

# THE INDYPENDENT

THE NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER ISSUE #49 MAY 13 - 26, 2004 WWW.NYC.INDYMEDIA.ORG



FRANK REYNOSO

## INTERROGATOR'S JOURNAL

RIGHT-WING RADIO PERSONALITY JOE RYAN LEFT MINNESOTA FOR ABU GHRAIB. BUT HE DIDN'T FORGET TO WRITE HOME. P.8

### COMMENTARY

## DEHUMANIZED

### TORTURE IS PREVALENT BOTH IN IRAQ AND HERE AT HOME

BY A.K. GUPTA

**T**rying to limit the political damage from the prison torture scandal in Iraq, President Bush called it "Un-American." Right.

Sure, the apologists say the scandal represents the actions of a few rogues, which incidentally reveals our enlightened form of government because we are investigating the abuses for all the world to see, but the photos of violence, humiliation and degradation are as American as apple pie.

The precursor to torture is first to dehumanize the subject. In the U.S. prison system, for example, inmates are described as "animals," "savages" and "predators," implying that whatever happens to them is okay because they're not really human. *The New York Times* noted that the torture in Iraq – the use of hoods, stripping and parading prisoners, forcing them to wear women's underwear – is "routine" in U.S. prisons.

The dehumanization of Iraqis has flowed down the chain of command, making the torture inevitable. With each day comes new allegations – a 16-year-old boy subject to a mock execution, a 70-year-old woman ridden around like a donkey by U.S. soldiers, photos of rapes, prisoners subject to electric shock, the sick left to die.

Former detainees have been telling of the barbarity within the U.S. prison camps for months. *The Associated Press* reported last October on torture that included, "detainees punished by hours lying bound in the sun; being attacked by dogs; being deprived of sufficient water; spending days with hoods over their heads."

A journalist caught up in the U.S. torture chambers was al-Jazeera cameraman Suhaib Badr al Baz. He was picked up by soldiers of the 4th Infantry Division on Nov. 13 and shuffled around to various prisons for 74 days. His first stop was a prison near the town of Samarra. Al Baz said soldiers came into his cell, spit on him and screamed in his ear to keep him awake. His wrists were bound so tightly, he said, they "started bleeding."

He adds, "This was a wonderful period compared to my time in Abu Ghraib."

There, he said: "They brought a 12-year-old girl into our cell-block late at night. Her brother was a prisoner in the other cells. She was naked and screaming and calling out to him as they beat her.... This affected all of us because she was just a child."

Al Baz told ITV News that "the guards at the prison were keen to take photographs of the abuse and turned it into a competition. They were enjoying taking photographs of the torture. There was a daily competition to see who could take the most gruesome picture. The winner's photo would be stuck on a wall and also put on their laptop computers as a screensaver."

To deal with the prison debacle, the Bush administration has

#### MORE ON THE MIDDLE EAST:

*Target: Iran, p. 12*

*My Life in the Israeli Army, p. 15*

tapped Maj. Gen. Geoffrey D. Miller, the former commander of the Guantanamo prison camp, to oversee the various facilities in Iraq. Yet his record in Guantanamo has largely escaped scrutiny.

One of the British detainees recently released from Guantanamo told the *Daily Mirror* of the conditions there. Jamal al-Harith, who was held for more than 750 days, said "The whole point of Guantanamo was to get to you psychologically. The beatings were not as nearly as bad as the psychological torture – bruises heal after a week – but the other stuff stays with you."

Miller's predecessor in Iraq, Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski, says he "Gitmo-ized" Abu Ghraib when he visited the facility in August and September of 2003. It was during this peri-

od where abuse is said to have intensified. The report by Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba that exposed the systemic torture indicates that Miller himself set the stage for the widespread torture. Taguba writes: "The recommendations of MG Miller's team that the 'guard force' be actively engaged in setting the conditions for successful exploitation of the internees would appear to be in conflict with the recommendations... that military police 'do not participate in military intelligence supervised interrogation sessions.'"

In the "war on terrorism" the media has softened up the public psyche so torture is seen as a reasonable riposte to "terrorism." After all, we fight "evildoers" who "celebrate blood and death and the will to power, and we celebrate life and freedom."

After September 11, it wasn't just the reactionaries who scrambled aboard the torture train, so did the liberals. Less than two months after the attack, *Newsweek* gave Jonathan Alter a platform to opine, "Time to Think about Torture." Alleged civil libertarian Alan Dershowitz followed suit in the *Los Angeles Times* on Nov. 8, 2001, arguing for "torture warrants" in the case of a "ticking bomb."

The problem, one unnamed British officer fumed to *The London Telegraph*, is that the Americans see the Iraqis as "untermenschen," borrowing the Nazi phrase for sub-humans. The officer explained that "U.S. troops view things in very simplistic terms.... It's easier for their soldiers to group all Iraqis as the bad guys. As far as they are concerned Iraq is bandit country and everybody is out to kill them."

This attitude is common in the media and has apparently filtered down to Lynndie England's hometown of Fort Ashby, West Virginia. Her hometown has rushed to the defense of the smiling, cigarette-dangling-from-the-lips face of the scandal. Local bar owner Colleen Kesner told Australia's *Daily Telegraph*: "To the country boys here, if you're a different nationality, a different race, you're sub-human. That's the way girls like Lynndie are raised."

# COMMUNITY CALENDAR



**NEW YORK CITY  
INDEPENDENT  
MEDIA CENTER**

**Phone:**  
212.684.8112

**Email:**  
imc-nyc-print@indymedia.org

**Web:**  
NYC: www.nyc.indymedia.org  
GLOBAL: www.indymedia.org

**Office and Mail:**  
NYC Independent Media Center  
34 E. 29th St. 2nd Floor  
NY, NY 10016

#### WHAT IS INDYMEDIA?

With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to illuminate and analyze issues impacting individuals, communities and ecosystems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate. We espouse open dialogue and placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

The Independent is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions.

#### WHAT CAN I DO TO GET INVOLVED?

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

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

#### VOLUNTEER STAFF:

Chris Anderson, Silvia Arana, Bennett Baumer, Jed Brandt, Mike Burke, Sina Choi, Ellen Davidson, Christopher Day, Ryan Dunsmaur, Miguel Erb, Alley Moore, Chris Fleisher, Mike Flugennock, Katalan V. Foisy, Alfredo Garzon, Neela Ghoshal, Lauren Giambone, A.K. Gupta, Vanessa Hradsky, Ashley Kidd, Janelle Lewis, F. Timothy Martin, Yoni Mishaal, Nik Moore, Lenina Nadal, Lydia Neri, Ana Nogueira, Jennifer Nordstrom, Tracy Norton, Lina Pallotta, James Powell, Donald Paneth, Mark Pickens, Derq Quiggle, Sam Raslotis, Frank Reinoso, Ann Schneider, Catriona Stuart, Sarah Stuteville, Suzy Subways, John Tarleton, Rhianna Tyson, Michael Ulrich



**may**  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 19  
39TH ANNUAL  
MALCOLM X DAY  
AND PILGRIMAGE

#### AT THE INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

34 E. 29<sup>th</sup> STREET (BETWEEN PARK & MADISON)

#### SATURDAY, MAY 22 • 4-6PM Free

**RADICAL TEACHERS** presents a discussion with activists and organizations on building a youth, child and family inclusive radical movement. This is a child-friendly event. [info@radicalteachers.org](mailto:info@radicalteachers.org)

#### MONDAY, JUNE 7 • 7PM \$5 suggested donation SPECIAL PREMIERE SCREENING

Dozens of activists with the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) observed that country's historic elections in March. To find out what really happened, come see the premiere showing of their new documentary.

#### FRI MAY 14

8-10 pm Sugg. donation  
**How and Why the U.S.  
Occupation of Iraq Is  
Collapsing**

An evening with Lee Siu Hin, activist, Pacifica Radio correspondent, co-founder of the ActionLA Coalition and veteran reporter on Iraq. Proceeds will go to benefit Baghdad IMC: Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Sq. South, (212) 684-8112

#### SAT MAY 15

9 am-3 pm Free  
**African-American History  
With the Junior Scholars**  
Youth ages 11-17 are invited to a multimedia exploration of historical and contemporary African-American identity and culture: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 515 Malcolm X Blvd., [www.juniorscholars.org](http://www.juniorscholars.org)

9 am Free

**March to Support  
Affirmative Action on the  
50th Anniversary of Brown  
v. Board of Ed.:**  
Washington, D.C.  
[www.bamn.com](http://www.bamn.com)

7 pm-1 am Donation

**Dance for Cuba  
Fundraiser for IFCO/Pastors  
for Peace 15th US-Cuba  
Friends shipment Caravan:**  
St Mary's Church,  
521 West 125th St.,  
(212) 926-5757

#### SUN MAY 16

3 pm Free  
**Queens Community  
Supported Agriculture  
Annual Pot Luck Dinner**  
Celebrate the 2004 season of locally grown organic produce: Yugoslavian 7th Day Adv. Church,

30-89 32nd St.,  
RSVP (718) 937-1267

#### TUE MAY 18

6:30-7 pm Free  
**First Amendment Mobs at  
Ground Zero with Rev. Billy**  
Come recite the single sentence that guarantees the right of free speech and peaceable assembly: WIC Path Station on Church St. Contact: 917-825-3562

8 pm Free  
**Screening: Uncovered**  
Twenty CIA, Pentagon and foreign service personnel examine the lies that led to the war in Iraq: All Saints Episcopal Church, 43-12 46 St., Queens, [www.sunnysidewoodsidepeace.org](http://www.sunnysidewoodsidepeace.org)

#### WED MAY 19

9 am-1:30 pm  
**39th Annual Malcolm X  
Day and Pilgrimage**  
The O.A.A.U. invites the community to visit the resting place of Malcolm X and Sister Betty Shabazz. Buses and cars will assemble at the Harlem State Office Building and proceed to Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, NY at 10:00 am: 125th St. & Adam Clayton Powell Blvd., Call: (212) 926-9062

6:30-8:30 pm Free  
**New Immigrant Community  
Empowerment's Quarterly  
Community Forum on  
Immigrant Communities  
and Voting Rights:**  
Laguardia Community College,  
Bldg E, Rm. 500,  
29-10 Thomson Ave., LIC, Queens  
[www.nynice.org](http://www.nynice.org)

7 pm \$5 sugg.  
**Helena Norberg-Hodge:  
Globalization vs. Community**  
A talk on why a shift towards grassroots based, strong local action may be one of the most effective strategies to achieve widespread social change and ecological renewal: Bluestockings Bookstore & Cafe, 172 Allen Street, [www.bluestockings.com](http://www.bluestockings.com)

#### FRI MAY 21

8 am  
**Anti-War, Anti-Bush Protest  
and Die-in**  
Rockefeller Center, Atlas statue,  
5th Ave. bet 50th & 51st Sts,  
[jasonfores\\_williams@hotmail.com](mailto:jasonfores_williams@hotmail.com)

1, 3, 4, 4:45, 6:30, 8:15, 10 \$10  
**Control Room, a film by  
Jehane Noujaim** an award-winning Arab-American filmmaker who, provides an opportunity to re-examine the pressing question: "Is America radicalizing or stabilizing the Arab world?" Film Forum, 209 W. Houston St., [www.controlroommovie.com](http://www.controlroommovie.com)

#### SAT MAY 22

10 am-6 pm Free  
**The 14th Annual, Earth  
Celebrations Rites of  
Spring Procession To Save  
Our Gardens**  
Day-long pageant with giant puppets, dance, music and poetry that will visit over 35 gardens on the LES: Broome & Delancey Sts., Call (212) 777-7969

4-6 pm Free  
**Radical Teachers presents  
a discussion with activists  
and organizations on building  
a youth, child and family  
inclusive radical movement**  
This is a child-friendly event: Independent Media Center,  
34 E. 29th St. 2nd floor,

(bet. Park and Madison),  
[info@radicalteachers.org](mailto:info@radicalteachers.org)  
4 pm Free  
**From Brooklyn to Baghdad**  
Hear from neighborhood youth, students from local high schools, a soldier just returning from Iraq, and a Vietnam vet on the subject of joining the military: Church of the Evangel, Bedford Ave. & Hawthorne St., Bklyn, [prospectforpeace@hotmail.com](mailto:prospectforpeace@hotmail.com)

6-11 pm Free  
**9/11 widow Ellen Mariani,  
former UN Iraq weapons  
inspector Scott Ritter,  
9/11 researcher Sander  
Hicks speak out about the  
Bush Administration's  
attempts to obstruct 9/11  
inquiries:**  
Riverside Church,  
490 Riverside Drive,  
(bet. 120 & 122 Sts.),  
[www.ny911truth.org](http://www.ny911truth.org)

#### SUN MAY 23

7:30 pm \$6/8/10  
**Musical: Axis of Evil**  
Brechtian vaudeville revue written and directed by Martin Bard: Brecht Forum, 122 W. 27th St., 10th Floor, [www.brechtforum.org](http://www.brechtforum.org)

#### MON MAY 24

7:30 pm \$10 donation  
**Speaker: Nobel Laureate  
Joseph E. Stiglitz**  
Economist turned critic of free trade speaks at First Unitarian's annual Donald W. McKinney Lecture on Social Justice. First Unitarian Congregational Society, Pierrepont St. between Clinton and Monroe Sts., Brooklyn Heights

#### WED MAY 26

6:30-8:30 p.m., Free  
**Reclaiming the Commons  
w/Jonathan Rowe of the  
Tomas Bay Institute and  
Yes! Magazine**  
A talk on the part of life that is neither the market or the state. CUNY Grad Center 34th and 5th Ave.

