

# One year later...

From Kabul to Guantanamo Bay and back to Santa Cruz, a year in review

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R.D. Ward/Department of Defense



Photographer's 1st Mate Class (AW) Shane T. McCoy/US Navy



Brian Marsh

Above: in September 2001, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld announces domestic and international programs to counter terrorism. Operation Enduring Freedom for operations outside the US and Operation Noble Eagle for those in the US.

Top right: detainee being transported to Camp X-ray in January 2002.

Right: scene from an Oakland protest on September 13.



Photo Courtesy Emily Hell



R.D. Ward/Department of Defense



Above left: this street sign alteration recently showed up on the streets of Santa Cruz.

Above middle: flags, both large and small, covered the US landscape in the weeks and months after 9/11. This flag was part of the decorations for a Pentagon ceremony on December 11, 2001.

Directly above, middle: British forces strike caves in Afghanistan.

Above right: protestors at a September 22 rally express anti-government sentiment.

Below left: sample of the reward poster for bin Laden.

Below right: sample of flyers US jets dropped on Afghanistan. The flyers were meant to explain food ration packages dropped during bombings.

Below middle: visiting Kabul ten months after the beginning of the War on Terrorism.



Photo courtesy of Marian Morris





# Letter from an Editor

## What are we agreeing to?

Within days of 9/11/01 individuals living in the US, from New York City to Santa Cruz, were asked to be patriotic in the face of tragedy, to be steadfast in a time of turbulence, to be generous and good consumers despite the economy and to be trusting of the government despite the uncertainty. It was in this period of needs and demands that many people were cognizant of another impending doom: the retaliation. In the weeks following 9/11, reports about people of apparent Middle-Eastern descent being thrown off planes, or shot in convenience stores, or harassed on the streets or firebombed in restaurants became commonplace. Reports came from Pakistan that thousands of Afghanis were fleeing to refugee camps in fear of US action.

And without a compass by which to navigate through their fears, the polled American public gave notice that—by any means necessary—they wanted to be guaranteed protection from another act of terrorism. The government took due note, and now here we sit, a year later, to contemplate: what has been lost since 9/11.

In a world that only guarantees death and taxes, the government has systematically sought out various means to guarantee that not one more terrorist enters the country. To “insure” the country is safe, we find ourselves embroiled in an era marked by: The USA PATRIOT Act, The Department of Homeland Security, a bolstered INS budget earmarked for border security, hundreds held in detention not charged with crimes,

hundreds more held in Cuba for indefinite detention, a sky filled with elitely trained sky marshals, airports filled with more local police, members of the National Guard and staffed by federal employees who must be American citizens to handle baggage, all in a country that willingly admits it will ethnically-profile visitors to asses their possible terrorist affiliations.

Today, the hallmark of this post-9/11 moment is fear and xenophobia.

The War on Terrorism was billed in its fledgling weeks as a “war” comparable to the War on Drugs—to be a war with no borders and no timeline. We have committed indefinitely to something that is not precisely tangible. Wars are generally declared on nation states, so how does one declare war on an act or tactic? The answer was debated hotly, months ago, without a conclusive response. Yet here we sit, ready to begin the second year of this War. With unknown targets, we stay the course.

But who is the “we” I continue to discuss? Who said “yes” to this War on Terrorism? Who agreed that the INS should be restructured in the wake of 9/11? Who asked for a multi-colored terror warning system? You might answer, “not me,” and that might be true, but yet we all sit here, together, in the aftermath of 9/11. We, collectively, did not ask for anything, but together we bear witness, and we take future responsibility for the acts of the government today. 9/11 was tragic, but it was a response to previous acts and perceptions of what

the US is and what its public agrees to. We are, today, still weary from an event that took place last year. However, we must begin to shake off our fear and doubt and resolve to move on, for we are the captive audience of a government that is taking full advantage. We must redefine ourselves and decide if we are in agreement or in opposition—the time for fence-sitting is over, if it ever began.

For these and other reasons, we at *The Alarm!*, have decided to devote this issue of the paper to reexamining many of the issues, laws and events that have occurred since 9/11/01. It is to serve as a reminder of all that has transpired, all that has been witnessed and all that has been approved since 9/11.

Admittedly, you will not find images of the towers crumbling, of people falling from the top stories of the WTC—these images are forever catalogued in our collective memory. We need not reproduce them here. We hope this issue allows you to take pause and reflect on moments in the past year while preparing for the coming year and its challenges.

As 9/11 approaches, we step closer and closer to opening an old wound, Iraq. As a nation, we are reinvesting in an old war as we continue that other war, the War on Terrorism. As members of the public we need to decide if we want to be embroiled in a series of perpetual states of war—is that what we agreed to?

—Michelle Stewart

## A quick word on content

### Spanish Language Content

In the past two issues of the paper we have not had Spanish content, something we are sad to report. However, it is not a trend we are intending to set. Due to a variety of circumstance (including contributors being on holidays—they deserve a break!), we have not had the content. However, in the coming issues

we hope to bring our level of Spanish content back up and begin to increase it as time goes by. We are committed to our goal of becoming a bilingual publication and we are always looking for more contributors!

### Local News and Content

Since *The Alarm!* now comes out every two weeks, most local news will be old news by the time we go to print. However, we will still be covering local news and issues in a more timely matter on our website.

## A Year in Review Timeline

In deciding to do a 9/11 issue of *The Alarm!*, devoted to a year in review, we had a daunting task—what to cover, what to devote space to. Since it would be impossible for us to cover all of the significant issues that arose in the past year, we have decided to supplement the articles and commentary with a running timeline. Admittedly, this timeline will not have every event that has transpired. The intent is to remind all of us of some key events and the rate at which the political landscape changed in the US as military and judicial actions escalated both domestically and overseas.

*Timeline compiled by Michelle Stewart, sources include: [http://www.ncac.org/cen\\_news/cn84artnow.html](http://www.ncac.org/cen_news/cn84artnow.html), <http://www.timesunion.com/news/september11/timeline/>, <http://www.aclu.org/news/2002/n052902c.html>, <http://www.terrorismsanswers.com/policy/hatecrimes.html#Q4>, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines02/0706-01.htm>, <http://www.esrnational.org/discriminidents200109.htm>, <http://www.artistsnetwork.org/news/news13d.html>*

### 9/11/01

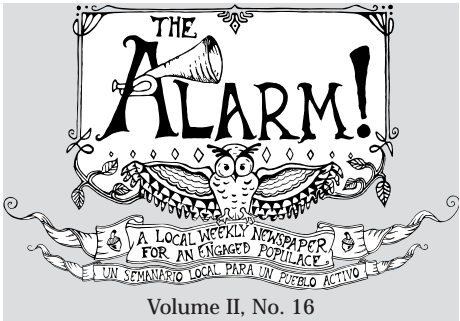
- **8:48 a.m.**—With 92 people on board, American Airlines Flight 11 hits the North Tower of World Trade Center (WTC).
- **9:05 a.m.**—With 65 passengers on board, United Airlines Flight 175 hits the south tower of the WTC.
- **9:40-9:50 a.m.**—With 64 people on board, American Airlines Flight 77 hits the west side of the Pentagon.

- Wall Street closes down for trading.
- The FAA shuts down all flights in the US and diverts them to Canadian airports as the south tower collapses in NYC.
- **10:25-10:40 a.m.**—The North Tower collapses. Confirmed: United Airlines Flight 93 crashed in Pennsylvania with 45 people on board.

- **5:25 p.m.**—7 World Trade Center collapses.
- **8:30 p.m.**—“Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil for you are with me.” Bush addresses the nation on television citing Psalm 23.
- In NYC, Mayor Guilliani asks residents to stay home on Wendesday if possible.

### 9/12/01

- Bush asks Congress to devote \$20 billion to assist in recovery efforts from this “act of war.” Guilliani estimates 10s of thousands died in the WTC.
- In Chicago, an Arab school is firebombed and the office of the Arab American Action Network is badly damaged by arson.



Through the use of strategic investigation and innovative analysis, we aspire to provide quality reporting on the news of Santa Cruz County as a means to inspire and engage individuals and the community at large. We strive to cover news that matters directly in peoples' lives. We are not interested strictly in local news, but wish to connect the local to regional, national and global issues.

*The Alarm! Newspaper* is distributed free of charge locally through newspaper racks and can also be found at select businesses and organizations throughout Santa Cruz county. Our print run for this issue is 10,000 copies. Home delivery and postal subscriptions are also available (see back page for rates and instructions for subscribing).

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If you are interested in contributing an article to *The Alarm!*, please see the guidelines for submissions on our website.

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# Volunteerism will save America?

By **CHRIS KORTRIGHT**  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Contributor*

*EDITOR’S NOTE: In surfing the internet recently, contributor Chris Kortright came across the Citizen’s Corp website hosted by the US government. These were his thoughts on that discovery.*

*Your country has never needed you more. —John Ashcroft from the Citizen Corps’ Citizens’ Preparedness Guidebook*

George W. Bush has told the American public that volunteerism is one of the many answers to the terrorist threats we presently face. In his speeches and diatribes, we hear a ringing resemblance to John F. Kennedy’s “Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.” So then, what exactly are we asked to do for this country? How is one to volunteer for this great nation?

Well, according to the government web site there is a whole list of chores that daddy federal government wants us to do. Under “Help Your Country,” we are told that the first thing we can do is Invest in America. And no surprise to the local skeptic, we are asked to buy Patriot Bonds. But let’s say that, like me, you are not a wealthy person. Is there a way to support the “War on Terrorism” and our government’s “Homeland Security?” Lucky for us there is, and it is a practice that most of us working class people are very used to doing —Work for the USA.

Work for the USA? Isn’t that what I do every day when I go to work? I certainly don’t work for myself. So, what kind of jobs are out there for those of us who desire to work for the good ol’ US of A? Just a quick scan down the list of “jobs” shows that all

the opportunities are military and law enforcement related. The list is quite long and diverse if you have authoritarian or militaristic instincts: Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines. But the list doesn’t stop there, there are so many “job” options: work for the INS, the Federal Air Marshals, the FBI or even the National Guard.

If working isn’t your thing or maybe you are already too busy working, you can still help your country. There are still a few more chores that need to be done....

First, you can be a snitch. You know one of those people in prison who gets out early for telling the guards what they heard during pillow talk, or who is smuggling in drugs. Or if you relate to movies more, the gangster who kills seven people and then walks free because he tattletales to the federal government what his bigger brother did over the past four years. You could become one of them. There are all sorts of hotlines and mug shots that we the public have access to (you can even earn up to \$2.5 million being a snitch).

