Bill to extend Help America Vote Act—HAVA] will create a more resistant strain of election infection." And ... "Putting into the Holt bill a provision specifying the method of EAC [US Election Assistance Commission] audit (2% or more precinct sampling) simply telegraphs to cheaters how to cheat and not get caught..."

The Holt bill would serve as another HAVA style canard—though a canard it probably is not. The bill's supporters are probably sincere in their wishes for reform. One thing you could add to your admonition is the issue of tabulation hacking. All the avenues of vulnerability in tabulation tampering are not at all addressed by Holt's 550.

And I concur with both yourself and Lynn Landes: "It's not about a paper trail—it's about banning SECRECY." An open,

visible ballot would do much to close windows of vulnerability, hope for is a revival of polling—especially exit polling, or Landes's idea of conducting parallel voting on election days—to cast a big light upon fraudulent tabulations. For this to happen there must be swollen national sentiment of discontent that will not be able to be obscured by rigged elections.

—Jesse Burkhardt, Cambridge

### Unauthorized Bush Roast

I feel bad for the guy who hired Colbert to do the show. He's probably on an all-expense paid vacation on a private jet to Uzbekistan.

—Gerard "Hozz" Hosman, Veterans for Peace

*Ed. note: To see sophisticated comedian Stephen Colbert skewering George W Bush to his face for 20 minutes, just go to [www.DemocracyNow.org](http://www.DemocracyNow.org) and insert "Colbert" in Archives. On the next screen click on "Colbert" and then click on the medium you prefer—listen to segment, watch, etc.*

## Can the Alliance Regroup, Take Coherent New Directions?

**T**he bad news is that the Alliance hasn't grown in numbers since its first year, 1996. The good news is that we're still here and our work has strengthened. We have made real progress in several campaigns—protecting water from corporatization, fighting vote fraud in Ohio, fighting corporate globalization, building popular governance in New England, educating systemically about the Commons, and others.

Entering our second decade, we may well write new guidelines—a Vision Statement—to realize our mission. The following is an example written by the BCA Dispatch editor. In the next issue Dave Lewit of Boston and John Terrell of Lincoln MA will publish a discussion of the needs of the Alliance, as we see them. This has served as a basis for this sample vision statement, and may help Alliance members everywhere to ponder the issues and write alternative vision statements. By spreading these alternatives around to members and friends by internet and discussion, we may act more forcefully and grow region by region to make needed differences in democracy, economy, ecology, and society locally, nationally and internationally.

### Alliance Mission:

"The mission of the Alliance for Democracy is (1) to free all people from corporate domination of politics, economics, culture, the environment, and information; (2) to establish true democracy; and (3) to create a just society with a sustainable, equitable economy."

—Adopted 1997

### An Alliance Vision for 2007-2016:

- 1. Strong local chapters** with regional integration and national facilitation. Chapters are aware of local and regional corporations and corporate forces including citizen support groups. Projects are undertaken in alliance with friendly local groups.
- 2. Good communication** within and between chapters regionally, across regions, nationally, and internationally. A well-organized and interactive Alliance web site is connected to regional AfD and allied group web sites. Regions are defined for easy visitation among chapters.
- 3. Solidarity.** The Alliance reaches out to working and oppressed groups and visits where they are comfortable. Current events are understood from the viewpoints of the oppressed, the marginal, and the foreign, as well as the liberal and conservative establishments.

- 4. Strategic justification** of projects. Local groups take into account the aims, justifications, needs and progress of projects elsewhere as well as their own. Actions are planned and modified in view of social, economic, and political forces which speed or impede their progress.

- 5. New funding.** Members support projects in which they are involved actively or as observers. The national Alliance leverages contributions by highlighting local achievements as well as national projects, using the web. The national Alliance lists foundation and government sources that do not distort Alliance aims. Discretionary funds are distributed through a Council of the Budget elected regionally.

- 6. Nonviolent resistance.** When corporations or governments (local, state, national, or international—directly or through front organizations) set up barriers to our justified initiatives, including expensive and drawn-out legal procedures, we engage in selected actions from a wide range of strategically and morally appropriate tactics. We prepare by studying valid historical, sociological, and technical theory and practices.

## Displaced New Orleanians Demand Community Development Block Grants, More

by Rev. Lennox Yearwood Jr., Hip Hop Caucus, 31 Jan 2006

Federal administration policy in the aftermath of Katrina has evinced a horrific callousness toward black suffering. While opening the floodgates of opportunity to out-of-region profiteers, current policy shuts out the poor, primarily African-American, Katrina survivors from returning home and from participating in the future of their own communities.

Five months after Katrina struck, the people of the Gulf Coast who were left behind once, are still being left behind to drown in the circumstances of their involuntary displacement. The right to return is a hollow promise by officials as survivors are still being denied access to viable short and long-term housing, jobs with living wages, public schools, healthcare, and government contracts. Access is further denied to the displaced by virtue of their inability to participate in critical decision-making as to allocation of federal resources and plans for rebuilding the Gulf Coast. On February 13, 2006 and March 1, 2006, FEMA plans to evict tens of thousands of victims from hotels without any provision for alternative housing. As despair settles in, rates of suicide and death from "Katrina Stress" escalate among the victims.