7 pm Sugg. donation  
**Screening: Peaceable  
Kingdom**

Documentary exploring the interconnection of farm animals, former farmers and animal rescuers struggling against the industrial food system. Bluestockings Bookstore & Cafe, 172 Allen Street, [www.bluestockings.com](http://www.bluestockings.com)

#### FRI MAY 28

7 pm Free  
**Critical Mass**  
Bicyclists and skaters retake the streets: Union Square North

#### CORRECTION:

The article "Iraqupation Watch: U.S. Targets Hospitals," in Issue #48 by Rahul Mahajan originally appeared online at [www.empirenotes.org](http://www.empirenotes.org).

# COMMUNITY SERVICE REQUIRED FOR PUBLIC-HOUSING TENANTS



**PUBLIC HOUSING TENANT** Raymond Soto, here with his family, is retired — but may have to do community service to keep his apartment.

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

**T**housands of public-housing tenants in New York City will have to do eight hours a month of community service or face eviction from their apartments, under a 1998 federal law that went into effect May 1.

The requirement was imposed by the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998, a measure sponsored by former Long Island Republican Rep. Rick Lazio and signed by President Clinton. Under the law, tenants who do not qualify for exemptions will have to spend 96 hours a year doing volunteer work on tenant patrols or cleanup, with food banks, schools, the police, or the like.

The New York City Housing Authority's 21 categories of exemptions cover tenants who are working full-time, elderly, disabled, have children under six, or receive public assistance, but it is estimated that up to 80,000 of the city's 420,000 public-housing residents will be affected. The person most likely to have to do the work would be an unemployed, able-bodied adult with older or no children, neither on public assistance nor in school full-time.

"I think it sucks," says Darryl Johnson, a resident of the Elliott-Chelsea Houses, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues in the West Twenties. "Some of us who live here care about the building and try to clean up other people's messes. That should count as community service." Johnson, 42, is not exempt from the requirement, and will probably work in the community center or on the tenant patrol.

"I don't like it," adds Raymond Soto, a retired NYCHA grounds supervisor. "I worked thirty-two years for Housing, and I just found out I have cancer." Soto says he's willing to serve on the tenant patrol if he has to, but is trying to get a doctor's note exempting him because he's going through chemotherapy.

"Oh man, that's the dumbest law I ever heard of," says Chris, a bearded 19-year-old in a red football jersey. "It's unfair. As long as you pay your rent, you should be good. To work eight hours for free, that's some bull-shit."

Other tenants disagree. A woman shepherding three children and eight bags of groceries at first declares that forced "community service should be left to the criminals," but adds that it's not a bad idea for people who are "doing nothing."

"It's good. They should get some of these teenagers who are just standing around all day," laughs Juana Benzan, a middle-aged woman with a tight, pink-streaked ponytail. "They don't work, they don't go to school. Maybe if they had to clean the place up they wouldn't mess it up."

The 1998 law was philosophical kin to the welfare "reform" of the '90s. Lazio and other supporters argued that it promotes "personal responsibility" and that public housing—which in New York rents for an average of \$308 a month, according to NYCHA figures—is a temporary privilege, not a lifetime entitlement. Mayor Bloomberg, who strongly backs the work requirement, said last month that some tenants were just "sitting around" and that the eight-hour-a-month requirement was "shamefully low."

Opponents reply that the community service requirement is involuntary servitude, and that richer people who receive financial benefits from the government for their housing, such as tax deductions for mortgage interest, don't have to do volunteer work in exchange for these privileges. NYCHA's Resident Advisory Board passed a resolution against the requirement in 2000, calling it "forced labor" which holds "particular malice to African Americans."

City Councilmember Margarita Lopez (D-Manhattan), who has worked against the requirement since Lazio first proposed it in 1995, calls it "ridiculous." If the government wanted to create a program for people to get involved in the community, she says, that would be fine, but "it is ludicrous to legislate volunteerism."

The deeper issue, Lopez contends, is that it treats public-housing tenants as second-class citizens, and grows out of "a lack of understanding" and the belief "that whoever lives in public housing is a failure." In addition, she notes, the cost of administering the requirement will take money away from cleaning buildings and other services.

Though the requirement was created in 1998, it did not go into effect until this year, in part because it took time for NYCHA and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development to develop the procedures needed to implement it, and in part because of efforts to block it by Rep. Charles Rangel (D-Manhattan).

Letters to tenants informing them whether they were exempt or not went out last month. Those who are not automatically exempt, says NYCHA spokesperson Howard Marder, will be asked more detailed questions at their next annual recertification to see if they fit any of the 21 exemptions. In practice, he adds, the actual number of tenants who have to perform the work may not come out to 80,000. "Somebody may have started going to school," Marder says. "We don't know that."

NYCHA seems reluctant about imposing the requirement. "It's a federal mandate, an unfunded mandate, but we have to comply," says Marder. "We're trying to get as many exemptions for our residents as we can, but we have to enforce the law. It's not our law."

Ultimately, the debate over the community service requirement reflects a larger debate about the nature of public housing. Many Republicans and Clinton Democrats support limiting the amount of time people can live in public housing. One supporter of the requirement quoted in the press recently, a contributing editor at the *City Journal* — the magazine of the Manhattan Institute, the influential right-wing urban-policy think tank — has advocated using time limits to abolish public housing, partly to "discourage dependency" and partly because "Housing officials and angry activists notwithstanding, however, the truth is that any two-income working family can afford private housing in the U.S."

Councilmember Lopez disagrees, pointing out that the working poor have few options beyond public housing. "We have to stop this nonsense," Lopez emphasizes. As long as there are poor people in the city, she argues, they will need homes they can afford.



**TENANTS SPEAK OUT** at May 10 rent board meeting.

## RENT RACKET LANDLORDS HEADED FOR ANOTHER BIG INCREASE

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

**T**he city Rent Guidelines Board (RGB) broke precedent on May 10, voting to suggest a range of possible rent increases rather than setting a specific number as its preliminary guideline for rent-stabilized apartments. But for the 1 million households affected, the result will be more of the same: higher rents.

The RGB voted 5-4 to propose allowing increases of 3 to 5.5 percent for a one-year lease renewal and 5.5 to 7.5 percent for two years. If the board approves the 5.5 and 7.5 percent guidelines at its final vote June 17, that would be the highest rent increases allowed since the 1980s.

RGB chair Marvin Markus justified the idea of proposing a range as a means of opening up debate. Landlord representative Harold Lubell cast the deciding vote, rather begrudgingly.

The RGB's annual votes are ritual exercises in political theatre. Scores of tenants and landlords pack the room, tenants mostly elderly in yellow "Stronger Rent Laws Now" and pink and white "I'm a Tenant and I Vote" painter's caps, landlords in the blue and white baseball caps of their lobbying group. Tenants usually outnumber landlords by about 2-1, and both sides cheer, boo, and heckle, while Markus—who tenants have nicknamed "Marvin Markup"—tries to keep order like an ill-tempered junior high-school teacher.

Yet over the last several years the outcome has been as preordained as pro wrestling. First, the two tenant representatives on the board propose a rent freeze or a minimal increase, talk about housing costs and homelessness, and lose 7-2. Then the two landlord representatives demand more money, warning that vast stretches of the outer boroughs will be abandoned if they don't get it. This year they wanted a 9 percent increase, plus a \$25-a-month surcharge on tenants who'd lived in the same apartment for eight years or more. Landlord representative Steven Schleider piously intoned that it's the government, not property owners, who should subsidize poor people—while declaring that renewing a lease with only limited rent increases is "not a birthright, but a privilege." Finally, the five public members pass a rent increase—as high as possible without causing political damage to the mayor who appointed them—with virtually no debate.

Markus "will do whatever he can to get rents up," says Michael McKee of Tenants & Neighbors, while "most of the public members don't have a clue about what real people go through."

Tenants had the small victories of defeating the surcharge for long-term tenants—called an "equalization allowance" by Markus and a "senior-citizen tax" by tenants—and turning back the Bloomberg administration's efforts to use the alleged costs of enforcing the city's new lead-paint law to justify raising rents. Still, the endless rounds of annual rent increases are discouraging to many.

"It's demoralizing to be a part of this process. I'm tired of everything being balanced on the backs of working and poor people," tenant representative Adriene Holder said after the vote. "This process has been all about setting landlords' profit margins. It needs to be about the tenants."

## RADICAL MOTHER'S DAY

PHOTOS BY VICTORIA LAW

**MAMAS RISING UP!** celebrates its second annual Mother's Day Festival May 9 at the Campos Plaza Community Center at 611 E. 13 Street. The Green Circus (left) entertains while Graciela Monteagudo (right) of the Argentina Autonomist Project leads kids and parents in a song from her native country. For more information, contact [mamariseup@yahoo.com](mailto:mamariseup@yahoo.com).



UDENT RESISTANCE

radical bookstore | fair trade cafe | activist center  
172 Allen St. NYC 212.777.6028  
www.bluestockings.com

RESISTI

**BLUESTOCKINGS**  
RADICAL BOOKS

ONE YEAR ANNIVERSARY  
**PARTY**

Celebrating one year of radical books,  
fair trade cafe & activist center goodness  
and tipping our hats to the previous four years  
of women's bookstore work and community.

VIVA INDEPENDENT BOOKS!  
COME PARTY WITH US

**FRIDAY, MAY 21**  
9pm-1am  
**DISH** 165 Allen St.  
(Stanton & Rivington) \$40 benefit,  
all ages to party, 21 to drink

SPOKEN WORD • MUSIC • DIS



**LA LANTERNA DI VITORRIO  
& NEXT DOOR**

coffee | drinks | jazz | pizza

129 MacDougal Street  
212.529.5945



**INDY ADS  
WORK**

212.684.8112  
for more info. Cheap!



**ABANDONED:** The old school building at 605 E. 9th Street had been empty since the CHARAS/El Bohio Community Center was evicted in 2001.

# STANDOFF ON E. 9<sup>TH</sup>

## DEVELOPER WANTS 23-STORY TOWER ON THE EDGE OF TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK, L.E.S. SAYS 'NO WAY'

BY LEIGH ANN CALDWELL

Real estate developer Gregg Singer's attempt to convert the former CHARAS/El Bohio community center into a 23-story dormitory tower has been thwarted for now by intense neighborhood opposition.

"We continuously have to defend our community building that Giuliani never had the right to sell and Singer never had the right to buy," said Lower East Side City Council member Margarita Lopez. "It's amazing how this man and the people associated with him define community services as dormitory housing."

The latest skirmish between Singer and Lower East Side activists was initiated on April 16 when Singer and the non-profit, the National Development Council (NDC), announced plans to demolish the six-story building at 605 E. 9th St. that housed CHARAS/El Bohio and replace it with a dormitory tower. The dorms would provide housing, complete with amenities, at market rate rents, for as many as 800 students at more than 40 universities in New York City.

However, dorm opponents quickly began organizing. NDC was bombarded with messages and has quietly stepped back from the project, according to State Assemblyman Steve Saunders and several community activists. Meanwhile, Sanders and State Senator Martin Connor, both of whom represent the Lower East Side, announced they would not support tax-exempt Dormitory Authority bonds for the \$100 million project. Sanders chairs the Assembly's Education Committee, which authorizes the bonds.

"The only kind of proposal I will accept must adhere to three standards," said Sanders. "It must be approved by Community Board 3, it must be supported by Margarita Lopez, and it must be used as CHARAS/El Bohio Community Center."

Lopez, a longtime community activist before joining City Council, recently filed a

letter with the Landmarks Preservation Commission requesting that the building be designated a city landmark. Such a designation would give the community greater leverage to fight Singer's future proposals.

Singer says he is exasperated with Lopez. "Many non-profits have been approved," he told *The Independent*. "But Margarita threatens to give them no city funding, so they drop the project."

Singer vowed to find a non-profit powerful enough to withstand pressure from Lopez and the community.

Formerly P.S. 64, the turn-of-the-century school building was abandoned by the early 1970s. CHARAS and other groups such as the Lower East Side Joint Planning

Council and Adopt a Building began fixing up the structure in 1978. Over the next two decades, it evolved into a full-fledged community center, offering language and art classes, rehearsal space, meeting space, and various community activities.

Singer acquired the building with the support of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in 1998 for \$3.15 million despite the vehement opposition of community groups. After three more years of legal wrangling, CHARAS was evicted in December 2001. The building remains vacant while a much smaller CHARAS has moved to a space in East Harlem where it offers computer training and English as a Second Language courses. Community activists say the solution is simple: return CHARAS to its former home.

"We considered it [CHARAS/El Bohio] the heart and soul of our community," said Barbara Caparelle, a member of Good Ole Lower East Side, a neighborhood group that has battled Singer for years. "When it was auctioned off, it really rocked my world. I really felt like my heart was ripped out."



## How to find your G-spot

The G-spot is about two inches inside the vagina towards the belly, right behind the pubic bone. It's composed of spongy tissue that is wrapped around the urethra. When a woman is aroused, it becomes thicker as it fills with fluid and can be felt through the vaginal wall. Angle your penetration or select a curved sex toy and apply firm rhythmic pressure to pleasure the G-spot. Some women find this sensation highly sexual and some women expel a clear fluid called female ejaculate (it's not urine) from G-spot stimulation. Every woman has a G-spot, but not every woman loves having it pressed or otherwise stimulated. You'll just have to try it for yourself!