Second, you can Fly the American Flag. The government recommends “Printable American Flag Images” or “Design a Pentagon Memorial,” but I bet they would be just as happy with an old-fashioned cotton flag.

There is still one more option—the Citizen Corps. What are they, you ask? They are an organization of volunteers; actually they are THE organization of volunteers according to Bush. Volunteer you say? Like feeding the homeless, taking care of children or the elderly? Well, this organization is a bit different than the local soup kitchen. But, you say, I’ve volunteered before and loved it. It’s

right up my alley, the whole militarism and snitching thing isn’t for me. So you ask, what is the Citizen Corps all about?

The Citizen Corps was set up right after 9/11. It is a “network of volunteer efforts” that will “harness the power of the American people by relying on their individual skills and interests to prepare local communities to effectively prevent and respond to the threats of terrorism, crime, or any kind of disaster.” So, how does this network “harness the power of the American people?” They have established volunteer programs for you to plug into: Community Emergency Response Teams, Neighborhood Watch Program, Volunteers in the Police Service, Medical Reserve or Operation TIPS.

“In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the need for strengthening and securing our communities has become more critical.” So, enter the Neighborhood Watch Program. The Neighborhood Watch Program is where community residents will be provided with information so they can “recognize signs of potential terrorist activity”—like the young Arab man outside of Chicago who had the cops called on him as he sat in his car in front of the house he had lived in for eight years. The Citizen Corps makes sure you understand that the Neighborhood Watch Program is not “vigilantism.” If this sounds a little too renegade for you, you can just volunteer directly to the Police Services, where you would do the same things just with the cops looking over your shoulder.

If Work for the USA and the Citizen Corps sounds like the same program, you’re right. To work for your country

in the Bush sense, you need to become a cop or a snitch. None of these jobs help the people of this country, or people in other countries for that matter. They help the government in its attempts to control its own citizens and the citizens of other countries. Which is a problem for me, and I hope you as well. But there is a way to help people who live in this country and abroad. Volunteer to challenge the permanent war our government is engaged in, fight against the economic system the keeps those of us in the US and abroad in bondage, or work in solidarity with individuals who are under racist attacks within your community. There is a way that volunteering can made the individuals of this country safe—volunteer against the economic and social system that represses us all.

Commentary



## Your Letters

Dear **Alarm!:**

A year ago the community was quite concerned about the fate of the homeless encampment known as Camp Paradise. Today the successors of that group are being ousted from their camping place on the property of the Mt. Calvary Church and the office space on River and Pearl that they have been using as the Santa Cruz Service Corps. Is the community only responsive to drama and disorder?

—CARL WILSON

Dear **Alarm!:**

Last fall, city council progressives had a failure of nerve and refused to call for peace in Afghanistan and a restoration of civil liberties in the United States—as Berkeley had done. They are still silent. In 2000, Mayor Sugar and then Mayor Fitzmaurice had a similar failure of nerve in denying the

basic civil right to sleep legally to our houseless community. There is shelter on the floor of churches for less than fifty out of a population of 1000-2000. In spite of the election of the supposed “pro-reform” Porter and Reilly which provided a key two votes to reverse the three to four defeat (June 2000) of the “Safe Sleeping Zones,” none of the “new Progressives” would introduce or publicly support this basic plan. Even after an aging disabled homeless man was murdered in the vacuum left by the City’s refusal to provide a site for Camp Paradise (now slated for eviction from its Aptos Church site), Mayor Krohn and his Council did nothing. The costly “camping-for-park-restoration” proposal was unusable from the first. The police were not only left free to selectively harass homeless people—sleeping or awake. Worse, they were given a blank check by the

City Council on June 24 to “enforce all laws” downtown. Cops under Sgt. “Butchie” Baker and his peers are already forcibly subduing “breadcrumb” terrorists like Norman Friedberg, chalk artists like Tim Rinker, political activists like Becky Johnson, and long-time musicians like “Cosmic” Chris. Before the community can consense on alternative modes of coming together (such as voluntary guidelines, mediation, more rather than less space through plaza-like solutions, etc), we must first unite to turn back the war against the poor on Pacific. Forget the Drug War hype and *Sentinel* crime scares. We must expose and resist the regular police practices of targeting the poor downtown. Fitzmaurice’s policy of gagging, expelling, and arresting

“indecorous” critics at City Council has been expanded city-wide to target “the unsightly” leaving backpacks on the sidewalk and high-profile activists using erasable chalk (never a crime until Ali Baba’s Cafe went after sleeping ban opponent James Nay in 2000). The terminally stupid Downtown Ordinances (originally a Rotkin-Matthews-Kennedy production) are part of the gated community ethic. Fight back with mass protest, housing take-overs, restoration of public spaces, and a united “peace abroad/justice at home” movement. Don’t let the bigots and the bureaucrats rest until poor people in Iraq and in Santa Cruz are allowed to do the same.

—ROBERT NORSE

9/13/01

• Osama bin Laden is identified as the primary suspect by Secretary of State Colin Powell.

• US skies fill with the first jetliners to fly since Tuesday morning.

• A poll released by ABC News and the *Wall Street Journal* indicates that forty-three percent of Americans think the 9/11 incident made them “personally more suspicious” of people who appear to be of Arab descent.

• James Herrick torches “Curry in a Hurry,” a Pakistani-owned, Salt Lake City restaurant. Though filled at the time, no one was injured. Herrick admitted the arson was in response to 9/11—he received 51 months in jail.

• Patrick Cunningham attempts to set fire to cars parked in a Mosque parking lot. When he fails at that, he begins firing at a crowd of worshipers—he currently faces 5-7 years in prison.

Write to Us!

All letters to the editor will be published, with the following guidelines:

- 1) No letters over 350 words
- 2) No commercial solicitation (“plugs”)
- 3) No event announcements or personal ads
- 4) Letters to the editors must be sent “attn: Letters” via post or to letters@the-alarm.com via e-mail (we will assume that if you send letters to these addresses, you want them published—if you have general questions or comments, send them to info@the-alarm.com). We prefer e-mail.
- 5) Letters received on paper by Tuesday at 5pm or via email by Wednesday at noon will be published the same week.
- 6) We reserve the right to reply to any letters in print in the same issue.
- 7) Play nice.





# “It’s the stupid economy”

## ■ US Labor and the Economy in the wake of September 11

By FHAR MIESS

*The Alarm! Newspaper Collective*

We Americans like to think that everything changed on September 11, 2001. Obviously, things have changed, but when it comes to the US economy, the assumption that everything has changed can be a particularly dangerous one. The fact of the matter is that the economy began its precipitous decline months before September 11. When financial and commodity markets were closed for several days following the attacks on the World Trade Center towers, an economy on the brink of disaster was given a brief reprieve.

It would be all too easy to blame the country’s poor economic performance on the malice of foreign terrorists rather than over-valued stocks, inflated derivatives markets and “creative” accounting practices by domestic agents. The latter reasons are, however, closer to reality, and, if anything, the attacks on the World Trade Center towers provided a much-needed distraction and buffer from this reality.

Within a week of the attacks, hawkish voices began appearing on the editorial pages of such publications as the *Wall Street Journal*, calling for a swift retaliation against the perpetrators of this direct attack on American military and economic might. The Bush Administration was more than obliging to these interests and the US military was deployed in Afghanistan within the month.

When the markets reopened on the Monday following the attacks, prices and trading were relatively steady. Economists were quick to note the urge for a return to “normalcy” by the consumer public. Shoppers went to the malls in droves. They flocked to the video stores to distract themselves with Hollywood schlock. They packed the bookstores in search of answers in the printed word. Sales of cell phones surged in the face of mounting anxieties about staying in touch with loved ones. Meanwhile the stock values of security staffing and equipment manufacturers skyrocketed in resonance with the saber-rattling emanating from the White House.



Photo courtesy of Charles Slay ©

**ILWU rally in Oakland, CA on August 12.**

Soon afterward, the Bush Administration engineered and rushed through a \$15 billion bailout of the crisis-stricken airline industry. That industry responded to the vote of confidence from the government by laying off workers by the thousands. This pattern of bolstering big economic players while ignoring the interests and needs of working people continued unabated in the Administration. In the midst of “economic stimulus” packages (which even by conservative economic standards have been characterized as something less than stimulating) and moves to privatize Social Security, employers laid off some 800,000 workers across almost all industries while housing and health care costs continued their upward climb. In addition, it has taken longer than usual for unemployed workers to find new employment. Still, Bush has maintained that the “fundamentals of the economy” remain strong (although, in a moment of understated candor, he managed recently to admit that times are “kind of tough” for American workers).

But the Bush Administration has not simply ignored the working class; it has actively fought to thwart it at every turn. Citing the need for executive “flexibility” in the war against terrorism, Bush declared in early January that all collective bargaining agreements of workers previously represented by the American Federation of Government Employees in five Department of Justice divisions would be henceforth null and void. More recently, the Administration has refused to budge in its insistence that workers transferred to the new Department of Homeland Security abandon union representation. This insistence was the major sticking point that prevented Senate Democrats from approving legislation formalizing the new department before the summer recess.

Workers in the transportation sector have been hit particularly hard, especially in air transportation. Tens of thousands of security personnel and staff have been laid off since September

11 and the situation grows worse as time progresses. The Bush Administration has been less than supportive. In December, 15,000 Machinists at United Airlines threatened a strike if their demands for better pay were not met—demands they had put off for four years, waiting for United to get its financial ducks in a row. A “Presidential Emergency Board,” appointed by G. W., banned the workers from striking on December 20, severely restricting what leverage they had.

On June 4 of this year, Bush abruptly signed an executive order paving the way for the privatization of the nation’s Air Traffic Control system, contrary to the interests of the controllers themselves, not to mention logic and common sense. The air traffic controllers had proven themselves when they safely landed several hundred aircraft within minutes of the

*“the Bush administration has informed us that it has assembled in San Diego trained Navy dock workers from bases around the world and have them ready to move on us”*

order to do so on September 11, and over 5,000 aircraft over the next couple of hours. Britain, Australia and Canada, the only other nations to have privatized their own air traffic control systems, have had to bail out those private companies to keep them solvent and functioning, calling into question their ability to maintain safety in the skies. Poor working conditions in those operations have been met with labor strikes. All of this comes at a time when the Administration is moving away from privatization and toward the federalization of many other security-sensitive aspects of air travel to ensure that well-trained and well-compensated federal workers get the job done right (all concerns about the repressiveness of a “job well done” in this area put aside for the moment).

Another mammoth struggle in transport is coming to a head between Boeing and the International Association of Machinists (IAM). The Machinists were set to go on strike starting Labor Day, but they heeded the call of federal mediators to return to the negotiating table. Boeing management was considerably less obliging, showing up to the meeting only to refuse further negotiation.