Sadly, progressive members of Congress, while sympathetic, have been unable to move comprehensive legislative solutions to this crisis. Forming a Katrina Working Group, we have been meeting regularly with Congressional staffers and grassroots activists, to overcome this legislative stalemate and build a broad-based Gulf Coast Renewal Campaign to restore all survivors. It is clear that the trigger for change is a ministry of presence. We need unified advocacy, we need YOU! It is imperative that African-American leaders from around the country "show up" on Capitol Hill—to demand accountability and justice for Katrina survivors. Your presence will make visible the imperative that an effective and just response to their plight remains at the top of the Congressional agenda.

I implore you to come stand with us before Congress, before the American people—as a united front of black leadership. We will gather—not to march or to yell, but to devise strategy with progressive lawmakers. As a young voice of conscience, the leader of the Hip Hop Caucus, I am appealing to all African-American leaders—to my elders who inspired me, to my brothers and sisters whose energy feeds my resolve, to please join me on February 7, to have all our voices rise up on the Hill in a call for unified and unflagging advocacy for a comprehensive plan for Gulf Coast renewal.

We are calling for:

- \*A right of return, not a plan that gentrifies and white-washes
- \*A sane rebuild that invests in those displaced; not a boon for developers
- \*Temporary and long-term housing assistance
- \*Protection for voting rights for the displaced
- \*Community control over Community Development Block Grants
- \*Mortgage forgiveness
- \*Funding for quality public education

- \*Victim Restoration Fund
- \*Environmental Cleanup
- \*Rebuilding of Medical Facilities
- \*Small Businesses Assistance
- \*Tax Credits and Bankruptcy Exemptions for Victims

\*These programs will enable victims to safely return to their cities, to hold jobs, to restore the local tax base and the local economy.

The magazine, *Black Commentator*, has laid down the gauntlet:

"Although there are literally thousands of large and small Katrina-related projects operating throughout the nation, many of the New Orleans organizers are handicapped by the fact of their own displacement. A great moral and political challenge presents itself to Black and progressive America: Will they rise to the occasion in the face of a real, imminent, well-defined crisis... February 7th will be a test of Black political resolve and cohesion."

### CHAPTER NEWS

There is so much going on! And for good reason—we have barely six months to organize and act, before the November 2006 elections! And that's only a critical moment, not the ongoing struggle to preserve and renew democracy!

So the first thing to do is to inform yourself and your friends about the necessity for citizens like yourself to prepare for this show-down with the vote-stealers. Is there any doubt in your mind that the nasties in the Bush branch of the Republican Party stole the presidential election in 2000?—NO! In 2004?—Ohio was just one of several key states in which tens of thousands of citizens were prevented from voting, and God knows how many votes were electronically shifted from the Kerry column to the Bush column.

The TV networks have remained mum, as if this were taboo. So we have to spread the word gathered from informal sources and posted on the internet—keep in touch with your "opinion leader" friends who keep up with the internet! And sign up for duty with the new **Election Defense Alliance**—learn about it this Wednesday, 17 May, at BCA's monthly meeting—see announcement on Page 1 of this issue. **Jonathan Simon** promises a new web site for EDA by the end of May.

#### Venezuela

BCA's April meeting featured three Boston-area activists recently returned from the World Social Forum in Caracas, Venezuela. In a moment, we will highlight their remarks. But the upshot of this well-attended meeting was that ten people signed up for a special followup meeting which we had about a week later. **Charlie Welch, Karen Slater, John Terrell, Jed Schwartz, Cynthia Ritsher, Diana Licht, and Dave Lewit** attended.

Toward the end of our enspiriting discussion we focused on a possible trip to Venezuela, where the amazing Bolivarian social and political revolution is well underway. (Note: see Pages 4-6 of this issue for wrinkles that have developed in the Brazilian process of participatory budgeting (PB), now that the Workers Party no longer controls city hall in Porto Alegre. These may be just the problems of mixed politics which we have been facing in New England for a long time. Let's learn coping and regrouping from them, just as we have learned about PB itself.)

So, trips are already organizing led by Marin Interfaith Task Force (415-924-3227) and Global Exchange (415-558-9486). Contact your Dispatch editor to ask about organizing our own tour with a leader we choose—all we need is maybe 12 people. We could do

this through our local MLK-Bolivarian Circle (617-566-2861) or [cbmlkboston@yahoo.com](mailto:cbmlkboston@yahoo.com). Perhaps we can visit with PB leaders, public media people, etc.