**TOYS**  
in Babeland  
Sex Toys for a Passionate World

**Soho:** 43 Mercer St.  
212-966-2120 **Now Open!**  
**LES:** 94 Rivington St.  
212-375-1701  
**www.babeland.com**  
**1-800-658-9119**

# HOUSING WORKS FOUNDERS PASS ON

In the early 1990s, while death engulfed many of ACT UP/New York's leaders, a cadre of survivors forged a new AIDS activism in this city. Born of ACT UP's housing committee, Keith Cylar's Housing Works created a client-centered model to meet basic human needs and build grassroots radical activism among homeless people with AIDS. The New York City AIDS Housing Network (NYCAHN), headed by Joe Bostic, Jennifer Flynn and Joe Capestany, brought this constituency into top leadership positions. But AIDS activists are still dying. With Cylar's death on April 5 and the recent passing of both Bostic and Capestany, this movement's still-rising new leaders must shoulder the grief of losing their mentors — and the responsibility of carrying on their work.



**STILL MARCHING:** Keith Cylar of Housing Works was helping organize a massive poor people's march for the first day of the RNC before he died earlier this year. His colleagues say they will continue his work.

By SUZY SUBWAYS

As chief operating officer of Housing Works, Cylar applied principles of harm reduction — a philosophy described by the Harm Reduction Coalition as meeting drug users "where they're at" by using "a spectrum of strategies from safer use, to managed use to abstinence" — while sheltering 15,000 people, offering mental health and medical care, job training and more. "Because Housing Works provided services, it could organize a community that was left out of ACT UP," Flynn says. "You're not going to stay up all night writing a press release with lawyers if you're a homeless person with AIDS who just got out of prison."

Cylar, a gay Black man who died of AIDS at 45, lived direct action — he was arrested more than 50 times — and inspired staff and clients to join him. Housing Works sued Giuliani when he tried to block the group's funding in retaliation for city office takeovers.

Joe Bostic, a former Black Panther and a prisoner for 17 years, founded NYCAHN

with Flynn in 2000 — a year after leaving jail homeless — and fought for healthcare in state prisons. "He worked his way to co-director," Flynn says. "He got a fellowship and did the Oral History Project so those who couldn't show up for a protest or meeting with a City Council member — active drug users, the homeless, very sick or mentally ill — could make their voices heard. We were thinking he would take over the organization."

Bostic, who lived with AIDS and hepatitis C, died at 51 on March 18.

Joe Capestany, a Nuyorican Vietnam vet, was "the heart of NYCAHN," says Flynn. "He started by taking an organizer training with me and Joe Bostic. By the end of it, he'd completely rewritten our training, with a new name — POWER: People with AIDS Organizing for Welfare Equal Rights — and we've been doing it that way since. He trained 300 low-income PWAs [People with AIDS] in community organizing... while living with HIV and hepatitis C, struggling with drug addiction, coming to the office gasping for breath because he was really sick, and putting in a 10-hour day."

Capestany, 48, died last December.

On August 30, Housing Works and NYCAHN will lead Still We Rise, a multi-issue poor people's march against the RNC. "If you want to see the real tribute [to Cylar, Bostic and Capestany], it's going to be Still We Rise," Flynn says. "I want to see big pictures of them, I want Missy Elliot to say their names onstage. It's amazing how quickly grief turns into rage, and people just want to get to work."

But with three top organizers gone, new leaders must emerge. "Keith called the march and was going to do a lot of work for it," Flynn says. "We need people to make phone calls, knock on doors, go out to organizations and talk up the demonstration. Keith was a revolutionary for 20 years — we don't have those connections, so it's more work. Of course, people didn't have connections at the beginning of the epidemic, but they accomplished so much anyway. We need that energy now."

To get involved, call Jennifer or Graziela at 718.802.9540 or email [flynn@nycahn.org](mailto:flynn@nycahn.org). For more info: [www.stillwerise.org](http://www.stillwerise.org).

## NEW YORK IN BRIEF

### COURT: NY INMATES AND PAROLEES CAN'T VOTE

On April 23, the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the state can legally bar parolees and incarcerated felons from voting in New York. The suit was brought in 1994 by Jilil Abdul Muntaqim who argued the state law inherently discriminated against African Americans and Latinos who suffer disproportionate incarceration rates. Muntaqim is a former member of the Black Liberation Army and is one of the "New York Three" who were convicted of killing two New York City police officers in a controversial trial.

### BUSH ADMINISTRATION CUTS \$40 MILLION IN NYC HOUSING SUBSIDIES

A new analysis by the New York City Housing Authority has determined that the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has cut more than \$40 million from the city's Section 8 program housing subsidies.

### STUDENTS PROTEST PROPOSED CUNY BUDGET CUTS

Dozens of students, teachers and administrators from the City University of New York demonstrated on the steps of City Hall May 7 to protest Mayor Bloomberg's plan to cut some \$12 million from the school's budget including \$5.5 million from a popular scholarship program.

Charles Barron, chairman of the City Council's Higher Education Committee, said, "We're urging the Mayor not to play games with CUNY... Education is not a right, it is a necessity."

### ASHCROFT-INITIATED LYNN STEWART TRIAL SET TO BEGIN

The federal government's trial against radical New York attorney Lynne Stewart is scheduled to begin May 19. She is accused of illegally helping her client Islamic cleric Omar Abdel Rahman communicate with his followers in the Egyptian-based Islamic Group. She has been charged with "conspiring to provide and conceal material support to terrorist activity" and "providing and concealing support to terrorist activity." Among the legal groups backing Stewart is the Center for Constitutional Rights which filed an amicus brief arguing against the prosecution. According to the group's website "CCR sees this case as an attack on attorneys who defend controversial figures and an attempt to deprive these clients of the zealous representation that may be required." Last year a federal judge threw out the Justice Department's original charges against Stewart, but Attorney General John Ashcroft responded by filing new charges.

### SEPT. 11 AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS' TAPES DESTROYED

At least six air traffic controllers who dealt with two of the hijacked airliners on Sept. 11, 2001, made a tape recording that day describing the events, but the tape was destroyed by an FAA quality-assurance manager. The manager crushed the cassette in his hand, cut the tape into little pieces and dropped them in different trash cans around the building (according to a report by the inspector general of the Transportation Department.) The tape, which was never transcribed or listened to, was destroyed despite an e-mail message sent by the FAA instructing officials to safeguard all records and

## WHERE DO I GET MY COPY OF THE INDEPENDENT?

A FREE PAPER FOR FREE PEOPLE

### BELOW 14TH ST.

- ABC No Rio  
156 Rivington
- Bluestockings Books & Café  
172 Allen
- Lotus Café  
Clinton & Stanton
- Alt.Coffee  
139 Ave. A (btw. 8th and 9th)
- May Day Books at  
Theater for the New City  
155 First Ave. (btw. 9th and 10th)
- Kim's Video  
3rd Ave. & St. Marks
- Housing Works  
126 Crosby St.
- LGBT Center  
213 W. 13th St.
- TLA Video  
8th St. btw. 6th Ave. & Broadway

### 14TH TO 96TH ST.

- Revolution Books  
9 W. 19th St.
  - Chelsea Sq. Diner  
23rd & 9th St.
  - Brecht Forum  
122 W. 27th, Fl. 10
  - Second Wave Laundroceter  
55th & 9th Ave.
  - Hunter College (USG Office)  
68th & Lex. (N 141)
- ### ABOVE 96th ST.
- Labyrinth Books  
536 W. 112th St.
  - Kim's Books  
113th & Broadway
  - Strictly Roots Restaurant  
123rd & Adam Clayton Powell
  - Green Chimneys  
450 W. 145th St.

- Fort Washington Bakery & Deli  
808 W. 181 St.
- Jumpin' Jalapenos  
W. 207th St.  
(Between Broadway & Vermillion)
- Cafe Seven  
7 Henshaw St.

### BROOKLYN

- Tillie's of Brooklyn  
248 Dekalb Ave.
- Green Apple Café  
110 Dekalb Ave.
- Marquet Patisserie  
680 Fulton St.
- Freddy's Bar and Backroom  
Dean & 6th Ave.
- BAM  
30 Lafayette Ave.
- Community Book Store  
7th & Carroll Sts.
- Park Slope Food Co-op  
782 Union St.

- Tea Lounge  
Union St. @ 7th Ave.  
7th Ave. @ 9th St.
- Atlantis Super Laundry Center  
472 Atlantic Ave.
- Photoplay Video  
933 Manhattan Ave.
- Jane Doe Books  
93 Montrose Ave.
- Make the Road by Walking  
301 Grove St.

### QUEENS

- Sunnyside Library  
43-06 Greenpoint Ave.
- East Elmhurst Library  
95-06 Astoria Blvd.
- Jackson Heights Library  
35-51 81 St.
- Friend's Tavern  
78-11 Roosevelt Ave.
- Langston Hughes Library  
100-01 Northern Blvd.

- Cafe Aubergine  
49-22 Skillman Ave.
- Sunnyside Library  
43-06 Greenpoint Ave.

### BRONX

- South Bronx Clean Air Coalition  
541-549 E 138th St.
- The Point  
940 Garrison Ave.

### JERSEY CITY

- Five Corners Public Library  
678 Newark Ave.
- Downtown Public Library  
472 Jersey Ave.
- Ground Coffee Shop  
530 Jersey Ave.

To help distribute  
the Indy,  
call 212.684.8112

DEBATE THE NEWS

[NYC.INDYMEDIA.ORG](http://NYC.INDYMEDIA.ORG)

adding, "If a question arises whether or not you should retain data, RETAIN IT."

## CITY BLOCKS PERMIT REQUEST

The New York City Parks Department has rejected a permit sought by United For Peace and Justice to hold an anti-war rally in Central Park during the Republican National Convention on August 29. The city claims the permit was rejected because it feared the crowd would be too large – UFPJ estimates the crowd to be 250,000 roughly 1/4 of the size of the massive 1982 anti-nuclear rally on the Great Lawn. In an editorial titled “Lefties on the Lawn,” even the *New York Post* spoke in support of the right of protesters to rally in Central Park. The police department has yet to decide whether to grant the group a permit to march on that day.

The New York Police Department has set a June 15th deadline for groups to apply for protest permits during the Republican National Convention. The Spanish-language daily *El Diario* editorialized against the deadline: “The U.S. Constitution guarantees ‘the right of the people to peaceably assemble.’ Nowhere does it say we have to give three-months notice.”

## BLUE BLOC? COPS TO PROTEST RNC

Boston police officers, working without a contract and legally barred from striking, have already stated their intention to picket the Democratic National Convention in July if their contract is not resolved by then. But the *New York Daily News* is reporting that unions representing New York’s cops and firefighters are filing for permits to protest the Republican National Convention. Like their Boston counterparts, they are maneuvering for a better contract from a mayor hosting his party’s convention. But they are also pushing the federal government to provide more homeland security funds to New York City.

## FEDS HEAD SECURITY BUILD-UP

Glimpses of the police state to come during the Republican National Convention are beginning to emerge. There is talk of a security wall being built extending blocks around the convention area to effectively cut off all protests near Madison Square Garden. Portions of 7th and 8th Avenues may be shut down. Police are considering stopping and searching every train going into Penn Station during the convention. At this point most of the plans are preliminary and Mayor Bloomberg’s office and the federal government are still arguing over who is in charge of security. But it appears clear that the federal government – not Bloomberg – is in charge.

On July 9, 2003, the Department of Homeland of Security declared the convention to be a “National Special Security Event” and named the Secret Service as “the lead agency for the design and implementation of the operational security plan.”

## VOLUNTEER TO DISAPPEAR

Shadow protests became all the buzz a few weeks back after the *New York Times* learned a Philadelphia organizer named David Lynn had set up a website to urge protesters to volunteer at the Republican and Democratic national conventions only to help sabotage the conventions by not showing up. The GOP, which is seeking 8,000 volunteers in New York, said they have safeguards to prevent this – long initiation meetings, background checks, etc – but if you still want to give it a shot, check out [shadowprotest.org](http://shadowprotest.org). On his website Lynn gives some tips for would-be shadow protesters: “Be polite, dress appropriately, and smile a lot.”

\* \* \* \* \*

The cover story of the May 17 issue of *New York* says the RNC protests are pointless. To share your thoughts, write:

Sarah Jewler, Managing Editor  
New York Magazine  
444 Madison Avenue, 14th Floor  
New York, NY 10022



**ANTIWAR PROTESTERS** block a San Francisco street on the day after the war in Iraq started. New Yorkers could see similar direct actions at the RNC.

PHOTO: INDYBAY.ORG

## CALIFORNIANS SEE ‘MASS CONFRONTATION’ BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT AT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

# WEST MEETS EAST

By MATTHEW LEISING

**D**irect action groups, building on the experiences of the WTO protests in Seattle in 1999 and last year’s anti-war actions in the San Francisco Bay Area, are gearing up to let Republicans know they are not welcome to celebrate their agenda in NYC this summer.

But the upcoming Republican National Convention is not about the Republicans, say Mayor Bloomberg and Ed Koch, whom Bloomberg picked recently to be the public face of the convention. It’s about celebrating New York, they insist.

Try telling that to the hundreds of direct action protesters – not to mention the hundreds of thousands of more conventional activists – who plan to flood the city starting Aug. 30.

“That’s a bunch of bullshit,” says Jamie Moran, a member of the New York City-based direct action group [mconotwelcome.org](http://mconotwelcome.org). Moran and other direct action protesters have been working for over a year to make it abundantly clear that the convention is about the Republicans and their agenda.

“If you really want to make a difference, you have to be out in the street, being vocal, putting your body on the line,” says Eric Laursen, a member of the New York City-based M27 Coalition, a direct action group.

While those involved in direct action aren’t saying much about specific plans for when President Bush, Tom Delay and Rick Santorum are in midtown; you don’t have to be a rocket scientist to realize they aren’t going to go away easily.