Photo courtesy of Charles Slay ©

**The Maersk International yard at the Los Angeles Port.**

Business pages are appearing spelling doom for the Machinists. Their leverage is significantly weakened by Boeing’s financial position. Orders for new commercial aircraft have been slow due to the financial failings of the airline industry since September 11, and the company is awaiting payment on orders already delivered. While management insists that a strike is not good for them either, they have a clear advantage at the moment, despite the not insignificant strike fund of the Machinists, which could keep them out with strike pay for months. Union officials, however, appear eager for federal mediation, as evidenced by the fact that they risked alienating their rank and file by interrupting the strike vote as ballots were being cast in order to take the federal mediators up on their offer.

Still, Boeing does have orders to fulfill, including a recent order for sixteen military helicopters from the government of Kuwait, valued at around \$2 billion, and this could work in the union’s favor. Boeing has taken a stronger role in the production of military aircraft since its absorption of McDonnell Douglas in August of 1997.

These labor problems in the air travel industry are by no means limited to the United States. Staff at Australian airline Qantas have gone on strike twice in the month of August. The International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF) has noted that workers in sea and air transportation around the world are among the hardest hit by security clampdowns in the wake of September 11. Security personnel in civil aviation remain the worst paid in the industry while workers at sea are increasingly denied shore leave due to security concerns.

Transport workers on *terra firma* are not doing so well, either. Consolidated Freightways, a trucking company based out of Vancouver, Washington, filed for Chapter 11 (bankruptcy) protection on Tuesday, and Monday (Labor Day) announced that it would be laying off over 15,000 unionized workers, effective immediately. Carlos Ramos, a spokesman for Teamsters Lo-

Continued on **NEXT PAGE**

### 9/14/01

- The military is granted permission to call up to 50,000 reservists to assist in what President Bush declares a national emergency.
- Congress approves \$40 billion in aid and funds to launch hunt for those responsible.
- The Taliban militia swears “revenge” if the US attacks Afghanistan looking for bin Laden.

### 9/15/01

- In Mesa, Arizona, gas station attendant Balbir Singh Sodhi is killed in one of the more-publicized hate crimes of 9/11 backlash.
- Continental Air lets go of 12,000 employees, cuts flights by 20%.
- Mark Anthony Stroman goes on killing spree in Dallas. Kills Pakistani clerk on 9/15, blinds Bangladesh clerk on 9/21 and kills Indian clerk on 10/4. As a known white supremacist, he received the death penalty.

#### FYI:

The Department of Justice estimates nine people died in 9/11-related hate crimes. Launching a total of 325 investigations into possible hate crimes related specifically to 9/11. The Agency usually investigates a total of 700-800 annually.

### 9/17/01

- Wall Street reopens for the first time since 9/11—the longest shut down since the Great Depression. The Federal Reserve cuts rate by 1/2 %.
- On “Politically Incorrect” host Bill Maher says US tactics are often cowardly. Sponsors including American Express and Sears-Robuck pulled their ads and ABC threatens to cancel his show entirely.

### 9/18/01

- Attorney General John Ashcroft announces new rules allowing for detainment of suspected illegal immigrants to be increased to 48 hours (from 24).

*See page 7 for a local story about censorship post 9/11.*



cal 776 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is quoted as saying, “that’s like telling your wife you’re getting divorced on Valentine’s Day.”

The liquidation of Consolidated Freightways comes after revelations following federal audits that the company funneled assets into a non-union subsidiary, Conway. In addition, the company was one of sixteen large firms that failed to meet the Securities and Exchange Commission deadline of August 14 for financial certification. The SEC required the certification of the bookkeeping practices of 691 such businesses following the collapse of Enron, WorldCom and others due to “aggressive” accounting practices that inflated their paper value. Outraged members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 206 staged a protest and picket outside the company’s headquarters, across the Columbia River from Portland, Oregon, on Tuesday.

But the pinnacle of this generalized labor strife is the brewing conflict between the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), which represents shipping lines, and the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). The ILWU is traditionally one of the strongest and most militant of mainstream unions in the United States, representing primarily workers at ports along the West Coast of the US. According to the PMA, those ports handled \$260 billion worth of goods last year. The PMA has made virtually no concessions while the ILWU has already made compromises far beyond what they have been willing to accept in the past.

Until Labor Day weekend, the parties had extended their existing contract since its expiration on July 1. On Sunday, September 1, talks broke down completely as the PMA reneged on previous agreements regarding the protection of union jobs as technology on the docks is introduced. This prompted the union not to renew the contract, paving the way to possible work slowdowns, which the union often uses to leverage its bargaining position. For its part, the PMA has pledged to lock out the union if it engages in work slowdowns.

According to an ILWU press release, the PMA’s next move, after changing significant terms of the negotiations, was to call the Bush Administration. Over a month ago, the ILWU made it public that Director of Homeland Security Tom Ridge and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had both pressured ILWU International President James Spinosa not to strike the West Coast ports in the interests of national security. According to the union, the Bush Administration has also suggested that it may invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to mandate an eighty-day “cooling-off” period, ordering longshore workers back to the job. This mandate is among four possible courses of action unionists claim the Administration has indicated it may

take. The other three include running the ports with Navy personnel, placing the docks under the restrictive Railroad Labor Act and breaking up the coastwise contract into separate negotiating units for each port.

The Administration is taking clear steps to make good on those threats. According to Spinosa, “the Bush administration has informed us that it has assembled in San Diego trained Navy dock workers from bases around the world and have them ready to move on us. In a time when we are supposed to be in a war against terrorism,” he said, “why is Bush using the military against American workers involved in a legitimate labor dispute?”

Word of this federal meddling has outraged members of the ILWU and unionists around globe. The union has also managed to garner the support of port authorities and legislators at all levels of government. Members and leadership of the Teamsters (IBT), the International Longshoreman’s Association (ILA, which represents dock workers on the East Coast) as well as the five million-member International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) pledged solidarity with the ILWU under the union’s motto: “an injury to

ment intervention, the PMA has little incentive to budge from its position in negotiations, many of which revolve around security issues brought to the fore since September 11.

Members of the ILWU, however, have accused the shipping lines of “wrapping themselves in the flag” to get their demands met at the bargaining table. They point out that the ILWU was immediately forthcoming with suggestions to improve security the day after the World Trade Center towers were struck, and the union was met by the PMA with silence. For many years, the ILWU and maritime transport workers generally have complained about the “Flag of Convenience” system that allows ship owners to register their vessels in any country, making it difficult to determine the true origins of ships, personnel and even cargo. The lack of sufficient documentation also makes it difficult to determine who may have handled cargo between its origin and its destination. The ILWU notes this with concern as a safety issue, particularly since shippers such as Maersk—which owns the Los Angeles dock facilities, the largest in the US—ships high volumes of goods from countries such as

“ In a time when we are supposed to be in a war against terrorism, why is Bush using the military against American workers involved in a legitimate labor dispute? ”

one is an injury to all.” The Docker’s Section of the ITF recently passed a strongly-worded resolution that suggested that unionized longshore workers worldwide (an unfortunately dwindling breed) may refuse to unload cargo loaded by non-union scab labor on the West Coast, returning the favor that the ILWU has done for them on many occasions.

The West Coast Waterfront Coalition (WCWC), which represents a number of large importers and exporters (see sidebar), has urged the PMA to take a strong stance against the union and has lobbied the government to intervene in the event of labor actions. The WCWC has cited possible ILWU job actions as threats to national security. According to Friends of Labor, a group supporting harbor workers in Los Angeles, Robin Lanier, Executive Director of the WCWC, sent out emails Tuesday to its membership, spreading rumors (subsequently debunked and recanted) of job actions already taking place on the docks, apparently in an attempt to spur that membership into calling on the Bush Administration to intervene. With the threat of govern-

Libya and Iraq, countries that the US government labels “state sponsors of international terrorism.”

The ILWU has not taken the intransigence of the PMA sitting down. Rallies of thousands have been held in Oakland and Los Angeles, while smaller rallies took place in other ports along the West Coast, with several solidarity rallies on the East Coast. Nor has the ILWU, along with much of the labor movement, limited its activism to “bread and butter” issues or to the shop floor. ILWU members were out in force on August 22 when several thousand people took to the streets to protest the Bush Administration in Portland. Besides criticizing Bush’s poor record of supporting labor, unionists protested the USA PATRIOT Act, which they see as a threat against union organizing, particularly among immigrant communities. This act’s vague and broad language could easily be interpreted to define even labor organizing as “domestic terrorism”.

The protesters were met by the Portland Police Department with tear gas,

CONSUMER ALERT:

While the ILWU has not officially called for a boycott, the union’s supporters might consider where they put their consumer dollars based on the following list of importers, exporters and retailers backing the PMA.

West Coast Waterfront Coalition Membership (also see <http://www.friendsoflabor.com/thelist.htm>)

- 3M
- Agilent Technologies
- Agriculture Ocean Transportation Coalition
- Best Buy Co., Inc.
- Burlington Coat Factory Warehouse Corp.
- Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad
- C.H. Powell Company
- California Cartage Company
- Chiquita Brands International
- Columbia Sportswear Company
- ContainerFreight EIT, LLC
- Del Monte Foods
- Don Breazeale and Associates, Inc.
- DPI
- DSL Integrated Logistics, Inc.
- Ernest & Julio Gallo Winery
- Evergreen America Corporation
- Expeditors International of Washington, Inc.
- Family Dollar Stores, Inc.
- Footwear Distributors and Retailers of America
- Gap Inc.
- Great Western Steamship Co.
- Hewlett Packard
- Intermodal West, Inc.
- International Mass Retail Association
- JCP Logistics L.P.
- Kellogg Company
- Kurt Orban Partners LLC
- Limited Logistics Services, Inc.
- MAERSK Pacific
- Marine Exchange of San Francisco Bay Region
- Mattel
- Mega Toys
- National Retail Federation
- Otis McAllister, Inc.
- Pacer Stack Train
- Pacific Maritime Association
- Pacific Merchant Shippers Association
- Panasonic Logistics Company of America
- Payless Shoesource, Inc.
- Rail Delivery Services, Inc.
- Target Stores
- The Home Depot
- Toy Shipping Association
- Toyota
- TransSolve, LLC
- U.S. Association of Importers of Textiles and Apparel
- WAL-MART Stores, Inc.
- Yamaha Corporation of America

Go see LABOR on Page 19

9/19/01

- Pentagon sends aircraft to Persian Gulf to support “Operation Infinite Justice.” Thousands flee Afghanistan.
- American and United airlines layoff 40,000 workers.
- Clear Communications releases list of 150 songs its radio stations should avoid playing. Boasting a collective listenership of 110 million, the company asks for voluntary compliance.