OK. **Christina Brinkley** highlighted what she saw of the Bolivarian (Chavez-inspired) mission: literacy campaigns, fliers on our rights, dealing with color and gender issues, pensions for home-makers, the metro, and so on including tours outside Caracas. **Charlie Welch** told us about workers managing a comeback of a giant-valve factory, our TecsChange giveaway of reconditioned computers, and TeleSUR—a new progressive TV network among various countries in South America.

A different, critical, approach was presented by **Suren Moodliar** an organizer of the Boston delegation to World Social Forum disappointed in its lack of focus and followthru. He and others on the newly renovated, huge space on the 5<sup>th</sup> floor at 33 Harrison Ave in Chinatown, Boston, are bringing together many flavors of progressive and revolutionary thinking, including BCA, as an ongoing forum there. A similar thing is happening at 45 Mt. Auburn St in Cambridge, the Democracy Center, guided by **Eve Lyman** of Boston Mobilization. Seems we have the potential, at least locally and regionally, of engendering our own variety of bolivarian (Tom Paine-ian?) revolution right here!

#### Defending Our Water

At BCA's March meeting we heard from the professional water-defenders **Zandra Rice** with **Olivia Zink** and **Jonathan Leavitt**, as well as **Marie Miller**, volunteer organizer from Womens International League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF). Zandra works for Corporate Accountability International (formerly InFact) chiefly campaigning in schools to educate people away from dealing with water as a luxury and toward water as a right to be managed by citizens locally. Jonathan is bringing together water activists (you too?) from New England, New York, and E Canada for a major water conference at UMass/Amherst, 22-24 Sept. Alliance for Democracy is a cosponsor. "Water for Life, Not for Profit!"—end water privatization whether groundwater, surface water, or city water works. Contact [www.massglobalaction.org](http://www.massglobalaction.org) or 978-683-3967. Marie is mobilizing citizens to assume roles in the campaigns. The success of this meeting was aided by **Joanna Herlihy** and **Soesan Kae Clarke** who started a BCA phone tree to inform and interact with members and friends. We encourage them and all to join in this networking—it builds our movement!

#### Strengthening AfD in Our Second Decade

A month or so ago Alliance national cochair Nancy Price met with AfD office volunteers and local leaders including **Mary White**, **Diana Licht**, **Cynthia Ritsher**, **Lynn Gargill**, **Dave Lewit** and **John Terrell**. We discussed new directions for the Alliance, especially a regional emphasis. Nancy encouraged John and Dave to sketch a plan for change. So we are doing that—see our work toward a **new Vision Statement** on Page 14 of this issue, and stay tuned for our article—to encourage all Dispatch readers and friends to write your Vision, and circulate it.

#### 100 Years of Gandhi Nonviolent Resistance

This years marks the centennial of Gandhi's launch of Satyagraha or Truth-Force, in colonial South Africa. Now South Africa is free and the people—Black mostly, Indian, and Euro—make their own destiny, democratically. Gandhi gave great moral force to the democracy and self-rule movement world-wide. Dave Lewit has urged all progressive (and conservative) groups in the Boston area to celebrate this launch with circle readings of Gandhi's 11 September, 1906 speech, pledging 3000 Indian in S. Africa to nonviolently resist the onerous restrictions placed on them by the

racist colonial government. The Boston-area affiliate of Nonviolent Peaceforce, including **Elise Boulding** and **Janet Bunbury** led by **Sherry Zitter** and **Sevryn Bruyn** are planning such a reading, preparing with Dave a packet of before/after articles as well as Gandhi's speech itself. Contact your Dispatch editor for packets, for September readings and thereafter.

#### Midwest Connections

A few weeks ago Dave Lewit traveled to Minneapolis to co-lead a workshop with **Celeste Taylor** of Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance, on open government—including participatory budgeting and city charter reform—both to empower the people. With AfD former co-chair **Ted Dooley** of St. Paul we visited **Kristin Dawkins**, a globalization critic and dedicated communitarian who has put all her savings into renovating a saloon as a cyber-café in an ethnically mixed neighborhood of St. Paul, to build independent small business into a Force. Ted, by the way, is completely recovered from his pancreatitis, and energetically doing his lawyerly work for us all.

A rising star, formerly active in AfD, is **Ben Manski** of Madison WI. A young lawyer, Ben was national executive director of the Green Party, and has formed with a half dozen others the Liberty Tree Foundation for the Democratic Revolution. Their aims are similar to the Alliance, and they are HOT! Ben edits the new Nation-like journal *Liberty Tree*. The current issue carries an 11-page article by Ben on the history of the corporation, with a sophisticated analysis of corporate forms in Roman times, the medieval Church, German guilds, and on up to date. Fascinating!

## 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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Town and Zip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone: Day \_\_\_\_\_ Night: \_\_\_\_\_  
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Visit our new regional web site: [www.NewEnglandAlliance.org](http://www.NewEnglandAlliance.org)

Web builder: Sergio Reyes. Webmaster: Stan Robinson.  
Web council: To be elected from all AfD chapters in region.