If past actions are any indication, New Yorkers can expect to see people sitting down in the middle of the street, blocking corporate entrances or bridges or making the lives of visiting Republican delegates a living hell. As opposed to traditional protest marches or rallies, where organizers obtain permits and coordinate with police, direct action has its roots in anarchy and the idea of bringing about change by instigating it yourself.

“You’re actually putting your foot in the

door, saying we won’t allow you to do this,” Laursen explains. “For example, actually stopping the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle a few years ago.”

David Solnit, a member of the San Francisco-based Direct Action to Stop the War, which plans to bring hundreds of people east to protest the convention, says it’s “one of the most important demonstrations ever. The entire planet is desperate to get George Bush out of office.” The week of the convention, Solnit says, will be “a mass confrontation between the American people and their government.”

New York’s finest, of course, have a quick answer to that kind of thinking. “Arrest ‘em. It’s simple,” says Paul Browne, the NYPD’s deputy commissioner for public information. “They’re not going to be able to do that in New York.”

Browne says that the department is prepared with specially trained “arrest teams” to “isolate people who are breaking the law to allow the rest of the demonstration to continue.”

While the legacy of Seattle lingers, direct actions in San Francisco and Oakland, California last year might give a better indication of what to expect this summer.

In response to the Iraq war, parts of San Francisco were shut down last March when several groups of activists simultaneously sat down in the street. Traffic snarled city-wide and thousands of people could not get to work; over two thousand people were arrested. A few weeks later in Oakland, police shot rubber and wooden bullets at peaceful direct action protesters and bystanders trying to block the entrances to two shipping companies with ties to the war in Iraq. Dozens were injured, and class action lawsuits have been filed. Both cases received national media coverage and left direct action activists emboldened. New York, they say, is next.

Moran stresses that coordinating information for visiting protest groups is a major function of [mconotwelcome.org](http://mconotwelcome.org). But like many New Yorkers he doesn’t like the idea of

President Bush’s agenda being celebrated here.

One way of getting that across, Moran says, is to “birddog” delegates – where activists follow delegates throughout the city. Or as Moran puts it, “making the stay for the delegate as uncomfortable as possible.” To this end, [mconotwelcome.org](http://mconotwelcome.org) has posted hotel addresses on its website where delegates will stay.

The NYPD’s Browne says it’s hard to comment on “birddogging” without a specific example. But he says the department’s size – 36,000 uniformed officers – and resources are up to the challenge. “We do training all the time. We’ve seen what happened in other cities where police were not prepared.”

Yet things could get complicated for the department if protesters not associated with direct action groups decided to follow their lead. That’s what happened in San Francisco last year, according to Solnit. “A bunch of us organized some things, but it was really 20,000 Bay Area residents who said [the war in Iraq] was not okay.”

Perhaps more than anything, direct action protesters simply want their concerns heard, and they’re not willing to take the normal route of using marches on Fifth Avenue to air their views. Direct action is an old tactic, they point out, spanning events such as the Boston Tea Party, Gandhi’s 1930 salt march in India and the US civil rights struggle.

“I would like people to know that there is a movement out there rising up against the current establishment,” says Jim Macdonald, an activist with the Washington D.C.-based DC Antiwar Network, who plans to be in New York for the convention.

Macdonald says it’s important for the direct action movement to conduct itself in ways that are not contradictory to the message. Attacking a police officer is not their message. But “if you’re blocking a bridge or causing some economic damage as Martin Luther King did, I don’t see anything wrong with that.”

Matthew Leising writes for the Contra Costa (CA.) Times.

# GANG GREEN

## MILITARY RECRUITERS TARGET BRONX KIDS WITH LIES AND BRIBES

René Ramirez stands squinting into the sun on the corner of Fordham Road and Grand Concourse, braids glistening in the midday light as Ben Ramos of ProLibertad Youth/Student Network declares into a megaphone, "We will not be the poor people killing other poor people across the world for rich people... we are making the Grand Concourse and Fordham Road a liberated zone."

"I'm just thinking about that guy who got arrested for not going back to Iraq," says Ramirez, 20, referring to Sgt. Camilo Mejia, the first active duty U.S. soldier to go AWOL from the war. "If he doesn't want to be over there killing people, he shouldn't have to."

BY NEELA GHOSHAL

For Ramirez, as for many of the Bronx residents who joined a May 1 picket of the United States Armed Forces Recruiting Station, Mejia's predicament hits close to home. In a borough with a chronically high unemployment rate, the military advertises itself as the only option for Bronx youth to get ahead. Many Bronx young people are recruited through their high schools or at one of the recruiting stations scattered across the borough.

Few have a clear understanding of what they are signing up for. While the military promises college funding and job training, two-thirds of all recruits never receive any funding for college. According to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, a survey funded by the military itself found that "only 12 percent of male veterans and 6 percent of female veterans surveyed made any use of skills learned in the military in their civilian jobs." Further, at least 50,000 unemployed veterans are currently on the waiting list for the military's "retraining" program, according to the *Army Times*.

Tanya Romero, a college advisor at El Puente Academy of Peace and Justice in Brooklyn, sits cross-legged on the concrete, making a sign. It reads, "No More Military Recruitment

- We Want College Recruitment."

"I find that [students of color] are really informed about military options - but when it comes to college and higher education, they don't know anything. When I ask if they envision themselves going to college, more than 50 percent have never considered that option," says Romero.

Romero tries to counter the influence of military recruiters by teaching a unit on military myths in her college prep class. "I show them how historically the poor and people of color have been targeted. When they see the statistics, most of them realize they've been cheated and lied to."

Ramirez, who dropped out of school after sixth grade and later earned his GED, is among many Bronx youth who have considered the military option. "I was about to go into the army, but I decided I got to get my education. Knowledge is power," he quips with a sideways smile.

"Most youth in the Bronx feel that what's going on in Iraq is wrong," says Jaime Rivera, who sports a Puerto Rican independence T-shirt, "but part of our socio-economic reality is that we have three options - work a 9 to 5 job for minimum wage, hustle in the streets, or join the military. That's reality - but we've got to educate the youth as to what the military is really all about."

Some young people are turned off by recruiters' blatant



**QUESTIONING UNCLE SAM:** The military recruiting station at 149th and Fordham Road in the South Bronx has become a magnet for both protesters and potential recruits. PHOTO: NEELA GHOSHAL

attempts to exploit the socio-economic background.

"They showed up at my house and said I'm from the projects so I'm not going to make it," says 17-year-old senior Jasmine Uribe of the South Bronx. "They guy said, 'I grew up in the Bronx, and I knew the only way to have a better life would be to join the army.'" Uribe agreed to take a recruitment test "to kill time."

"The recruiter said I was very smart and that I'd never be sent to war. I'd just have a desk job." Uribe, whose brothers are in the military and have been unable to pursue promised college opportunities, asked when she would actually have time to get an education. The recruiter answered, "eventually." When he called her several days later and asked whether she was still interested, Uribe answered, "No way."

Anti-war organizations are tapping into young people's growing skepticism about the role of the U.S. military. The New York Coalition of Radical Educators (NYCORE) created a 27-page curriculum to be used in conjunction with a film entitled "Military Myths." The curriculum includes writing a job description for a soldier, acting out role plays of military recruitment strategies, and making diagrams to compare and contrast media coverage of Iraq from the U.S. and abroad. The unit culminates in creating brochures to dispel military myths.

## MILITARY FAMILIES

# A HUSBAND'S LETTER

April 25, 2004

Dear President Bush:

Saturday, April 24 was my wife's 39th birthday. You awoke in your own bed in the peaceful surroundings of Camp David, perhaps, or looking out on the green lawns of the White House, or maybe enjoying the scents of wild flowers wafting in the window at your ranch in Texas. My wife awoke to the deafening noise of an explosion, and the scent of smoke. Camp Cooke was under attack. Angela picked up her protective gear that, together with her Bible and her pictures of her family, are constantly beside her bed, and ran for the nearest bunker. Moments later there were further explosions, and then the screaming began.

You see, my wife is a medic in the Arkansas National Guard, and she is deployed in your war in Iraq. She and her fellow medics ran out of their bunker, with no regard for their own safety, to try to help others. My wife will not discuss the exact events -- she is prohibited from doing so -- but I am an ER doctor, I have attended multiple casualty incidents, and I can imagine the scene. My wife spent the morning of her 39th birthday with her hands deep in the wounds of her fellow soldiers trying to stop them bleeding to death. While you probably enjoyed a cup of coffee, and read the morning newspaper, she spent the morning trying to breathe life back into dying lungs, trying not to look at limbs torn from bodies, trying not to look at the spreading pools of blood that she was kneeling in.

My wife wears one of my shirts to bed -- she says it helps her to think of home. She was wearing this shirt yesterday morning. She will never be able to wear it again. It is now a blood soaked rag. She is sending it to me. Would you like me to send it to you, so you can actually SEE the blood you are spilling? Would that help to make this distant event more real to you? Would it make it as real to you as it is to me, and to my family, when I hear my wife sobbing on the end of the phone?

When she tells me she will never be able to enjoy her birthday ever again without thinking of the events of yesterday? When she tells me she never wants to hear another firework in her life? When our children ask why daddy is cry-

ing? When my wife tells me, after being awake for 36 hours straight this morning that she cannot close her eyes, because of the horrors that now await behind her beautiful eyelids?

The papers here report four dead and many injured. Another four soldiers destroyed. Another four families devastated in this futile endeavor, started with lies and deception. How many other families scared and damaged? Not only the families of those physically injured, but other families, those like my family, who will live with loved ones who have seen horrors beyond that imaginable to most people. Loved ones who will retreat to hidden places inside them, full of dark secrets, and blood, and severed limbs, and guts lying on the ground; places they do not want to go, but where they will suddenly find themselves one day when they hear a car backfire, or someone slams a door, or, in my wife's case, when her birthday comes around again.

The people of the United States trusted you to lead us with honesty and integrity. You have let us down. Your lies and deceptions have placed the people of the United States in danger. Your lies and deceptions have destroyed the lives of families. The damage you have done will remain long after you are a footnote in history. I do not know the answer to this problem. But I do know that what we are engaged in currently is not working. There has to come a time when the people of America will realize this. Despite the best efforts of your government to sanitize the war, to hide the deadly truth from the American people, to hide the cost in terms of blood and limbs and sanity, organizations such as Military Families Speak Out, Bring Them Home Now!, and many others are gradually getting through. It appears to me that the cost is already too high. How can we end this conflict? How many more of our precious loved ones must be killed, injured or forever changed because of your misplaced aggression? We are there now, but we must get out, and we must get out soon.

Sincerely,  
Martin J Carey  
Little Rock, Arkansas

This letter originally appeared on [bringthemhomenow.org](http://bringthemhomenow.org)



**MOM AGAINST THE WAR:** Sue Sapir-Niederer of Pennington, NJ attends her first anti-war demonstration. The April 30 rally was held outside the offices of Senators Hillary Clinton and Chuck Schumer. Sapir-Niederer's 24-year-old son, Lt. Seth Dvorin, was killed by a roadside bomb south of Baghdad Feb. 3.

PHOTO: FRED ASKEW

**//Living conditions now are better in prison than at home. At one point we were concerned they wouldn't want to leave... //** —Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski, Dec. 14, 2004



**//Freedom's untidy, and free people are free to make messes. They're also free to live their lives and do wonderful things. And that's**

# A DITTOHEAD'S IRAQ DIARY

**J**oe Ryan is a right-wing radio personality and former Green Beret who left home and family in Minnesota to work as an interrogator at Abu Ghraib prison for CACI, one of the mercenary companies implicated in the Iraqi prisoner abuse scandal.

Ryan often worked until late at night but still found time to keep an on-line diary for KSTP Radio. He asked the station to take it down on April 26. In his diary, Ryan muses about everything from flush toilets to fast food to satellite television while gun battles rage outside the prison walls. He even keeps us updated on his latest round of golf. Writing at the height of the siege of Fallujah, he grumbles about long hours but exults in his ability to consistently pry information out of prisoners and be of use to his employers. How does he do it? We are left to fill in the blanks.

—JOHN TARLETON

## APRIL 11

Our LRS guys went on a road clearing mission again today. More than 8,000 rounds of ammunition were expended on their little excursion. Things outside are pretty hot in this area especially since the cease-fire in Fallujah. Since we are only 12 miles away, they are hitting this area since the main supply route passes right in front of our compound. It is somewhat surreal to see the fighting all around and we feel like we are on an island within it all. Every convoy that is coming in and out of here is receiving resistance.

## APRIL 12

Work has gone really well the last two weeks. Tonight was the first night that I did not actually get reportable information from a source. The nice thing is that means an early night.

## APRIL 15

I was tasked with a new detainee that we just received from Ar Ramadi, which is a sister city just west of Al Fallujah. This guy has a background in smuggling stuff into Iraq from Syria. It actually did not take long to get him talking, the problem was how much information he had.

## APRIL 16

I worked the guy from the Ar Ramadi area again tonight. I got home about 3 a.m. after writing reports and putting together the associations with the others in his group. It was great because my guy knows where the forged citizenship papers are made and by whom and the real names and origins of the other detainees captured with him. It is hard for the other guys to lie when I already know all about their backgrounds, but they sure are trying.

## APRIL 18

Pay attention over the next few days. There will be some changes over here and we may be showing our "big stick."

## APRIL 19

Today we had to make a run to BIAP/Camp Victory. The road looked like a scene from a Mad Max movie. There were six fuel tanker trucks along the road that were burned out hulks. While down at BIAP, we stocked up on supplies for everyone here since we are not planning on making another trip down there for at least a month. To look after the guys here, I decided to buy Whoppers at the Burger King for everyone. I came back with 40 Whoppers with cheese. No CACI people ate at the chow hall tonight. It felt good to do that for the guys.