R.D. Ward/Department of Defense  
Rumsfeld announcing operations from the Pentagon.

9/20/01

- 5,131 members of the Air Force Reserve and Air Force National Guard are ordered to active duty.
- Bush names Pennsylvania’s Gov. Tom Ridge to head the Office of Homeland Security—a new, cabinet-level post to coordinate the war on terrorism.

9/21/01

- Northwest Airlines cuts 10,000 jobs. Industry total for week: 100,000.
- Congress agrees to \$15 billion relief package for airlines as Dow announces the largest, one-week point decline in history:1,369.70.
- Chief Immigration Judge Michael Creppy issues memo to all immigration judges mandating that, when directed by the Department of Justice, all proceedings be closed to the press and public.

9/23/01

- Bush ends national mourning period. Freezes assets of nearly thirty organizations and people assumed to be associated with terrorists.
- Powell says he will provide evidence of bin Laden’s involvement to the international community.
- Saudi Arabian government denies the US use of its airbases to mount attacks.
- FAA announces one-day ban on all crop-dusting due to concern about chemical weaponry.



# On a little island rests a big problem: Wards of the War on Terrorism

By MICHELLE STEWART

The Alarm! Newspaper Collective

In late 2001, word came from the White House that detainees captured in the War on Terrorism would be kept for interrogation on a US Naval Base. These individuals would be held for questioning about events surrounding 9/11 and/or their association with the al-Qaeda network and/or the Taliban. Classified by the government as "detainees," not "prisoners" (you be the judge on that one), these individuals were transported beginning in January to a remote location in Cuba. The place is Guantanamo Bay; the holding facilities were called Camp X-ray. Since January 12, 2002 the population at the Camp has swelled to nearly 600 and renovations are underway to create more space. The expected total capacity for the camp is approximately 2,000. What is perhaps most troubling is that, unlike other prisons, you do not need to be charged to be held at the Camp, and there is no guarantee you will ever be released. Perhaps it is time we begin to get to know this camp of the permanently detained.



The Camp has snipers located in towers. This photo was taken when military personnel were rehearsing for arrival of detainees.

Photographer's 1st Mate Class (AW) Shane T. McCoy/US Navy

## The Camps and the Arrivals

On January 12, 2002, twenty al-Qaeda and Taliban prisoners arrived at a US Naval base located in Cuba's Guantanamo Bay from a Khandahar airfield in Afghanistan. Dubbed Camp X-ray, the temporary facility housed detainees in kennel-like conditions with open-air cells. The wire/mesh cells were approximately two meters by two-and-a-half meters, with a cement floor and wood ceiling. Sprayed down with high-concentrate mosquito repellent, these open-air cells left these occupants susceptible to the elements twenty-four hours a day.

Given two buckets on arrival, one for waste and another for water, inmates were placed in their cells with two blankets (one for warmth, another for prayer) and the Koran. No formal activities allowed them to be removed from their cells. In the opening months, visiting reporters said they could not see the detainees from their vantage point 100 feet away, save the occasional "flash" of an orange jumpsuit. Left in their cells all

day, every day, inmates would attempt to use their blankets as sun blocks to repel the hot Caribbean sun. Within a few months, Camp Delta opened its doors. Beginning to house captives on April 28, 2002, Delta boasts improved living conditions including running water, indoor toilets and intermittent air-conditioning—all the pleasantries needed for a permanent prison vs. temporary "camp."

## In Cuba?

Fidel Castro would echo such a question considering US-Cuba relations and the history of the base. The base itself is approximately forty-five square miles located on a cliffy edge of the island, towering over the Caribbean Sea. The US acquired the land during the Spanish-American War and built a base in 1903 as part of treaty agreement. When Castro took Cuba in 1959, Eisenhower refused to turn the base over, citing the 1903 treaty, which gives the US the right to the land so long as it pays 2,000 gold coins annually (worth an estimated \$4,000).

Today, nearly 3,000 US military personnel and their families can be found on one side of the twenty-eight-mile long fence that separates the base from the rest of the island. It is a fittingly hostile environment to host these international wards of the War on Terror.

The US federal government continues to pay the annual rent, now in checks, not gold coins. However, Castro reportedly has not cashed any of the checks.

## Where the Geneva Convention Does Not Apply

A wave of controversy began in late 2001, when the detainees were being classified as "illegal combatants." The federal government refused to grant the detainees at Guantanamo Bay the status of prisoners of war—a classification that comes with a list of rights and guarantees under the Geneva Convention.

According to Article Four of the Convention, the detainees likely fall into a category of military personnel, militia, volunteer corps, etc., including "members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the detaining power." Despite these loose categories, the federal government would not classify the detainees as POWs. For some, the most troubling aspect of this disregard for classification is that the Convention goes on to say, "should any doubt arise, [the prisoner(s)] shall enjoy the protection of the present convention [until such time that] their status has been determined by a competent tribunal." (Article Five Geneva Convention). The abstract classification the US has

chosen for the Guantanamo Bay detainees leaves them in a precarious position whereby they are not granted status as POWs, they are stripped of all their rights accordingly, they are not granted the same rights as US citizens (held in the judicial system) and they seem to be at the whim and mercy of the military court and/or tribunal. All proceedings, questions/interrogations, etc. are being held as classified information: all that goes on at Camp Delta is for military personnel to know and for others to wonder about.

## Images Spark Further Controversy

In January, images released by the US government of new detainees arriving to Guantanamo Bay sparked a mixed reaction from the international community. Members of the public and government alike were concerned when the new arrivals were photographed kneeling on the ground with their hands restrained and their eyes and ears covered. The military responded by defending the use of eye goggles (covered with black tape), ear muffs, thick gloves, restrained hands and feet and surgical masks, commenting that each detainee to Camp X-ray was subject to the treatment.

The US defended its use of these restraints, claiming a combination of security precautions and health factors. Individuals destined for the camp were also shaved upon leaving Afghanistan, an action many human right's groups pointed out as a violation of detainees' religious beliefs. The federal government responded by saying that the shaving of beards and hair was to reduce a lice outbreak, that detainees were allowed to grow their beards back upon arrival at the Camp and that a copy of the Koran was provided to each new arrival as part of their personal package.

## Life at Guantanamo Bay

Military personnel purposefully arrange the inmates so that they are in cells located where others do not speak their language. The nearly 600 inmates are representative of over thirty nations.

According to Brigadier General Rick Baccus of Task Force 160—the man dubbed the warden of Camp Delta—inmates spend the entire day in their cells including mealtime. Meals are taken in the cells on trays. Only twice a week are they allowed out individually for a shower and outside exercise.

Red Cross monitors have been on the island since the opening weeks, serving as both human rights monitor and mail carriers. The Red Cross population has dropped from six to only two. Detainees are given a choice of the Red Cross or Camp Delta as a mail handler.



Photographer's 1st Mate Class (AW) Shane T. McCoy/US Navy

This photo along with others were released to the media in January sparking public outcry and concern from other nations. At the center of the matter was the number of restraints on each detainee and questions of abuse.

The military is priding itself on what it calls the Camp Delta mail system whereby inmates can write mail and receive up to six packages per month. Of course writing is strictly monitored and many inmates have opted to not pen a letter home—after each "writing session" inmates are relieved of both their letter (for inspection) as well as the pen (possible weapon).

Rapidly increasing in population, the camp housed less than 300 in April, at which point it announced additional cells were to be built by the end of May. By August, the Camp housed 600 detainees, with an announcement from General James Hill that an additional 200 cells would be built by October. Hill stated that as the War on Terrorism grows, so too will the Camp—speculation of a total capacity of 2,000 has been cited by military sources.

## A Permanent Fixture Void of Conclusive Answers

Although the Camp is visible in many late night TV jokes and is the occasional focus of a cable news report, it is losing visibility both in the media and in the public's collective memory.

However, as the "Top Ten Benefits of Being Held at Camp Delta" jokes are fading so too is the question of the validity of holding these individuals without trial, without (shown) evidence, without explanation of their daily lives and conditions and, perhaps most importantly, without a set release date.

The population grows each month at Guantanamo Bay and begins to feel like a permanent penal colony paying tribute to 9/11.

## 9/24-9/27/01

- Attorney General John Ashcroft announces 352 people are arrested or being detained in the 9/11 investigation—an additional 392 are sought for questioning.
- Additional 2,000 reservists called to active duty, bringing the total to 14,318 Reserve and National Guard members.
- UN warns attack on Afghanistan could result in 1.5 million refugees, estimates of up to \$250 million needed for care.

- The House approves a defense bill for \$343 billion.
- Delta Air Lines announces 13,000 jobs will be lost.
- Bush announces plans for federal air marshals and placing airline security in federal hands.
- Pentagon says key Air Force General are allowed to authorize jets to shoot down threatening airliners.
- White House asks Rev. Jesse Jackson to decline his invite to a peace delegation in Pakistan.

## 9/28-9/29/01

- Attorney General John Ashcroft announces authorities have detained or arrested over 480 people, as the UN Security Council unanimously approves the demand that all countries clamp down on terrorism (US-sponsored resolution).
- The National Guard becomes visible in the nation's airports, per Bush's request. The UN ships food to Afghanistan to ward off the threat of starvation.

- The USS Kitty Hawk heads to the Arabian Sea, becoming the fourth aircraft carrier dispatched to the region near Afghanistan.
- Clear Channel Communications fires Davey D, outspoken radio host and activist, as Community Affairs Director from its station 106.1 KMEL-FM in San Francisco—he'd been with the station for nearly a decade. Davey D can now be heard KPFA. Visit [www.daveydc.com](http://www.daveydc.com).

## 10/2-10/4/01

- NATO Secretary-General announces the US provided "clear and compelling" evidence of bin Laden's involvement in the attacks.
- Federal Reserve announces lowest interest rate since 1962.
- President Bush warns Congress of imminent recession asking for economic stimulus package of up to \$75 billion.



# Local radio station sacks talk show host for speaking out against Bush

By FHAR MIESS  
The Alarm! Newspaper Collective

What follows is a recent interview with Peter Werbe, a radical left talk show host whose show was terminated at Santa Cruz radio station KOMY on October 6, 2001. He has since moved to Detroit, where he now broadcasts his show.