On the trek back through the mud from work tonight (it rained just enough to make the dust into molasses), we watched eight 5-ton trucks roll in with detainees loaded in

them. By the look of the vehicles, I think they were from the Marines in Al Fallujah. This will mean that we will probably be pulling long shifts for a while now.

## APRIL 20

Nine mortars today ... while I was in the shower. Five of the mortars landed in Ganci, one of the two detainee camps. Initial reports were 21 dead, 31 critically injured and another 60 plus injured. No Americans were injured or killed. All casualties were detainees. It is disturbing that Al Jazeera had the article typed and on their web site less than thirty minutes after the attack. I am tired of a "news" service being on location every time Americans are attacked. Nobody can tell me that Al Jazeera is not intertwined with these insurgent groups.

Work is fast and furious, but we are more productive right now than we have been since I have been here. Some intelligence things are really coming together and could shift a few things to our advantage, at least west and north of Baghdad. The Al Fallujah situation is being guided by results from the intelligence gleaned from here as well as at their division cage.

Christine Chaney is another of our three CACI females here. She was in Afghanistan last year with the 202nd and is a fluent Farsi and Pashto linguist in addition to being an experienced interrogator. It is impressive because the three women we have here are all former army and hard chargers. They are more professional and tougher than most of the female soldiers here.

## APRIL 22

I sure miss normal food. I look forward to going home and cooking whatever I feel like and hitting the grocery store and seeing the stocked shelves and wonderful fresh steaks! When I go home in May for 10 days, I will proba-

bly not sit  
showing  
flushes an

We can  
ating foro  
force" in  
them othe  
political s

## APRIL 23

Work is  
home at 6  
1 pm I m  
an entire l  
showing u  
we have S  
are comin  
will not g  
interrogat  
to get eve  
ation in A

It is bec  
Iraqi peop  
by foreign  
slowly tur

## APRIL 25

Today v  
come in e  
that certa  
talked to  
through o  
eign fight  
them and  
refused, d

## U.S. SUPREME COURT HEARS "ENEMY COMBATANTS" CASES

The U.S. Supreme Court heard oral arguments April 28 on the separate cases of Yasser Hamdi and Jose Padilla, two U.S. citizens who have been designated by the President to be "enemy combatants". The Department of Justice argued that courts have no right to second-guess wartime decisions made by the Commander in Chief. Dozens of human rights groups, 98 law professors and Americans held as prisoners of war in World War II, all wrote amicus briefs objecting to the government's position.

Justice Stephen Breyer demanded to know why the Department of Defense could not provide the Geneva hearings by a competent tribunal, as it did hundreds of times in the first Gulf War. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor proposed a neutral factfinder on the battlefield to sort out, for example, humanitarian aid workers from combatants. Paul Clement, arguing for the government, asserted that Hamdi had already had such a determination, to which Justice David Souter asked, "His interrogator is a neutral factfinder?"

Decisions on these two cases and on the legality of indefinite detentions of foreigners in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba are expected in June.

—ANN SCHNEIDER

**// When Iraqi civilians look**







**...e mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things. ... what's going to happen here. //**—Donald Rumsfeld, April 12, 2003

leep between spending time with family, eating, g in a real shower, and using a toilet that actually id does not have flies everywhere. I call our being here anything we want, but "liberæ" is only a political name. We are an "occupying the eyes of the Iraqi people and you cannot tell erwise because they are not conditioned to play to spin like Americans are.

1-24

s continuing to be brutally time consuming. I got 3 am on the 24th and went right back to work at ade it home tonight at a nice early 1am and have 12 hours off. We have the Iraqi Governing Council up here tomorrow because someone told them that yrian detainees here that were caught in Iraq. They ig up here with news cameras and stuff, but they get a chance to talk to them because we will be ing them while they are here. We are pushing hard rrything we can out of these guys because the situ- Al Fallujah is going to boil over shortly. oming more obvious to the troops here as well as the le that a lot of the problems here are directly caused ous. This is not deterring the Coalition Forces and is nging the populace against these foreign fighters.

5

was a short day. There were six of us that had to early and conduct long interrogations to ensure ain detainees were only able to be seen, but not . The Iraqi Governing Council came and looked ur mirrors into the booths to see some of the for- ters we have detained. They wanted to talk to l film to show the international media, but we lue to not being able to interrupt interrogations.

They were much more patient than we thought they would be so they tried to wait us out. Five and a half hours in the booth was a long time, but we finally outlasted them.

I got to take the rest of the day off after our long booth time. This gave us a nice evening after dinner to head to the roof and play a round of golf. Scott Norman, Jeff Mouton, Steve Hattabaugh, Steve Stefanowicz, and I all took turns trying to hit balls over the back wall and onto the highway. Since the club is a left handed 3 iron, I had an unfair advantage and missed a dump truck by only about ten feet. Not bad since the highway is about 220 yards. We do what we can to make it fun here.

APRIL 26

It was hot today! We flirted with triple digit heat for the first time this year and without a breeze, you can sure feel it! I was at work until 3:30 in the morning because we got a hold of some intelligence to directly support the Marines out in Al Fallujah. This is the stuff I have been spearheading with three other tiger teams working on it with me. (A tiger team consists of an interrogator and an intelligence analyst.) The Marines wanted to hit one of the houses I had reported on, but wanted more information. I went back in on the guy who gave me the initial information and he pinpointed the spot for me on a map. I am hoping to go into work and find out that they caught the target. Results like that make us feel great.

*To see the original cached version of Joe Ryan's Iraq's diary, go to [http://216.239.41.104/search?q=cache:XYOCOWnu\\_8J:www.am1500.com/personalities/joeryan.htm+KSTP+%22Joe+Ryan%22&hl=en](http://216.239.41.104/search?q=cache:XYOCOWnu_8J:www.am1500.com/personalities/joeryan.htm+KSTP+%22Joe+Ryan%22&hl=en)*

**...ed into the faces of our servicemen and women, they saw strength and kindness and goodwill. //**

—George W. Bush, May 1, 2003



# THIS IS WHAT DEFEAT SMELLS LIKE

— BY DANIEL N. NELSON —

**I**n post-September 11 wars, the U.S. secured rapid battlefield dominance in Afghanistan and Iraq. Do these triumphs mean victory? Or, could America be defeated?

Defeat is not the number of dead and wounded, unless political will evaporates as casualties accumulate. Failure to consummate battlefield success with the capture or death of enemy leaders has little to do with long-term prognoses if resistance is based on broad and deep antagonisms. Neither is defeat implicit when destruction of enemy forces or infrastructure is incomplete; other purposes may dictate avoiding annihilation even if that aim were in reach.

Defeat is not an event pinpointed in time, and cannot be reduced to a singular military disaster. A Dien Bien Phu or Mogadishu are painful moments in an otherwise continuous process of defeat that builds momentum towards calamitous occurrences. Defeats don't happen; they develop.

What, then, is defeat? At its most prosaic, defeat is being compelled to alter behavior to one's own detriment. Rather than imposed by others' strength, defeat can occur without war or an opponent. Defeat ultimately is self-failure – the symptoms of which are an irreparable imbalance between perceived or real threats and socio-economic, political and military capacities. In that regard, defeat is the utter breakdown of individual, community, or national security.

Four traits fatally obstruct a balance between threats and capacities and make defeat possible and even likely. First, ignorance is a precursor of gross policy errors that enlarge threats and squander capacities. Not knowing other cultures, histories, or socio-economic environments is a guarantee of commitments that extend well beyond realistic expectations. From here to the horizon is scattered human debris from interventions in places we knew not at all. Vietnam's long battle against the French was unknown to many in the U.S. in the early 1960s. Somalia was but an image of state collapse absent detailed on-the-ground knowledge. Iraq's Ba'athist regime was part of an "axis of evil." Attempts to alter local and regional political directions and traditions, however, are not the bailiwick of those without detailed preparations.

Moreover, defeat comes through arrogance. Capacity-driven behaviors are preceded by an assumption that power is deserved, and that deserved power embodies one with a mission to use such capacities for a greater goal. Such a missionary vocation is irrevocably intertwined with hubris – the conceit of power. Yet such arrogance conceals fundamental weakness. Every utterance of arrogant power generates fear, alienation and, ultimately, the development of countervailing and often asymmetric force. With each deception or evidently cosmetic spin, the power of trust and the legitimacy of just force wither. America the indispensable power, the salvation of democracies and the righteously vengeful nation after 9/11 has, in Iraq, found that creating post-war peace and reconstruction depends on far more than U.S. Army occupation.

Distrust of friends, and dread of presumed enemy plots, join to produce the self-flagellation of paranoia. Everything is apprehension, and fright lies slightly beneath the surface. "Report suspicious behavior" flashes the sign above the Beltway – and George Orwell nods. Where one can trust no one, isolated strongholds are one plausible approach to world affairs. The alternative path taken by the Bush Administration is a foreign policy of global unilateralism, pre-empting through raw force whenever narrow national interests seem threatened, surrounding oneself with coalitions of the willing in lieu of genuine alliances.

Greed is also a quick route to self-defeat. Believing in nothing but today's material interests is another way of believing in nothing. War to end a regime of one leader or party, to capture resources, or to shift a strategic balance, while ignoring justice and other paramount values is a harbinger of defeat. Lie about motives, deceitfully spin information, conceal data or events – do all of these while wars and their aftermath generate huge unaccountable profits for corporate allies of decision-makers and one is sure to lose.

This is George W. Bush's America. With each pre-emptive step towards global unilateralism, enemies multiply, friendships wane, and the imbalance between threats and capacities approaches critical. The smell of defeat hangs in the air.

*Daniel N. Nelson, Ph.D., is Dean, College of Arts & Sciences, University of New Haven. He has served in the State and Defense departments (1998-2002) and was Richard Gephardt's foreign policy advisor when he was House Majority Leader.*

# THE NEW "SWING" VOTER

FROM "INSIDE A U.S. ELECTION VOTE COUNTING PROGRAM"

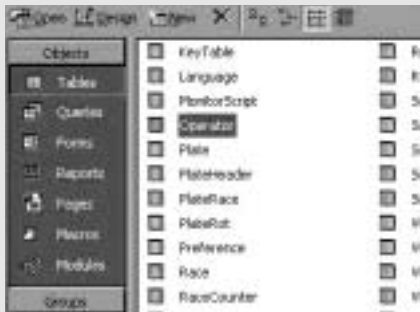
BY BEV HARRIS

According to election industry officials, electronic voting systems are absolutely secure, because they are protected by passwords and tamper proof audit logs. But the passwords can easily be bypassed, and in fact the audit logs can be altered. Worse, the votes can be changed without anyone knowing, even the County Election Supervisor who runs the election system.

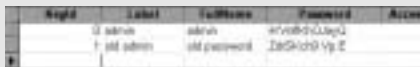
## HERE'S HOW IT'S DONE

Diebold AccuVote systems use software called "GEMS" in 37 states. At least a dozen full installation versions of the GEMS program were available on the Diebold ftp site. The manual, also available on the ftp site, tells that the default password in a new installation is "GEMSUSER." Anyone who downloaded and installed GEMS can bypass the passwords in elections. In this examination, we installed GEMS, clicked "new" and made a test election, then closed it and opened the same file in Microsoft Access.

One finds where they store the passwords by clicking the "Operator" table.



Anyone can copy an encrypted password from there, go to an election database, and paste it into that.



One can overwrite the "admin" password with another, copied from another GEMS installation. It will appear encrypted; no worries, just cut and paste. In this example, we saved the old "admin" password so we could replace it later and delete the evidence that we'd been there. An intruder can grant himself administrative privileges by putting zeros in the other boxes, following the example in "admin."

To see the full text of this article visit:  
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0307/S00065.htm>

# E-VOTING UPROAR

DIEBOLD CRITICS WIN BIG CALIFORNIA VICTORY, BUT TIME IS RUNNING OUT



KATELAN V. FOSSY

BY F. TIMOTHY MARTIN

States around the nation are moving to replace voting election equipment with Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) machines in time for the upcoming presidential elections. But with only six months until November, there remain serious concerns over the reliability of the machines and mistrust of the companies that manufacture them. With an estimated 30 percent of the voters nationwide slated to vote electronically in this election, opponents of the technology argue that the new machines are less reliable than the paper ballots they will replace.

In 2002, Congress passed the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), which mandates that all states upgrade their voting machines and election procedures in time for the 2004 election. How those upgrades get implemented, however, is left up to individual states, which are interpreting the law differently.

The strongest indication yet of the growing lack of confidence in DREs came in April when California State Secretary Kevin Shelley decertified 15,000 touchscreen electronic voting machines in four counties due to security concerns. The machines were all made by Diebold, the second largest manufacturer of electronic voting machines. Diebold came under intense scrutiny following the malfunction of their machines during the California state primaries in March, which observers say may have altered election results. Diebold's controversial CEO, Walden O'Dell, has made

six figure donations to the Republican Party, and in a 2003 fundraising letter pledged that he was "committed to helping Ohio deliver its electoral votes to the president next year."

Diebold and other large-scale producers of DREs like Sequoia and ES&S have refused to allow independent inspection of the software running their machines, citing proprietary security concerns. But critics strongly object, arguing that the lack of oversight makes it easier to tamper with votes.

"This action happened not because of security problems, per se, but because of the way Diebold handled the systems once they were in the field, putting unauthorized patches in, misleading people about what they were doing ... I think there are going to be ramifications for a lot of states," said Avi Ruben, a professor at Johns Hopkins University and voting machine expert in a recent interview with *Democracy Now!*.

California's decision to reject Diebold's machines comes at a time when states around the country are investing millions in similar technology. Like California, however, other states have had trouble with Diebold's DREs.

In Georgia's 2002 gubernatorial race, Democratic incumbent Roy Barnes led his Republican challenger Sonny Purdue by nine to eleven percentage points in polls taken on the eve of the vote. When the results from Diebold voting machines came in, Purdue had defeated Barnes by 51 to 46 per cent, a swing of up to 16 points. *Wired* magazine reported that a former Diebold warehouse worker

said the company installed last minute patches on its machines just before the election without notifying Georgia election officials. While there is no evidence that anything illegal occurred, throughout the day there were numerous reports of Diebold's equipment malfunctioning.

Last July, a group of independent researchers from Johns Hopkins conducted a detailed study of the software used in Diebold's DREs. The report said there were "stunning flaws" in the source code, which they say contained numerous loopholes that could be exploited to alter a voter's ballot choices. Diebold issued a stern rebuke, but similar findings were made by a group of computer experts commissioned by the state of Maryland a short while later.

Federal lawmakers are also working through initiatives aimed at preventing the kind of catastrophe that marred the 2000 presidential elections.

As part of this effort, on May 5, the Election Assistance Commission convened its first meeting, which was mandated by HAVA. Meeting in a packed hearing room before a bipartisan Congressional committee, experts gave sharply contrasting views on DRE technology.

There was strong support for creating paper trails, also known as verified voting, that would allow voters to double check their ballots after casting a vote by touchscreen. Proponents argue that this would provide a more reliable vote count as well as instill confidence in voters who might be unhappy about not seeing any verification of their electronic ballot.

"The paper trail is needed even though it's a big headache for election officials who have to go back to paper again," says Robert Stearns, a former New Mexico poll worker and an organizer for Verified Voting. "Without it there's no possibility of a recount in a close election."

A current bill proposed by Rep. Rush Holt (D-NJ) seeks to amend HAVA by requiring "all voting mechanisms to produce a voter-verified paper trail that can be used in the event of a recount or post-election audit." While the federal amendment is still languishing in committee, states like Nevada and Missouri are moving toward making voter verification a requirement in time for this year's election.

As for the millions of registered voters here in New York there is less immediate reason for worry. With the exception of two small counties upstate, all New Yorkers will use the old lever machines in November.

John Tarleton contributed to this report.

## DISPUTED ELECTION COMPUTERIZED VOTING QUESTIONED AT HUNTER COLLEGE

BY JOHN TARLETON

The Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM) had won eight consecutive student government elections at Hunter College since its inception in 1996. This spring they were swept out of office by a more than 2 to 1 margin. The difference according to SLAM: electronic voting. SLAM's opponents point to a record turnout in the April 26-

29 elections and say the complaints are just sour grapes. Ana Lemus, a junior education major who ran as SLAM's presidential candidate, says the new system privileged more affluent students, was plagued by a number of administrative glitches and provided no paper trail for ensuring that votes were accurately recorded. "Since the moment I voted we were going to have electronic voting, I felt 'we've lost', Lemus says.

"That's absolutely ridiculous," says Miles Gerety, a junior film major who was elected president on the slate of Hunter United, the opposition group that formed to run against SLAM. "It [electronic voting] is not a perfect system. But, it's more accountable than the voting machines we had last year."

To read the rest of this story: [nyc.indymedia.org](http://nyc.indymedia.org) and check through the recent features.

Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations with hundreds of journalists offering news coverage from the grassroots. The following reports are a sample of recent stories posted to local Indymedia websites around the nation. To see a complete listing of Indymedia sites worldwide visit [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org).

**Atlanta IMC  
G8 IN GEORGIA TO DRAW MASSIVE PROTESTS**

Social justice activists are gearing up to protest the G8, the annual gathering of leaders from the world's seven wealthiest nations plus Russia. The G8 will be held at Sea Island, Georgia from June 8-10. An Independent Media Center will be set up in nearby Brunswick. For details, contact the Atlanta IMC at [imcsoutheastus@indymedia.org](mailto:imcsoutheastus@indymedia.org).

**Tennessee IMC  
HUNDREDS ATTEND RHEA COUNTY GAY DAY**

Rhea County Commissioners approved a process earlier this year to arrest homosexuals in Rhea County for "Crimes Against Nature". Further, they approved a process aimed at prohibiting homosexuals from living or working in Rhea County. After a nationwide uproar, the county commissioners reversed both decisions. On May 7, approximately 1,000 gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered persons and their supporters turned out to celebrate Rhea County Gay Day, which will now be celebrated annually at the Rhea County Court House in Dayton, Tennessee.

**Portland IMC  
TREE-SITTERS TAKE ACTION AT FORESTRY CONFERENCE IN ASHLAND**

Early on May 6, students and community members erected two tree-sits high in the branches of a tree near Southern Oregon University (SOU). The action serves as a symbol of opposition to the promotion of old-growth logging at the Society of American Foresters Annual Meeting, currently underway on campus.

In particular, the tree-sitters oppose the presence of the Bush administration's chief of deforestation Mark Rey, Oregon State University professor John Sessions, author of a "study" advocating extreme salvage logging of trees scorched by the 2002 Biscuit wildfire and Hal Salwasser, dean of the Oregon State School of Forestry. Students did not invite these apologists for extreme logging to SOU, and the tree-sit is a reminder that they are not welcome.

**DC IMC  
PROTESTERS DISRUPT RUMSFELD TESTIMONY**

A small group of protesters disrupted a Senate Armed Services committee hearing on May 7, interrupting Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in the middle of a statement.

As Rumsfeld made his opening comments, a woman in the audience yelled, "What about the detainees, what about the collective punishments?" C-SPAN aired a shot of the audience as several people stood and began to chant, calling for Rumsfeld's retirement and labeling him a war criminal.

The demonstrators appeared to have disguised themselves as reporters. They may have been wearing press badges, and several were wearing suits and ties.

**SF Bay Area IMC  
ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATORS RAID MILITARY RECRUITING STATION**

On April 30, demonstrators gathered at the foot of Market Street, and after several minutes of silent mourning for the people lost in Iraq, proceeded to the San Francisco Armed Forces Recruiting Center. There, they removed stacks of recruiting brochures and smiling cardboard cutouts of members of the U.S. armed forces - throwing them into the street. Trailing by a small number of police officers, the protesters headed to the British Consulate, where they rallied inside the building's atrium. The march continued to the Pacific Stock Exchange and later converged at Union Square.



By VICTOR GOODE

BROWN VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION 1954-2004

RETHINKING  
RACISM

Fifty years ago, *Brown v. Board of Education* became one of the linchpins of a social revolution that ended Jim Crow. In many ways it was more successful at ending segregation in public life than it was in changing our schools.

Seldom has the Supreme Court issued an opinion with such profound implications for the direction of our country, and seldom has a court order been so persistently evaded by a combination of determined opposition and eroding judicial support. While over these 50 years *Brown* has been critiqued from as many different directions as the geometric facets of a snowflake, today it remains a cornerstone of our legal culture, but one whose relevance for the next decade is in serious doubt.

A STORY OF UNREDEEMED PROMISE

It's not surprising that, despite *Brown's* order to the district courts to end segregation in our schools, resistance to the new order was tenacious, ingenious and often violent. While opposition was expected in the South and resulted in the Supreme Court modifying its decision in *Brown II* with the language for desegregation to proceed only with "all deliberate speed," by the time the Court shifted its attention from South to North the reaction was often just as resolute. Whether the opponents rallied under the banner of "preserving neighborhood schools" or maintaining "quality education" or "parental choice," the results were the same. Whites were reluctant to go to school with blacks and would back up that opposition with lawsuits, legislative proposals, foot dragging of every sort by the courts, and as a last resort, fleeing integrated school districts for the predominantly white suburbs.

Studies show that today, more than 70 percent of the nation's black students now attend predominantly minority schools. Another dramatic and largely ignored effect of resegregation has been on Latino students. In 1968 only a little more than 20 percent of Latino students were enrolled in intensely segregated schools, but by 1998 it jumped to 75.6 percent.

This resegregation is occurring at a time when our nation's public school system has never been more diverse. While whites make up only 60 percent of the children in the nation's public schools, most white students have little contact with students of color. As metropolitan school districts have become overwhelmingly black and brown, they are now surrounded by suburban schools that are overwhelmingly white, according to a study by Gary Orfield and John T. Yun of the Harvard Center for Civil Rights.

Today the Court has declared that segregation that is not the direct result of inten-

tional conduct by public officials is beyond the reach of the *Brown* mandate. This means that discrimination in housing, employment, home insurance, bank redlining, allocation of transportation funds, all of which have created this modern phenomenon known as the urban ghetto, will not affect the court's narrow view of what constitutes unlawful school segregation.

In *Brown's* aftermath, our metropolitan school districts have not only remained segregated, they have also become concentrations of urban poverty. Today almost 29 percent of blacks live below the federal poverty threshold and 33 percent live in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. Latino students on average attend schools where 44 percent of the students are poor.

We have known for some time that poor neighborhoods often correlate with substandard schooling. Schools with predominately students of color are on average twice as large as white schools, have a 15 percent larger class size, maintain a lower quality and remedial curriculum and attract less qualified teachers. We now have recent studies showing that these same neighborhoods also have an alarming increase in chronic health problems. In a recent *New York Times* article, researchers revealed that in many poor urban communities, even young people are becoming afflicted with chronic diseases and dying at rates similar to those of a Third World country.

Linking this to the disparity in health care failed to explain all the varieties of deteriorating health occurring in poor urban communities. Some scientists now believe that we have created a combination of social and environmental conditions in poor communities as stark as if a line had been drawn around them.

On one side of the line are middle class residents with the normal societal distribution of illnesses. But on the other are the poor with a dramatic prevalence of heart disease, high blood pressure, kidney failure, diabetes and other illnesses that seem to be tied in some way to increased prolonged exposure to stress. Added to these reports on concentrated poverty and health are other studies that point toward institutional

racism creating this harm, including its impact on school-age children.

Racial discrimination or racist events in the lives of African Americans have now been isolated as a special debilitating health factor. Reports have begun to measure the impact of racism as a specific stress factor that impacts physical and emotional health. Stress is not simply how we feel or react to events; there is a clear biochemical reaction. Prolonged exposure to stress literally begins to wear our bodies down. The prolonged, grinding daily impact of institutional racism as a special form of stress may now be a major factor explaining this dramatic deterioration in the health of people of color, according to authors David Williams, Michael Spencer, and James Jackson in their study "Race, Stress and Physical Health."

What remains to be determined is whether the unmistakable pattern of institutional racism experienced by children of color in our ghetto school districts can be linked to the host of illnesses they are beginning to manifest even at an early age. If it can, then the new quest for equal educational opportunity may be based on the right of our children to be free from the institutional racism of imposed educational isolation.

While *Brown* began with a focus on issues of self-image in black children 50 years ago, now there is a clear relationship between race, poverty and poorly performing inner-city school districts well beyond the psychological factors. These communities also suffer numerous forms of stress, especially institutional racism that created these closed zones of poverty. This is structural racism, not formal legal discrimination but racism across institutions. And we now better understand the link between that form of racism and the clear measurable physical harm that it causes. In 1954 we called that harm the denial of equal protection under the law. At *Brown's* next anniversary the struggle for equality just might be targeted at educational racism, our national public health crisis.

Victor Goode is a professor at City University of New York Law School. This article is excerpted from the original which appears at [colorlines.com](http://colorlines.com).

# House OKs Pre-Emptive U.S. Attack Against Iran

By TRISH SCHUH

Undeterred by the results of pre-emptive war in Iraq, the House of Representatives passed a non-binding resolution May 6 authorizing pre-emptive military strikes against Iran. The vote was 376-3.

"It [Iran] has engaged in a systematic campaign of deception and manipulation to hide its true intentions and keep its large scale nuclear efforts a secret," said Dan Burton (R-Indiana).

The resolution urges nations that have signed the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons (See P.13) to "use any and all appropriate means to deter, dissuade and prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons." It also demands that the European Union, Asian nations, and Russia cease future commercial and energy trade with the Islamic Republic. Russia is the main contractor for Iraq's nuclear grid.

House members said the legislation is in line with the Bush Doctrine of preventive war, and creates a legal framework for later sanctions and "military options" against Iranian nuclear sites.

Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) and Pete Stark (D-Calif.) both condemned the resolution, noting its similarity to the law that permitted a preemptive war on Iraq.

The measure's adoption capped a year of anti-Iranian efforts in Congress.

A U.S. plan for military action against Iran has been complete since May 2003, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Under the plan, the U.S. would strike the Arak, Natanz, Isfahan and Bushehr installations with precision missiles launched from Iraq as well as Iran's northern neighbors, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

British and American intelligence and special forces units have been put on alert for an Iran conflict within 12 months, according to British news sources. Also, the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* recently revealed that a special Mossad unit has been activated to draw up "Osirik II" (a reference to the 1981 Israeli bombing raids that destroyed the Iraqi Osirik nuclear complex near Baghdad).

Mossad chief Meir Dagan declared Iranian nuclear capability to be the greatest threat ever faced by Israel. In December 2003, he informed the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that an operation to annihilate Iran's facilities had been finalized.

Israeli Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz also announced that "under no circumstances would Israel tolerate nuclear weapons in Iranian possession," warning that by the end of 2004 Iran's atomic development would have reached "the point of no return."

In response, former President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani said, "If Israel committed such an error, we would give it a slap it would never forget - not only now but for all its history."