**Alarm!:** According to KOMY, why was it that you were fired?  
**Peter Werbe:** The Mom & Son show got on the air and said that they apologized to the people of Santa Cruz for allowing me to broadcast my criticisms after September 11 and that they were no longer going to make their radio station a medium for my criticisms of Bush—at one point they may have even called it pro-Taliban, which is of course ridiculous. It's just typical of (although that's Mom & Son) "mom & pop" stations across the country. There's two facets to control of the media by conservatives and corporations. One is obvious: big corporate control by the Clear Channels and Infinities and what have you. They have their national powerhouses that they put on their local stations. But then there's also this range of very conservative individual owner-entrepreneurs who

have this lock—very frequently—on sectors of the country that aren't served by any other station. Some of them, they're the one station in town. It's ridiculous to have a station in Santa Cruz that has no left-of-center programming given the politics of that city and how liberal that city is. But it's no different in Detroit where I broadcast from. There's no liberal talk show host in a city like Detroit. The city of Detroit proper voted ninety-five percent for Al Gore and the surrounding three counties voted the majority for Al Gore, and I'm just talking about liberal Democrats. So, it actually is a testimony to people's capacity to think independently with this complete strangle-hold that the Right and corporations have on the media, that people still—to use voting as one index, which isn't the greatest one to me—but still, Bush still loses. No matter what kind of kid gloves the media use toward Bush—I mean they knew that he had lied about serving in the Air National Guard, that he was AWOL for a year, which is really desertion. They knew, they had tips about his girlfriend having an abortion, about the drug use and all that and they just kept hands off and they allowed

him to define himself as a uniter and a centrist when obviously, as we've seen since he got in, he's far right wing. But even with all that, whenever you take a poll, people generally come up with what I'd call social democratic, progressive views of tolerance, generosity and what have you. And the reason they have to keep people like me off [the air] is that, God, their whole house of cards would collapse if the Left got an equal shot at speaking to the American people.  
**A!:** How much do you think the political climate had to do with it? Do you think you would have gotten the same treatment if the attacks on the World Trade Center hadn't just happened?  
**PW:** Oh no. He [owner Michael Zwering] was OK with it [the show]. And one of the things that was so weird, on the one hand it was all ideological that they couldn't let an extreme leftist on the air. On the other hand, he said that my show never had any advertisers. Of course, this little station doesn't have an advertising department, and shows in radio don't have advertisers, stations have what they call "run of the station" ads. In other words, if you wanted to advertise *The Alarm!* on KOMY [fat chance, ed.], you'd get one



started naming names like it was Joe MacCarthy. But the Right—this was a God-send to the Right. You may know that Bush as it was—lucky me, I hit the trifecta—Bush is the only person in America that personally benefitted from September 11th, but in a sense, the whole Republican party did. They were down the drain probably by November of 2001. I mean, Bush's popularity was plummeting, and people caught on to him real quickly. Now, everything is submerged behind the imperial war machine and this fight against terrorism. And they're having difficulty because these pesky terrorists—they just won't strike again! And they can't find Osama bin Laden. So, like in Orwell's *1984* they had the three-minute hate where they'd project the photograph of Big Brother's enemy, so Osama bin Laden—remember how many times we used to see his face on television, if you watch television? I don't even watch television and I must've seen it 250 times. So, I think if you do, you must've seen it 2,500 times. And now, when's the last time you saw a photograph of Osama bin Laden? Now it's "Target: Saddam!" It's repulsive, but I think that there's a critical mass growing. People are so dissatisfied with life in Bush's America. You know, he's wrecked the economy, they stumble from one crisis to the next. They're gonna catch Osama bin Laden dead or alive? Where's he? Now another major war. Corporate criminals? You know, he [Bush] and Cheney are corporate criminals. And in all of this, he's just hoping to keep one step ahead by rattling everybody's cage so that we don't think about all of those things.

Peter Werbe's nationally syndicated radio show can be heard from 9a.m. to Noon, Pacific Time, at i.e. America Radio Network: <http://www.ieamerradio.com/> or Sundays from 11 pm to 2 am Eastern on WRIF in Detroit: <http://www.wrif.com/>



10/2-10/4/01

- NATO allies grant US access to military bases and agree to deploy ships and other assistance in war on terrorism, while Pakistan announces sufficient evidence to indict bin Laden.
- Bush offers \$320 million humanitarian package for Afghan people and neighboring states.



Petty Officer 2nd Class Jason D. Malcom/Dod  
**Pilot readies an F-14A Tomcat on the deck of the USS Enterprise.**

10/5-10/7/01

- Bush asks for \$60 billion in tax cuts to boost the economy.
- Coast Guard begins using gunboats and mandatory inspections on the waterways.
- New York holds first memorial service for 23 police department employees who died in the WTC.
- White House declines offer from Taliban to release eight foreign aid workers in exchange for halt on attack in Afghanistan.
- Airstrikes begin.
- C-17 cargo planes drop 37,500 food ration packs a night.
- United States and Britain launch military actions against three cities in Afghanistan
- FBI warns law enforcement agencies to be on highest alert.
- Peter Werbe fired from SC Radio station KOMY-AM for being too critical of Bush's response to 9/11.
- Canada and France agree to assist in War on Terrorism.



R.D. Ward/Department of Defense  
**Canadian Minister of Defense Arthur Eggleton is greeted by Secretary of the Army Thomas White for meeting with Donald Rumsfeld regarding Security and the War on Terrorism.**



# War Notes

□ A column following the developments of our new permanent war, the war on terrorism

By **SASHA K**  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Columnist*

### Losing Steam?

After months of feeding the media “frenzy”—as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld likes to call it—with war talk, Bush is now claiming to be a “patient man” when it comes to dealing with Iraq and Saddam Hussein. Ari Fleischer, the White House spokesperson, went so far as to argue that there is “no one beating a war drum.” Is the spectacular power that the Bush Administration—particularly its hawks like Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney—gained from 9/11 finally wearing off?

In the international arena it certainly is. Even Britain, the sole power still wholeheartedly supporting the US, is beginning to change its tune. Removing Saddam Hussein “is not an object of British foreign policy,” said British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw on August 22. The resumption of UN weapon inspections, on the other hand, is the center piece of British policy. This shift from complete to qualified support is a significant change of stance, or at least of marketing, and it comes as Prime Minister Tony Blair is facing mounting opposition from within his own Labour Party.

Even in the domestic arena Bush, or rather Rumsfeld and Cheney, seem to be losing their touch, and the most serious questioning has come from members of the Republican Party. Of course, few of these recent critics are against the war *per se*, it is more a question of how the war is packaged. The first serious shot—and, of the Republicans, probably the most inimical to the war in Iraq—came from Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Advisor for Bush senior. Scowcroft argued that war with Iraq would seriously disrupt the international war on terrorism because it does not command sufficient international support. None other than Henry Kissinger has also questioned the way the war is being packaged, stating, “The notion of justified pre-emption runs counter to modern international law, which sanctions the use of force in self-defense only against actual—not potential—threats.”

James Baker III, secretary of state from 1989 to 1992, stated in a *New York Times* op-ed that, “although the United States could certainly succeed, we should try our best not to have to go it alone, and the president should reject the advice of those who counsel doing so. The costs in all areas will be much greater, as will the political risks, both domestic and international, if we end up going it alone or with only one or two other countries.” Therefore, Baker argued, the US should push for a new UN Security Council resolution requiring Iraq to allow weapons inspections. This move would build



international support for an attack if and when Iraq failed to allow inspectors full access, according to Baker.

It is interesting that the Democrats have actually been making less noise against the war than many prominent Republicans. In this election year the Democrats are looking to be seen as patriotically pro-war, though in a more responsible way than the White House hawks. First and foremost, they are asking that the president seek Congressional approval before the war is launched. In addition, they want the president to gain more international support and to explain the costs of the war. The telling phrase most often heard in Congress, however, is that the president must “make the case.” Again, with the Democrats as with the Republicans, it is the matter of PR and salesmanship that counts the most.

### Making the Case

In a world where image is all important, the hawks, of course, have been hitting back. Condoleeza Rice was the first to return fire in a moralistic August 15 speech, the argument of which—in typical Bush language—can be summed up as, “Saddam is EVIL.” But as we move further away from 9/11, “evil” alone no longer seems a very convincing argument. Increasingly, there is a demand for evidence of real present danger.

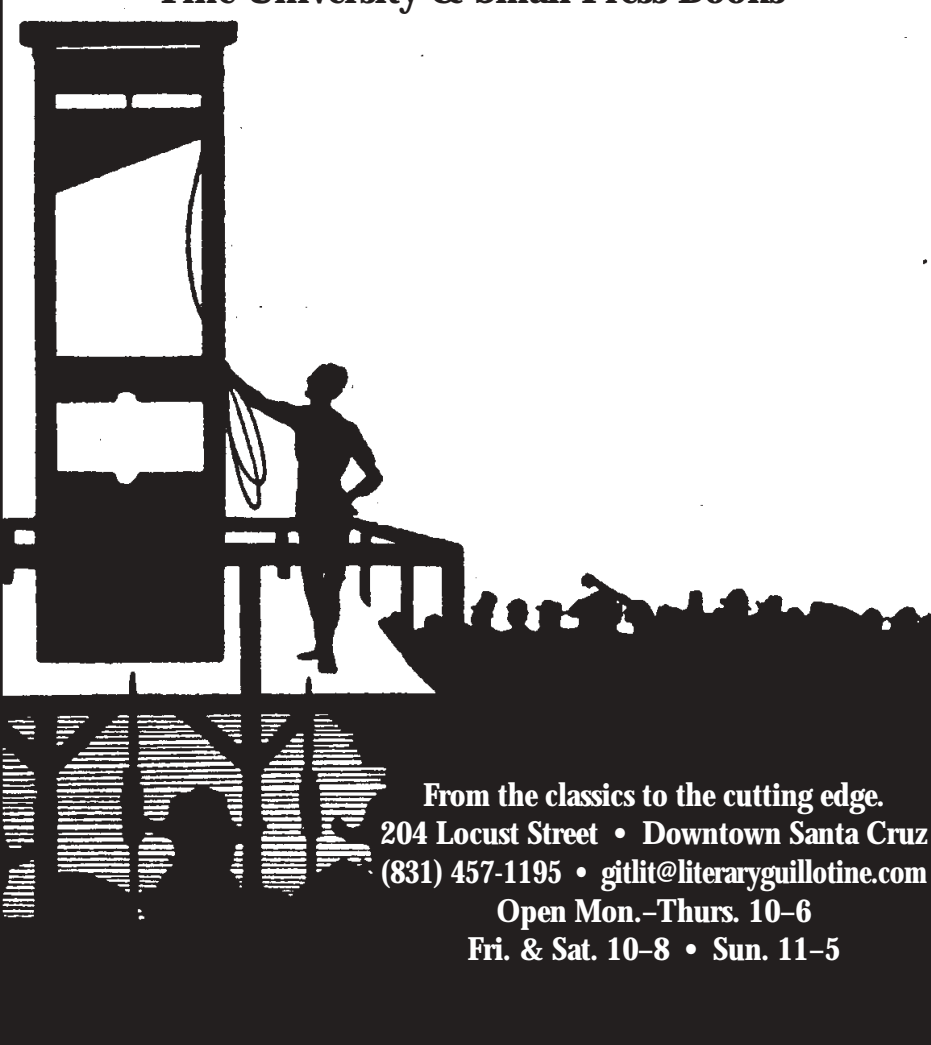
With Bush returning to Washington from his month-long vacation, Rumsfeld and Cheney have hit the road making speeches intended to shore up the hawk’s position. No new details emerged in their war rantings. In fact, vagueness itself was offered as as evidence of evil: “the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence,” said Rumsfeld to support the charge that Iraq has a significant arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. The administration has also tried to claim that Iraq is harboring al Qaeda members, failing to mention that they are based in Kurdish-controlled regions, not in areas Hussein’s army dominates.