\* \* \* \*

Elsewhere in the "war on terror," Macedonia's former Interior Minister Ljube Boskovski and six other security force officers were charged April 30 in the 2002 murder of a half-dozen Pakistani migrants who were posthumously set up to appear like armed Islamic extremists.

"This was the act of a sick mind," Mirjana Konteska, a Macedonian official, said. "They lost their lives in a staged murder [so the police and officials] could present themselves as participants in the "war against terror."

# IN THE NAME OF LIBERATION

## ANC SWEEPS SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS

In the months leading up to South Africa's third national elections on April 14, there was little doubt in anyone's mind that the African National Congress (ANC) would win. The main debate amongst the mainstream political pundits and analysts who dominated the media election coverage was centered on the extent of the ANC's victory margin. After all, the ANC's principal electoral opposition consisted of right-wing parties; the traditional left (COSATU and the SACP) obediently played the role of the ANC's cheerleaders-in-chief, while the more radical social movements called for an election boycott or the casting of spoiled ballots.



MICHAEL ULRICH

By DALE T. MCKINLEY

The electoral campaign of the ANC was bankrolled by millions in corporate donations. President Thabo Mbeki and his coterie of ministers criss-crossed the country on a whirlwind road show especially designed to show the common touch of Mbeki and the ANC's political elites. Read-made photo opportunities with destitute rural pensioners and urban township youth were mixed in with reconciliatory visits to ultra-wealthy townhouse complexes. The cameras clicked away, the dutiful articles appeared in the papers, and the airwaves were filled with news about Mbeki and interminable (and mostly sycophantic) interviews with various ANC leaders.

The former liberation movement parties of the left such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation were left to shamelessly feed off the ANC's scraps

and show just how hopelessly out of touch they have become in confronting the neo-liberal juggernaut.

On the other side of the political tracks, anti-capitalist social movements such as the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF) and the Landless People's Movement (LPM) used the elections period to intensify grassroots organization and struggle around the most basic socio-economic needs of the majority poor. For political, tactical and material reasons, the APF, along with several other social movements, chose not to contest the national elections.

Instead, they called on South Africa's masses to join the social movements in the longer-term struggle to develop an alternative to the ANC, through building people's organizations on the ground, uniting working class forces and mass action in struggle. As to the people's involvement in the elections, the APF called for those who wanted

to participate to cast spoiled ballots, while the LPM called for a boycott through their "No Land, No Vote" campaign.

During the run-up to the elections, the ANC and the security forces it controls consistently monitored, harassed, intimidated and physically attacked activists. In two notable cases, activists were subjected to mass arrests and incarceration for simply daring to organize legitimate public protests. At the same time, the ANC went out of its way to perfect its usual "talk left" electoral message. The ANC promised heaven and earth to South Africa's poor while ensuring, with lots of help from the media, that its "act right" neo-liberal economic strategy, responsible for mass unemployment and impoverishment, remained firmly in the shadows.

Dale T. McKinley is a South Africa-based activist and writer. He was expelled from the South African Communist Party last year for publicly criticizing the Party's alliance with the ANC.

# WHEN BUSH COMES TO SHOVE...

## WHERE DO YOU TURN FOR NEWS?

Naomi Klein says *The Independent* "mixes the spirit of direct action with a searing critique of corporate power." Drawing upon the global network of Indymedia Centers, we let people speak for themselves - from the streets of Baghdad to the jungles of Colombia, the shantytowns of South Africa to the villages of East Timor. We look at those resisting the Pentagon and Wall Street reign of terror, from the fight at home for housing, quality education and civil liberties to the broader struggle against corporate globalization. Don't miss an issue - subscribe today!

Bill me  Check enclosed

Name

Address

City

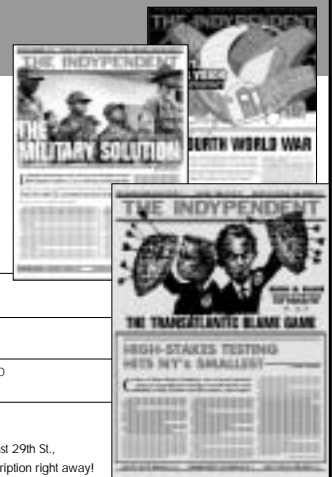
Slate

Zip

E-Mail

Phone

Subscription rate: \$27/year (23 issues). Angel rate: \$100/year. Make checks payable to the NYC IMC Print Team and send to: 34 East 29th St., 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10016. Or for even faster service email your address to indysubs@yahoo.com and we will begin your subscription right away!



By INDEPENDENT STAFF

**H**opes for implementing the 1968 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) dimmed significantly after a key preparatory conference reviewing the treaty in 2005 ended in a stalemate between the United States and non-nuclear powers.

The meeting in New York from April 26 to May 7, 2004 was unable to agree on procedures, agenda, or recommendations for next year's review.

In article VI of the NPT, the nuclear-weapon states – the U.S., Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China – agreed to negotiate in good faith towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons. That key provision continues to be strenuously resisted by the U.S., in particular.

As a group, however, "the most powerful states are acting as though they have no intention of fulfilling their side of the NPT bargain in which those possessing nuclear weapons agreed to negotiate their elimination in return for the non-nuclear states not acquiring nuclear weapons," said Douglas Roche, a former Canadian delegate.

Negotiations at the preparatory conference were tense, with delegates and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) repeatedly noting that the NPT is threatened, as are many other international agreements. Further, many were wondering if international cooperation and diplomacy through international institutions will survive the actions of the single superpower.

During the negotiations, there was a clear stand-off between the U.S. and other parties to the NPT. The U.S. disagreed with most non-nuclear-armed states on the requirement to disarm, compliance with all

articles of the treaty and whether to use previous NPT review agreements in 2005.

The U.S. used much of its time to accuse Iran of non-compliance, while some countries accused the U.S. of non-compliance.

Some NGOs pointed out that the U.S. is violating the NPT by engaging in vertical proliferation -- developing new nuclear weapons, technologies, and capabilities.

Algeria, Brazil, Cuba, and Iran expressed concern over military doctrines that continue

to assert the role of nuclear weapons.

Non-nuclear-weapon states asked that disarmament and assurances that nuclear weapons will not be used against them take precedence at next year's review. The U.S. took a hard-line position against both proposals.

Parties to the NPT noted that without the fulfillment of article VI over time the treaty, in which non-proliferation and disarmament were mutually interdependent and reinforcing, would lose its true value. They also noted that the goal of nuclear disarmament could best be achieved through a series of "balanced, incremental, and reinforcing steps to ensure irreversibility."

Delegates from many nations expressed continued disappointment over the lack of progress made in the implementation of the practical steps for systematic and progressive efforts to implement article VI.

Paragraph 15 of the final document of the 2000 NPT review conference set out practical steps to nuclear disarmament.

These included the importance and urgency of signatures and ratifications "to achieve the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT); the necessity of negotiations in the U.N. Conference on Disarmament "on a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons;" the necessity of establishing in the Conference on Disarmament a subsidiary body to deal with nuclear disarmament.

In 1999, the U.S. Senate rejected ratification of the CTBT, making it the only legislative body to do so. The Conference on Disarmament ended its first session earlier this year without agreement on a program of work.



# N-BOMB DEADLOCK

**COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT)** – A multilateral treaty crucial to establishing international law and norms prohibiting underground nuclear tests. The treaty was opened for signature in 1996. It will not enter into force until all 44 states considered capable of creating a nuclear weapon have signed and ratified the treaty.

**FISSILE MATERIALS CUT-OFF TREATY (FMCT)** – A treaty yet to be created that would verifiably ban the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons, effectively putting a limit on the size of nuclear arsenals.

**HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION** – Transfer of nuclear weapons, technology, or materials to nuclear or non-nuclear entities.

**INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL** – Established in 1997, the Additional Protocol is a safeguard agreement designed to strengthen and expand existing IAEA safeguards for verifying that non-nuclear-weapon states-parties to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) only use nuclear materials and facilities for peaceful purposes. NPT states-parties are not required to adopt the Additional Protocol, although the IAEA is urging all to do so.

**NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES (NWS)** – China (1964), France (1960), Russia (1949), United Kingdom (1952), and United States (1945) declared their nuclear weapons programs prior to

1967 and are thereby recognized under the NPT as nuclear weapons states.

**NON-NPT NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES** – India (1974), Israel (1967), and Pakistan (1987) possess nuclear weapons and are not parties to the NPT.

**PROLIFERATION SECURITY INITIATIVE (PSI)** – U.S. President George W. Bush announced during a speech in May 2003 the establishment of the Proliferation Security Initiative. The PSI is a program under which the U.S. and a certain number of its allies bestow upon themselves the authority to interdict shipments carrying suspect cargo and seize illegal weapons or missile technologies at sea, in the air, or on land. Thus far, the U.S. has recruited 10 PSI partners: Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

**VERTICAL PROLIFERATION** – The increase in the size of an existing nuclear weapons state's nuclear arsenals. It may also include the introduction of new weapons and new capabilities to nuclear arsenals and means of delivery, and changes in national security policies that make the use of nuclear weapons more likely.

Source: Nuclear Age Peace Foundation.

## ANTI-NUKE CAMPAIGN IGNORED

By DONALD PANETH

**I** attended three events — a United Nations press conference, a church meeting, and an outdoor rally — held in conjunction with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty preparatory conference April 26 – May 7, 2004.

And I'm not sure which was more alarming: the comments of the speakers or the sparse attendance at each of the events.

Less than a handful of correspondents turned out for the press conference; about 250 people were present at the meeting as well as the rally.

"The world is on the verge of local nuclear war," Alla Yaroshinskaya, president of the Center for Ecological Studies and an adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, told reporters April 27, "and 'suitcase' nuclear war," she added.

Dr. Helen Caldicott, author of *The New Nuclear Danger*, appeared at All Souls Church on 80th St. and Lexington Ave. "If there is a nuclear war between Russia and the United States, that is it — nuclear winter," said Caldicott.

"I love this world," she said. "It's all at risk."

Caldicott warned that Russia has targeted New York City with 40 hydrogen bombs. "There is a huge conspiracy, in this country, of silence," she said.

The speakers at a Bryant Park rally on May 1 were eloquent and persuasive, but the rally was tiny compared to the protest I attended in the same place during the Vietnam War.

I am also asking myself why the past year's anti-nuclear campaigns have not produced a response comparable to the rally of a million anti-nuke demonstrators in Central Park in June 1982.

People are tired, overworked, distracted, I reply. Many want to believe our leaders (even the current batch) are doing the right thing.

We're not on a very promising path. But if you start to take this threat seriously, you feel obliged to do something. What?

## NUCLEAR GROUPS TO CONTACT

Abolition 2000, c/o Pax Christi USA, 532 West 8th St., Erie, PA 16502, (814) 453-4955, www.abolition2000.org;

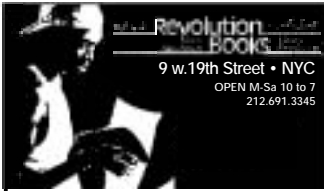
American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 661-6130;

Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League, PO Box 88 Glendale Springs, North Carolina 28629, (336) 982-2691;

British American Security Information Council, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Suite 205, Washington, D.C. 20002, (202) 546-8055, E-mail: basicus@basicinc.org;

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, PMB 121, 1187 Coast Village Road, Suite 1, Santa Barbara, CA 93108-2794, (805) 965-3443; E-mail: communications@napf.org;

Oxford Research Group, 51 Plantation Rd., Oxford, OX26JE, United Kingdom, 44 (0) 1865 242 819, E-mail: org@oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk



# REVOLUTION

WHY IT'S NECESSARY  
WHY IT'S POSSIBLE  
WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

EXCERPTS FROM A FILM BY A TALKER BOB AVAKIAN

Coming in June 2004...

Announcing the VHS & DVD release of an historic talk by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian:

\$34.95  
(4 dvds or 5 videos)  
Available at Revolution Books

**BLACKED-OUT-MEDIA IS A PROJECT OF THE NYC INDYMEDIA VIDEO COLLECTIVE.**

This provocative half-hour weekly news series appears on the Manhattan Neighborhood Network ([www.mnn.org](http://www.mnn.org)) Saturdays at 9:30 PM on channel 34, basic cable. The show is expanding to Brooklyn Community Access (BCAT), and will make its national premiere on Free Speech TV on May 31, 6pm EST ([www.freespeech.org](http://www.freespeech.org)). To find out more information about ~~Blacked-Out~~ Media or NYC Indymedia Video, call 212-684-8112 or e-mail [mediablitz@riseup.net](mailto:mediablitz@riseup.net).

1-4 MAY 13 - 26, 2004 THE INDEPENDENT

# REVIEWS

## CULTURE, POLITICS & CRITICISM

### WHEN FRENCH INTELLECTUALS MATTERED

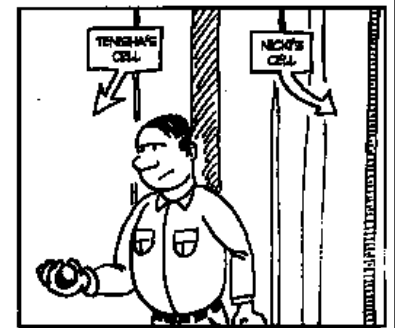
#### CAMUS & SARTRE: THE STUDY OF A FRIENDSHIP AND THE QUARREL THAT ENDED IT

By Ronald Aronson  
University of Chicago Press, 2004

Many leftist intellectuals over the age of, say, forty, probably cannot hear the names "Camus" and "Sartre" without being immediately plunged into an ideological drama freighted with symbolic meaning. Those old enough to remember the quarrel between Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, and even many of those old enough to remember the Soviet Union, most likely have their minds made up about which larger-than-life protagonist was right and which was wrong, which philosopher won the argument and which philosopher lost. For these readers, Raymond Aronson's excellent *Camus and Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel That Ended It* will serve as history burdened by memories of a distant yet dramatic past.