### So why are we about to go to war? What are we going to war for? (scenario two):

The hawks are not the only ones working in the public relations business. The government of Saudi Arabia, stung by recent suggestions that it is the real enemy of the US, has started its own advertising campaign that included a trip by Saudi ambassador Prince Bandar bin Sultan down to the Texas ranch. US-Saudi relations are worse than ever. Differences over Bush’s desire for war in Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have strained relations. And it hasn’t helped that fifteen

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of the nineteen September 11 hijackers were Saudi citizens. This has prompted a \$3 trillion dollar lawsuit against the Saudis by victims of the attacks in Washington, New York and Pennsylvania.

Worse still, a report made to the influential Defense Policy Board by the private RAND Corporation called the Saudis an emerging enemy, and urged the US to target Saudi oil fields and financial assets if the Saudis didn’t stop funding Islamic fundamentalism. (Can you imagine if the Saudis claimed they were going to attack Texas oil fields if American conservatives didn’t stop funding Christian fundamentalists?) The report, leaked to the *Washington Post*, went as far as stating that “Saudi [Arabia] is the kernel of evil, the prime mover, the most dangerous opponent in the Middle East.”

The Bush administration was quick to distance itself from the report, stating the importance of the Saudi-US relationship. But perhaps there is more to the strained relationship than we would like to admit.

And, no matter the protests and public relations campaigns, even many Saudis are beginning to ask hard questions. “It is necessary to hold a national dialogue on the future of our ties with the United States because we are getting repeated signals from Washington that

they no longer see our relations in the same way,” according to an editorial in the conservative *Riyadh* daily newspaper. Yet, maybe it isn’t the US that needs to worry, but the Saudis.

The Saudi-US relationship is built on a rather simple deal: the US will protect the Saudis in return for a stable and relatively cheap supply of oil. The US is continually looking for a way out of this deal, but with the Saudis controlling the world’s largest oil reserves the US hasn’t found much room to maneuver. But if the US took control of Iraq through a US-managed regime change, neighboring Saudi Arabia would be in a much weaker position. Not only would the US control the Iraqi oil supply (with which it could flood the market in order to control the Saudis), but it would be able to base a huge military force in Iraq, poised on the Saudi border. A US puppet in Iraq is the best scenario for the US to change the balance of power with the Saudis, so it is no wonder that the Saudis are against the war.

Luckily for the Saudis, almost no other country seems willing to go along with the US plan. However, hawks like Rumsfeld, Cheney and, increasingly, Bush himself might just be crazy enough to go it alone after all.

10/8-10/9/01	10/10/01	10/11-10/12/01	10/13/01	10/15-10/16/01
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Taliban says weekend attacks missed targets but killed women and children—bin Laden survived.</li><li>• Riots and protests in Quetta, Pakistan and the Gaza Strip kill at least three and injure fifty.</li><li>• Tom Ridge reports for duty at the Office of Homeland Security.</li><li>• Mayor Giuliani predicts a loss of up to 100,000 jobs and nearly \$1 billion in revenue by July 2002.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The list of the twenty-two most-wanted terrorists announced by Bush.</li><li>• Media warned against airing bin Laden’s videos—may contain coded instructions.</li><li>• Philippines announce US to provide training against Islamic militants.</li><li>• Canada announces plan to spend \$165 million on border security and anti-terrorism measures.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Fifth straight day of attacks in Afghanistan, military bombs the Capital in daylight.</li><li>• First American casualty announced in military equipment accident.</li><li>• Government announces thirteen of the hijackers legally entered the US—some had expired visas by 9/11/01</li><li>• During Muslim holy weekend, airstrikes over Afghanistan slow down.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• US bomb hits Kabul residential area killing four and injuring eight. Defense Department says intended target was a helicopter one mile away.</li><li>• Nevada Microsoft office tests positive for anthrax. Five Florida newspaper workers test positive. National total: 14.</li><li>• Pakistani police use tear gas on protesters opposing US.</li><li>• Ashcroft announces 190 people sought for 9/11 questioning.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Package at Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle’s office is opened and tests positive for anthrax.</li><li>• President Bush takes individual \$1 bill donations for Afghan children during visit to the American Red Cross headquarters.</li><li>• The US admits to accidentally striking a Red Cross warehouse in Afghanistan—initially, claims were denied.</li></ul>



# One year under the USA PATRIOT Act, little sign of effects

By HALIE JOHNSON  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Collective*

## USA PATRIOT Act—So Much for Checks and Balances

The Justice Department is giving Congress the brush-off in regards to how it has used its new anti-terrorist powers in the past year. Congress requested answers to fifty questions about new “rover” surveillance, phone call tracking and interrogation of libraries, bookstores and newspaper records. According to *The New York Times*, some of the simpler questions regarding immigration on the Canadian border were answered; the Justice Department dodged the rest.

On August 15, Adam Clymer of the *New York Times* reported:

*Probably the most complaints concern the Justice Department, with Republicans, including Rep. Dan Burton of Indiana and Sen. Charles Grassley of Iowa among its severest critics.*

The Senate Judiciary Committee has sent twenty-seven unanswered letters to the Justice Department seeking information on topics including the PATRIOT Act civil rights and corporate fraud. Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-VT, who is chairman of the panel, said in an interview, “Since I’ve been here, I have never known an administration that is more difficult to get information from than the oversight committees are entitled to.”

The Act makes changes to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, altering over fifteen statutes in all. There is little to no information currently available explaining how and to what extent the powers extended to law enforcement, the FBI, the CIA and several other branches of government have been used.

According to the Electronic Frontier Foundation there is no public information granted regarding use of the USA PATRIOT Act to make requests for surveillance, nor regarding what surveillance actually occurs, except for a raw annual report of number of requests made and number granted. In the past, certification was needed from the Attorney General that “the purpose” of an order is the suspicion that the target is a foreign power or an agent of a foreign power. According to the Electronic Frontier Foundation, now the Attorney General is not required to report anything to the court about what it does.

## What exactly is the USA PATRIOT Act?

September 24, 2001—The Bush administration submitted anti-terrorism legislation to Congress. Just over one

month later; anti-terrorism legislation was written into law.

October 26, 2001—Bush signed the “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act of 2001 into law. The bill was passed by a ninety-eight to one vote, with Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI) as the only dissenting member.

The ACLU criticized the PATRIOT Act and said, “Among the Act’s most troubling provisions are measures that:

- Allow for indefinite detention of non-citizens who are not terrorists on minor visa violations if they cannot be deported because they are stateless, their country of origin refuses to accept them or because they would face torture in their country of origin.
- Minimize judicial supervision of federal telephone and Internet surveillance by law enforcement authorities.
- Expand the ability of the government to conduct secret searches.
- Give the Attorney General and the Secretary of State the power to designate domestic groups as terrorist organizations and deport any non-citizen who belongs to them.
- Grant the FBI broad access to sensitive business records about individuals without having to show evidence of a crime.
- Lead to large-scale investigations of American citizens for “intelligence” purposes.”

Due to the suspension of standard procedural processes, the Act was passed only five weeks after it was introduced to Congress. It did not go through the standard inter-agency review, the normal committee and hearing processes or the thorough voting that is normally employed.

Among the provisions that the Act allows, the FBI and CIA may now go from phone to phone, computer to computer without demonstrating that a suspect is using either. In addition, the bill grants authority for enforcement agencies to retrieve voicemail messages with only a search warrant. The PATRIOT Act also amends US Codes defining terrorism, raising concerns among groups like the Electronic Frontier Foundation about “legitimate protest activity resulting in conviction on terrorism charges, especially if violence erupts.”

Another significant change is an increase in information-sharing between domestic law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

Where, in the past, wiretaps were granted only in cases where an agent could provide proof of “probable cause,” the new laws do not call for “probable cause,” but only suspicion that a person is an agent of a foreign government. The new law also adds samples of DNA

to a database not only for convicted terrorists, but also for people convicted of “any crime of violence.”

Many officials have defended the new bill saying that it includes a sunshine provision so many of the changes will expire on December 31, 2005 unless renewed by Congress. However, the Electronic Frontier Federation notes that there is no way for Congress to review how several of the provisions have been implemented because there is no reporting required to Congress. The Electronic Frontier Federation stated that, “Without the necessary information about how these new powers have been used, Congress will be unable to evaluate whether they have been needed about how they have been used” The Electronic Frontier Federation added that Congress cannot make an informed decision about whether the changes should continue or whether

they should be allowed to expire without renewal.

*To find out more on the Patriot Act see the ACLU’s analysis from last November at [www.aclu.org/congress/1110101a.html](http://www.aclu.org/congress/1110101a.html) or AlterNet’s story at [www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=11854](http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=11854) or the Center for Constitutional Rights commentary at [http://www.ccr-ny.org/whatsnew/usa\\_patriot\\_act.asp](http://www.ccr-ny.org/whatsnew/usa_patriot_act.asp). The Electronic Frontier Foundation did a thorough analysis of the bill, which can be found at [www.eff.org](http://www.eff.org). The actual text of the bill can be found at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.*

**See the next issue of *The Alarm!* for an indepth article on the Department of Homeland Security.**

## Overview of The USA PATRIOT Act

- A. The provisions that expire on December 31, 2005 (unless renewed by Congress include:
- Sec. 201. Authority to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to terrorism.
  - Sec. 202. Authority to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to computer fraud and abuse offenses.
  - Sec. 203(b), (d). Authority to share criminal investigative information.
  - Sec. 206. Roving surveillance authority under the foreign intelligence surveillance act of 1978.
  - Sec. 207. Duration of FISA surveillance of non-United States persons who are agents of a foreign power.
  - Sec. 209. Seizure of voice-mail messages pursuant to warrants.
  - Sec. 212. Emergency disclosure of electronic communications to protect life and limb.
  - Sec. 214. Pen register and trap and trace authority under FISA.
  - Sec. 215. Access to records and other items under the foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.
  - Sec. 217. Interception of computer trespasser communications.
  - Sec. 218. Foreign intelligence information.
  - Sec. 220. Nationwide service of search warrants for electronic evidence.
  - Sec. 223. Civil liability for certain unauthorized disclosures.

- B. The following provision do not expire:
- Sec. 203(a), (c): Grand jury sharing of information.
  - Sec. 208. Designation of Judges: increases number of FISA judges.
  - Sec. 210: ECPA scope of subpoenas for records of electronic communications--clearly allowing e-mails routing information.
  - Sec. 211: ECPA Clarification of scope: privacy provisions of Cable Act overridden for communication services offered by cable providers (but not for records relating to cable viewing) .
  - Sec. 213: Sneak & Peek: delay notification of execution of a warrant
  - Sec. 216: Modification of pen/trap authorities: (in original PATRIOT, would have sunsetted).
  - Sec. 219: Single jurisdiction search warrants for terrorism.
  - Sec. 222 Assistance to law enforcement.
  - Sec. 225. Immunity for compliance with FISA wiretap. Can continue all investigations active at the time of expiration.org. The actual text of the bill can be found at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

*Source: Electronic Frontier Foundation’s Analysis of the USA Patriot Act*

### 10/17/01

- Eleventh straight day of US-led campaign in Afghanistan.
- The US House of Representatives is closed when more than two dozen people in the Senate test positive for anthrax.
- Governor George Pataki’s offices in Manhattan test positive.
- The FAA announces plans for background checks on every employee with access to secured areas—about 750,000 people.

### 10/18-10/23/01

- Japan approves use of military to assist in the transportation needs of the War on Terrorism.
- Authorities announce mail-processing machine in a House of Representatives office building contaminated with anthrax.
- DC postal worker diagnosed with inhalation anthrax.
- Final lab results indicate the cause of death for two postal workers in Brentwood NJ was inhalation anthrax.

- Pakistani President Gen. Pervez Musharraf expresses a hope that allied forces will be out of Afghanistan when Ramadan begins in mid-November.
- Bush requests EU consider measures against terrorism.



Poster from US policy protest in Bangladesh. (Bert with bin Laden)

### 10/24/01

- The USA PATRIOT Act is passed in Congress (see *story on page 9*).
- School officials in Topeka Kansas announced that students are forbidden from wearing usual Halloween costumes—the only costumes acceptable will be patriotically-themed.

### 10/25-10/26/01

- Senate approves legislation allowing police to track, punish and detain suspected terrorists.
- Postal employee hospitalized in Virginia with inhalation anthrax.
- Bush signs anti-terrorism laws.
- US jets hit a second Red Cross compound stocked with humanitarian goods near Kabul.
- State Department mailroom supervisor diagnosed with inhaled anthrax, brings the Washington total to six.



# Eye on the INS

A weekly forum to discuss the INS and immigration policy

## It's been 1 year—it's been 50 years

By MICHELLE STEWART  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Collective*

It is entirely discouraging to look back over the past year from the position of immigration and immigrants' rights. In the wake of the 9/11 event, many rights of noncitizens in the US were stripped, and in turn, the rights of those entering the US were reduced. In the past year, we have seen the Department of Justice explicitly state the need to racially profile visitors and immigrants entering and those in the US, as well as those already here. We have seen over 1,000 people detained in the name of the War on Terrorism. Many of these detainees vanished without a trace until their release. Many are still detained, with their names withheld from the public. We have to ask ourselves: do the ends justify the means, or for that matter what are the ends?

It would be a rather tedious expedition to set out and systematically refer to each moment the INS/Department of Justice took aim at immigrants' rights in the past year. It would simply show good research skills. All of that information is out on the web and at your fingertips if you want it. In drafting a year in review since 9/11, I am stumped on what to say, for indeed there is too much to say.

We cannot forget that while immigrants' rights have been squashed over the last year during the 9/11 crackdowns, programs like Operation Gatekeeper prove that the INS's failures don't begin and end with 9/11.

The INS is being restructured: it is losing its latest director, it is being separated into two agencies and it is bolstered financially by an increased attention to border security. Many things can slip through the cracks of scrutiny when looking at this aging behemoth of an agency that dwells both in flawed policy and dated understandings of geopolitics. So, what then of the last year? What is the thing to focus on?

It would be simple to compare the current detentions of non-citizens with the WWII detention and relocation of Japanese, Italian and German immigrants. The parallels are rather apparent. We need to recognize that the larger catastrophe is that the lesson of history has not kept us from repeating our earlier mistake(s).

Better technology allowed the government to seize up the last wave of detainees with relative secrecy. These detainees will not be released to find themselves landless, homeless or otherwise robbed by their oppor-

tunistic neighbors. Unfortunately, many of these recently detained face deportation for minor immigration infractions or assumed associations. So, the newer version of the ethnic target-and-detain game is, perhaps, more bittersweet. But if it is appropriate to compare, what purpose does that serve?

It's hard to look back on the last year and not be cynical. Those with an ear on INS policy and practice have become deafened by stories of families being torn apart. Of mothers being called in for "interviews," and, assuming their citizenship is coming up, they attend and are deported after being torn from their children's arms. Their children are US citizens born in this country, their husbands are US citizens sponsoring their application, they are noncitizens who made a mistake on their forms or filings. They are deported and restricted from re-entry for five to ten years. How many of these stories need to be told—when a single one should be enough to illustrate a flaw in the system?

Our collective fear of another tower crumbling, of another day like September 11, 2001 has allowed us to wonder if the ends justify the means. Is it worth it for one mother to be deported in favor of stricter laws to keep terrorists out? I am afraid to answer that the laws are not going to guarantee we avoid another 9/11. The INS cannot safeguard the continental US period—why do we continue to permit the INS to strip the rights of others for an unattainable goal? At the end of the day, the alleged hijackers entered legally, and received clearance for training some eight months after the attack.

Nearly every other week the INS, the Department of Justice or the Office of Homeland Security makes yet another statement that should shock our sensibilities. Instead, there is a small response that says, "No, ethnic profiling is wrong." These small voices are largely drowned out by a complacent general public that begins to wonder if it's 'OK' to racially profile all men ages 18-35 from predominantly Muslim countries. How could that be OK? Is it just easier to assume that everyone of Middle-Eastern descent is a possible enemy than it is to lead a targeted investigation? I guess it is, especially when the general public does not rise up and speak out.

The level of ethnic animosity is being covered up, as hate crimes against people of Arab descent (or apparent

Arab descent) continue to occur, as the government targets young men who are visiting the US, as the government seizes the funds of aid agencies associated with the Afghan region, etc., etc. A year has passed and we are not out of the woods.

When the WTC was car-bombed in 1993, the stage was set for immigration reform. One of the results was the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. At the time, this sweeping legislation took immigrants (and immigration lawyers) by storm, stripping rights, increasing penalties and generally raising the stakes for those seeking to immigrate. Although these laws were confusing and often contradictory, they were at least explicitly on the books, giving people time to respond and strategize their actions.

In the current INS environment, the ideas of yesterday are policy today, and you must have a finger on the pulse of the agency to keep up with the rate of change. The current environment slaps down the maximum penalty for each rather modest infraction. From change of address forms to assumed associations, today's immigrant needs to devote time each week to keeping up with the INS.

Thus comes one of the most obvious and least talked about problems with the INS. There is no system of dissemination. The INS disseminates through the media. But who has the time to read the paper each and every day to see what is changing in one agency, and, in turn, who guarantees that each newspaper will cover every change at the INS? We live in a world that guarantees nothing but death and taxes, yet we can penalize someone who did not respond to the information they were not given?

Today's immigrant is expected to know every law that applies to their status, yet there isn't a centralized means to gather all of that information and distribute it. Until we solve this basic problem we will continue to read stories that make our heads ache with anger. But this leads to a false conclusion that a better bureaucracy will make for better immigration politics and policy. This is not the case.

Last year, the Twin Towers were hit, over 1,000 people were placed in detention (their names were withheld), there is talk of the INS building larger detention centers, the agency is receiving a larger budget and continuing to revise its rules and guidelines for students and visitors entering the US. That is the sound-

bite overview of the last year.

A more personal note might read: last year when the Twin Towers crumbled, dozens or perhaps hundreds of undocumented workers died and they will not receive federal funds for their families and their names are not mentioned as "victims;" in the first six months of 2002, 167 immigrants died trying to enter the US, 117 of whom were Mexican; on an average day the INS is detaining 16,000 people, and by the end of 2002 it is estimated they will be detaining 23,000 people, with an annual budget of \$1 billion dollars devoted to detention and detainment.

In short, the last year has been dismal, with little immediate hope for recovery. So long as the US general public is complacent in these matters, people will continue to be held in detention, killed in the desert and subject to scrutiny and persecution based solely on their perceived ethnicity.

The whole of the Muslim world did not attack the US on 9/11/01, just as each person from another country should not be subjected to possible death for entering the US "illegally." We need to stop and take notice of these laws we support through political apathy.

The government efficiently has many members of the public swept up in its endless game of crying wolf at every country, every person, and all things Muslim. And if that is not offensive enough it is setting its sights on larger and larger targets.

For the past year we have weathered the storm of paranoia and confusion following 9/11, many of the ill-deeds cannot be undone and will not be forgotten. That does not mean we need to remain complacent. The second year of the War on Terrorism is upon us—perhaps one year was enough, and the time has come to reinstate rather than further strip people of their rights.

We cannot apply Machiavellian theory to the rights of immigrants and visitors in this country. The simplest of reasons is that we are unsure of what the "ends" truly are in this high stakes game of cat-and-mouse dubbed the War on Terrorism.

*Carlos Armenta will continue with the second part of his series on the Five Myths of Immigration in the next issue of the paper. Each week the paper plans to present both Michelle Stewart and Carlos Armenta's views on immigration policy and practice in facing columns. Your comments are welcomed at michelle@the-alarm.com*

### 10/27-10/29/01

- Authorities close Princeton, N.J., post office after tests indicate anthrax in a mail bin.
- FBI issues new terrorism warning on highest alert for possible attacks in the US and abroad. FBI Director Robert Mueller says he has no "specifics as to intended target or intended method."
- Supreme Court Justices relocate to another courtroom when mailroom of main court tests positive for anthrax.

### 10/31-11/01/01

- Federal government announces tightened immigration policies along with improved intelligence-sharing to keep out supporters of forty-six listed terrorist groups.
- California Gov. Gray Davis announces terrorists might target four of the State's bridges including the Golden Gate Bridge.
- Turkey, the only Muslim nation in NATO, announces it has sent special forces to mountainous region in Afghanistan.