For some younger readers, however, the conflict between these two major voices of the postwar French Left probably means nothing at all. The specific issues about which they fought—the Soviet Union, the French Communist Party, the Algerian War—have been resolved. Today, few young activists outside the strident Marxist fringe mourn the passing of "actually existing Socialism," and those who do mourn its loss usually keep quiet. Probably just as important for younger activists, the men involved in the quarrel were, to begin with, egomaniacal white men, and, worse yet, French intellectuals. What could be duller? What could be more hopelessly... *Old Left*?

And yet Aronson's book, and the quarrel it brings to life, has a certain timeless quality that makes it worthwhile reading for activists of any generation. You see, Sartre, the brilliant philosopher, founder of existentialism, and sometime Marxist, and Camus, the magnificent writer, Algerian pied-noir, and fervent anti-communist, were fighting about much more than communism and the Soviet Union. They were battling about means and ends, about realism and idealism, about colonialism, about morality of revolutionary violence. What issues could be more timeless? Moreover, as Aronson notes, "after their split, a dispiriting 'either/or' would prevail on the left: sup-



## HOW TO GET ARRESTED RIGHT

Beat the Heat ||| By Katya Komisaruk w/ Illustrations by Tim Maloney AK Press, 2004

Whether you're a gangster or a rebel, if you choose to live free chances are that sooner or later you'll find yourself in the hands of the law. What you don't know can't just hurt you -- it could land you in prison whether you're guilty or not. Just released by AK Press, *Beat The Heat* is a handbook on how to handle everything from police harassment and searches to the dirty tricks of station-house interrogation. With two million people already behind bars, there's no reason you have to join them.

Authored by a practicing attorney who applied to law school while serving time for vandalizing nuclear weapons navigational equipment, Katya Komisaruk knows that just because you may have broken the law, it doesn't necessarily mean you did anything wrong.

Packed with cartoons, case histories and scenarios, *Beat the Heat* is a great gift for any young person in your life, as well as all activists in the Age of Ashcroft.

— Jed Brandt

porting revolutionary governments and movements meant agreeing to ride roughshod over freedom; defending freedom meant opposing the only significant project challenging capitalism. In a deep sense, we are talking about the defeat of the Left in the 20th century."

The defeat of the Left in the 20th century? Hm. Well. Perhaps this is more important than it seems.

Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus were philosophers and writers who fought for the French resistance in World War II and emerged from that war as the voices of a new generation. Both men were labeled "existentialists" (though Camus was unhappy with the term), and both men sought to create an alternative to the decadent French society that had collapsed under the Nazi onslaught in

1940. Both were suspicious of the Soviet Union, and both detested American capitalism. In short, both men saw themselves as independent leftists.

Under the pressure of the Cold War, however, the intellectual space available for independent leftism of any kind was quickly shrinking. As Aronson recounts, Camus came to see oppression within both the Soviet Union itself and the Soviet system as

the primary problem for the left in the post-war world, while Sartre began to see the seeds of global injustice in capitalism. Though both men had been friends and intellectual allies during World War II, they found themselves increasingly at cross-purposes. A break seemed inevitable.

Finally, in 1952, the two had a vitriolic public falling out in the pages of *Les Temps Modernes*, a dispute that captivated the French public and literary classes for weeks. At the time of Camus' death in 1960, the two men were still bitter enemies. As Sartre became increasingly militant in his Marxism, he condemned Camus for his "bourgeois liberalism." Camus, for his part, grew increasingly hostile to Marxism and flirted with anarchism, writing for a time in *Revolution Proletarienne* and advocating revolutionary trade unionism as a substitute for the leadership of the Communist Party.

With big-c "Communism" largely relegated to the dustbin of history, Sartre's dispute with Camus regarding the Algerian War is probably the argument most immediately relevant in our contemporary world. Camus, whose aversion to violence only grew after his break with Sartre and whose personal roots in Algeria increased his opposition to the terrorism of the FLN, naively called for a negotiated settlement up until his death. "I believe in justice," he famously vowed in 1954, "but I will defend my mother before justice." Sartre initially saw violence in Algeria as inevitable, then as commendable, and, finally, as a goal in and of itself, an attitude which climaxed in his remarkable preface to Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*. "The rebel's weapon is proof of his humanity," he wrote "and to shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the many he oppresses at the same time." As we watch the increasingly violent struggles against the brutality of both modern and postmodern American imperialism, from the neo-colonialism in Iraq to the tyranny of the WTO, the stark perspectives offered by Camus and Sartre are like a bracing splash of cold water.

As with any fight between former friends, the roots of the angry split would stem as much from differences in temperament as from changing ideological views, and Aronson pays attention to both the personal and political differences that divided Sartre and Camus. What's more, Aronson is remarkably fair in his judgments; it's not hard to see that he has genuine sympathy for both men. Some familiarity with Cold War history and the writings of Camus and Sartre might be helpful when reading this book, although (fortunately) Aronson's primary focus is on the men's accessible literary output rather than their weighty philosophical work.

Aronson ends his book on a hopeful note. With the Cold War over, he contends, perhaps we can go beyond the dichotomy posed so sharply by Sartre and Camus.

"We can imagine some one speaking truth at all times, and opposing oppression everywhere, uniting each man's characteristic power of insight under a single moral standard. A Camus / Sartre?" he asks. My own thoughts upon finishing this book, I have to admit, were a bit more modest. Watching these two brilliant men struggle honestly with oppression and injustice, maybe it is not too much to hope that, one day, we might once again have a left worth fighting for.

—CHRIS ANDERSON



## IN SEARCH OF ENEMIES

### MY LIFE IN THE ISRAELI ARMY

BY YONI MISHAL

**M**ilitary occupation is bad, it corrupts, it's a dead end. It is long stretches of boredom interrupted by brief moments of terror. So, what is the responsibility of a society to the soldiers conscripted in its name? I served in the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) from 1997 to 2000. It was a different situation from Iraq, but reading the latest news, a few memories have come back to me.

#### 1997: SKIRMISH WITH HEZBOLLAH

A positive identification. I was sure of it. A Hezbollah soldier firing from inside a house on a South Lebanon Army (SLA) outpost. While taking coordinates for the target on the map, I called up the artillery unit and gave the order to fire. It took them some time to respond, but eventually five 155mm shells razed the house and all its surroundings. I had to make decisions fast and by myself. I was only a private, but out on a lookout post I had the authority to give orders. The fighting went on and I kept looking through binoculars to give reports back to headquarters. Twenty or so Hezbollah men were attacking a well-defended SLA base. A hopeless battle for them, and nevertheless a common incident that sometimes, most disturbingly, ended with a short victory on Hezbollah's behalf. They put up a flag and ran away before IDF gunships and cannon fire drove them away.

Rising smoke prevented me from seeing what was going on. The radio was full of screaming; reports from different lookouts, commanders arguing and HQ trying to get everything together. It was beyond me now. Only then I realized what I had done. I had been in south Lebanon for three months waiting for something like this to happen. I knew people were being killed. I knew my life was in danger since my outpost was inside Lebanese territory, but I didn't care. Long periods of guard duty, no sleep and a lack of vacation made action my only break from routine. Just a few months before, I was calling for an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Now, I was happy to do my job, protecting the country, my family. Still, that house. What a waste. The Hezbollah fighter was probably out of there by the time the cannons fired. As a matter of fact he was probably out of there by the time I gave the order. And I knew that.

#### 1998: WEST BANK CHECKPOINT

On the outskirts of Hebron, at a roadblock near the entrance to a little village whose name I can't remember. The year 1998 – these were times of peace, but this village was a threat according to the regional command. We switched posts with a different unit. The soldiers in the checkpoint all had masbacht, a prayer necklace made of colorful beads. One of the soldiers explained, "if a car comes and they give you a masbacha, you let them pass. If not, keep them waiting. They'll come up

with one, you'll see." The people of the village, still passing by, came prepared and had bags full of these precious necklaces. My officer yelled at them, "being a blackmailing thug is not part of being an IDF soldier!" The soldiers looked at each other with mocking smiles and left without another word.

One driver from the village said the unit before ours was even worse. They just made life hell with no explanation. They took people out of their cars and made them wait. When they got bored with them, they let them go and stopped the next car. It made it clear to me that a soldier at a checkpoint is like a king. Tell the people what you want, and if they don't comply don't let them through. Simple. Nevertheless, "we are the ones being punished here" was the saying among ourselves. The task at hand was tough. Three soldiers, 10-hour shifts in the sun and 10 hours rest for three weeks. The first few days were fine. After a week every car that passed seemed like the passengers were up to no good. I stopped more cars and made them wait longer, in search of weapons and bombs. "I never felt more stupid in my life," commented someone from a different company one day on the way back to base, "they know that we know this whole block thing is absurd, it's just a game everybody involved is playing."

We always respected people, never searching more than we had to. But they didn't want respect; they wanted to keep on going. They tried giving us masbacht, food, clothes, money. As time passed by, I noticed they got angrier. I once stopped a car with a kid that had a severely bleeding finger. The father said the finger was cut off by a knife and they were on the way to the hospital. My friend, who was in command at the time, said we must search the car. He thought it was a suspicious story. The parents were furious. A small group of bypassers stopped to watch. One old man approached while the father was showing me the engine and whispered, "this is too much. Let the family through." We complied. Still, frustration grew on both sides. "The only solution is to be tough, don't try to apologize for what you're doing. They don't care you're not happy to be here, and smiling at them while humiliating them doesn't make them happier. Just do your job with a straight face. Accept it as the default choice," said Ari, my friend, who thought I was thinking about the whole thing too much. "If you don't want to go home with a headache and a bad stomach, Yoni, stop thinking about the poor situation of the Palestinians. It sucks and that's it. We are not here to think," he added sarcastically.

The villagers didn't know this, of course, but the true reason for the roadblock was that my platoon, like the ones of the previous two units, was too big for the missions in the area and our commanders had to keep us occupied somehow. Most of my platoon was on patrol duty in Hebron itself. We were the few leftover with nothing to do. Knowing this didn't make it easier on me, but I had no choice.

Disobeying orders meant prison. I had a vacation coming and a girlfriend at home, and no roadblock duty would keep me from seeing her at the end of these three weeks. I searched the cars. Some were in a hurry, some on emergency call. We stopped and searched them all, thinking this was the only fair thing to do. What if one of them was a terrorist? After nine weeks of having a roadblock at the entrance of their village, they had a good reason to try and hurt me or one of my friends. Three weeks passed. We returned to base. Once we were gone, so was the roadblock.

#### 2000: "WE HAVE FOOTPRINTS, SOMEONE GOT IN!"

An outpost outside Israel's border with Jordan in a territory belonging to Israel, now a demilitarized zone. A little confusing at first. Six months and time doesn't pass. The last months of my military service. Counting the days.

Jordanian army soldiers were posted in spots opposite to our own, but in horrible conditions, miles away from their base and far apart from each other, alone in the sun for hours. Once they reached their position, on foot, they usually lay down and slept. Desert sand, wind from the Dead Sea and the Jordan River down at a distance. Always the same. Our thrill was to shoot at wild boars passing by at nighttime, claiming they looked like people trying to cross the border in the thermal night vision screen, and stopping an occasional smuggler or refugee. The biggest kick was to make up a "penetration," as if someone actually crossed the border into Israel. An alert was set off and all forces were drawn to emergency positions. Helicopters, tanks, roadblocks, flares in the sky. All it took was one loony driver that made footprints with his shoe on both sides of the fence, and then a hysterical call to base: WE HAVE FOOTPRINTS, SOMEONE GOT IN!

At this point, I never knew if the missions I set out for were real or just another whim of one of my friends. I spent an entire day chasing a runaway alligator from a nearby farm. Everybody was behaving as if the enemy soldiers were charging the fences. "This is very serious!" cried out some commander, "the people of the valley are in danger!" Was this for real? We never found him, only alligator prints on the dusty ground. The commanding staff was constantly trying to raise the stress level by creating immediate danger. But time was my true enemy, not the soldiers who were as bored as me on the other side. My outpost bared the scars of war, many years ago. Imagine that, I thought, something happened here. Trying to make it more exciting, my officer sounded serious at the briefing we had every day. "They may look calm, and this might be a peace border," he said, "but anything can happen – Be alert and on guard. If you see a suspect, call him to stop once, twice, and then fire a warning shot in the air... of the lungs," he added with a laugh.

NIK MOORE

**Comitted to making sexy  
sweatshop-free clothing  
for real people.**

Made in Downtown LA  
Sweatshop Free

We're sick of the old moral codes  
of the left and the right.

It's time for a change.

American Apparel  
is paving a third way.

[www.americanapparel.net](http://www.americanapparel.net)

**Come see what we're doing at our  
Community Stores and Galleries.**

**Noho**  
712 Broadway  
New York, NY 10012  
Phone: (646) 393-2257

**West Village**  
373 Sixth Ave.  
New York, NY 10014  
Phone: (646) 336-6515

**Lower East Side**  
183 E. Houston  
New York, NY 10002  
Phone: (212) 698-4600

**Soho - Coming Soon**  
121 Spring St.  
New York, NY 10012  
Phone: (212) 226-4880

**Williamsburg - Coming Soon**  
104 N. Sixth St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11211

To stay on top of new store openings,  
visit our web site.

**American Apparel™** 