### 11/2-11/3/01

- Bush announces that American-led airstrikes won't halt during Ramadan in Afghanistan.
- Congressional leaders temporarily deploy the National Guard around the Capitol—only the fourth time in history.
- The 17th case of anthrax is confirmed in New York City.
- Center for Disease Control epidemiologists attend the end of the World Series in Arizona—no anthrax incidents reported.

### 11/4-11/6/01

- Italy commits military support in the War on Terrorism.
- Reports indicate that anthrax spores found in mailboxes at a Pentagon post office.
- Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld announces a doubling of Special Forces in Afghanistan—total dispatched below 100.
- German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder announces up to 3,900 German troops will assist the US-led War on Terrorism.



Department of Defense

**US Special Forces riding with North Alliance fighters as part of Operation Enduring Freedom.**



# Anti-immigrant racism and government repression

By **MICHAEL NOVICK**  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Contributor*

On August 24, the latest in a series of nazi rallies in DC drew over 500 swastika-clad marchers protesting Jews and immigrants to the steps of the US Capitol building, protected by thousands of DC and US police. The rally by the West Virginia-based National Alliance—the fastest growing and most influential racist group in the US—followed on the heels of a wave of anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic violence across the southeast. Hate crimes have increased four-fold in Fairfax County, Virginia since last September 11. Similarly, hate incidents jumped seventy-six percent in Montgomery County, Maryland. “Since September 11, the majority of hate violence and terrorism within this country has been committed against people of color and religious minorities by white racists,” says Douglas Calvin, Executive Director of the Youth Leadership Support Network in the DC area.

In July, a Beckley, West Virginia anti-immigration rally was sponsored by David Duke’s National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). In Martinsville, Virginia the Rebel Brigade of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held their second cross-burning and white unity rally of the year. In Herndon, Virginia the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Center suffered repeated vandalism, while anti-Semitic flyers promoting the neo-nazi National Alliance were distributed after an event at Beth Emeth Synagogue. In Alexandria Virginia, a man was charged with a hate crime after he tossed a brick through the window of an Afghan man’s car, striking a passenger. The World Church of the Creator led an anti-immigrant march in rural Georgia earlier in the summer.

Such attacks have not been lim-



ited to the southeast. In June in Tulsa, Oklahoma, a homeless Black man was chained to a fence and set on fire by a man with white supremacist tattoos. In July, two white supremacists were found guilty of plotting to blow up Jewish and Black landmarks around Boston in what prosecutors said was a scheme to foment “racial holy war.” In the San Francisco Bay Area in May, arson fires struck both an Oakland synagogue that had received an anti-Semitic letter, and the Antiochian Orthodox Church, which serves a largely Arab American con-

gregation. In Joliet, Illinois, three white supremacists were charged with arson and a hate crime in connection with the torching of a garage and two vehicles belonging to a predominantly black church. Attacks on Jewish synagogues and racial profiling of Arabs are signs of a resurgence of racism worldwide, according to a July report by the UN Commission on Human Rights. The UN report attributes this resurgence to the rise of nationalist parties calling for reduced immigration, the September 11 attacks and rising tensions in the Middle East. The report did not identify any countries by name, but referred to frequent instances of racial profiling at airports and more than 200 racist propaganda internet sites as other examples of discrimination. “Combined with the security measures designed to combat terrorism, the measures against immigration now give the impression that an iron curtain is falling between the North and the South of the planet,” the report said. The US context for such bigoted violence has been established by the repressive actions of the government directed against immigrants and people of color. Consider that in August 2001, police accountability activists had forced the issue of racial profiling onto the front burner politically and forced police departments across the country to acknowledge the prob-

“ not too many people will be crying in their beer if there are more detentions, more stops, more profiling, there will be a groundswell of public opinion to banish civil rights ”

lem and begin to propose solutions. At the same time, immigrants rights advocates and organized labor were pressing for a new amnesty, and even the right wing Bush administration was considering legalization for millions of undocumented Mexicans. After 9/11, the situation changed dramatically in the direction of anti-immigrant governmental racism and repression. Peter Kirsanow, a Bush appointee to the US Civil Rights Commission, raised the possibility in July of internment camps for the mass detention of Arab Americans. Kirsanow told

training, which began July 9, the officers will be assigned to seven regional “domestic security” task forces across Florida. Rules for using police to enforce federal immigration laws in certain situations went into effect August 23. The rule defining when local police agencies would be asked to enforce immigration laws, which refers to a “mass influx of aliens,” has intentionally been left vague, according to Ronald W. Dodson, a supervisory special agent with the INS. This was to allow local and federal authorities the flexibility to respond to an immigration emergency, not “the routine traffic across the southern border by those people trying to enter without inspection,” he said.

Another way local agencies have been incorporated into stepped up anti-immigrant repression is in incarceration. According to Alisa Johnson, writing for the *Village Voice*, the INS is desperate for more cells for its ever-expanding population of detainees. Nearly 900 facilities around the country provide “beds” for the INS, and in interviews over the years, according to Johnson, several county sheriffs and wardens have described such detainees as a “cash crop.”

The number of INS detainees—people being held administratively as they await the outcome of deportation proceedings—tripled since 1994, from an average daily population of 5532 to nearly 20,000 last year. The proposed \$6.3 billion INS budget for fiscal 2003 slates more than \$50 million for the “construction of detention facilities.” This new wave of detainees is in addition to people prosecuted, convicted and sent to federal prison for breaking immigration laws. Last week the Justice Department’s Bureau of Justice Statistics announced that the number of people prosecuted for immigration offenses in federal courts more than doubled from 1996 to 2000, growing from 6605 defendants to 15,613.

Yet this “routine” mass incarceration may be supplanted by something more drastic. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was charged by President Reagan to practice for the imposition of martial law and the internment of so-called aliens and radicals. Bush has returned FEMA (headed by former campaign manager Joe Allbaugh) to the forefront of na-

Go see **RIGHTS** on **Page 18**

The State of the Union?

## 11/7-11/9/01

- President Emomali Rakhmonov of Tajikistan allows the US access to three airfields in the region.
- To prepare for holidays, Bush announces an increase to 9,000 National Guard up from 7,000.
- Netherlands pledges at least 1,200 troops to aid in the war on terrorism.
- NYC-based September 11th Fund announces distribution of nearly \$50 million amid widescale allegations of fraud and abuse.

## 11/12-11/13/01

- Opposition forces break past Taliban front lines after a series of huge victories and take Kabul.
- UN announces it might take temporary control of the Kabul. Turkey pledges to provide peacekeepers.
- The Northern Alliance announces it invited all factions—except the Taliban—to Kabul to create a post-Taliban government.
- UN says a 12-year transitional government might be necessary.

## 11/14-11/23/01

- Amid stiff criticism, the American Red Cross changes its plans and announces all of the \$ 1/2 billion in the Liberty Fund will go to people harmed by the attacks. Plans for immediate dispersal.
- Eight foreign aid workers held in Afghanistan (for teaching Christianity) retrieved by US military.
- Senate proposes \$3 billion spending plan aimed at protecting nation against bioterrorism.

- Bush signs legislation mandating that all airport baggage screeners be federal employees.
- *The Washington Post* reports that Yahoo and other internet companies are monitoring and removing all offensive comments related to 9/11 events—Muslim and Arab groups contend that anti-Arab/anti-Muslim comments are still allowed.
- Taliban announces intention to draft a surrender in Kunduz.

- 94-year-old woman dies of inhalation anthrax in CT—fifth victim nationwide.
- Pakistan closes the final Taliban embassy in Islamabad. The Taliban, officially, has no diplomatic ties to any nation.
- The Justice Department confirms that all of the hijackers entered the US on valid visas—three of the nineteen had expired visas at the time of the attack.



Youth Perspectives a year after 9/11

# Discussions about 9/11

BY HALIE JOHNSON

The Alarm! Newspaper

What follows is the excerpts from discussions I had with individuals in and around Santa Cruz on 8/29/0



Ezra Meijer-Barnett, 12

**HJ:** Where were you on September 11?

**EMB:** At home, I'm not sure.

**HJ:** Do you remember?

**EMB:** No, I remember Sept. 12.

**HJ:** What stands out the most in your memory of finding out about what had happened?

**EMB:** I was surprised. That stuff doesn't happen all the time. Nothing like that has ever happened in my lifetime.

**HJ:** What do you think terrorism is?

**EMB:** When someone terrorizes.

**HJ:** What is it to terrorize?

**EMB:** Make terror.

**HJ:** What is terror?

**EMB:** Making someone scared.

**HJ:** Who is a terrorist?

**EMB:** Someone who does terrorism, I don't know.

**HJ:** Are you afraid of terrorism?

**EMB:** Not rally because I live in Santa Cruz. No one would attack Santa Cruz because it's so small.



Dessie Johnson, 13

**HJ:** Where were you last September 11?

**DJ:** I was waking up or getting ready for school. My Mom happened to turn on the TV and we saw it.

**HJ:** What was your first reaction?

**DJ:** What happened? I wasn't sure, then my mom told us.

**HJ:** What did you think?

**DJ:** I thought "oh my gosh!" I thought we'd probably go to war.

**HJ:** Were you scared?

**DJ:** Yeah.

**DJ:** What stands out the most?

**HJ:**Waking up that morning. I remember driving to school. My mom was talking to my cousin, Renee. Renee asked if we were going to war. My mom said, probably.

**HJ:** What is terrorism?

**DJ:** Terrorizing other people.

**HJ:** What does that mean?

**DJ:** It means hurting, injuring or killing other people.

**HJ:** Who is a terrorist?

**DJ:** Name one?

**HJ:** No, define the word.

**DJ:** Someone who likes their home country so much that they'll do anything for it.

**HJ:** Anything else?

**DJ:** Sacrificing yourself for your country, even if your country doesn't want you to. Like September 11, I don't think the president or other people in Afghanistan wanted them to crash into the Twin Towers.

**HJ:** Why did they?

**DJ:** That's their job.

**HJ:** Are you afraid of terrorism?

**DJ:** A little. Sometimes I don't feel like I can go out and live my life, but then I think I'm not going to let them have that control over me.

**HJ:** How affected were you by what happened?

**DJ:** I was affected, but not as much as other people who had family Members in the World Trade Center or the Pentagon.

**HJ:** What do you think about the phrase "The War on Terrorism?"

**DJ:** I think they should have a war on terror. I'm glad that they're fighting against terrorism, but I hope they don't affect other people's lives. Like people in Afghanistan who might be accused of being terrorists, but aren't.

**HJ:** How do you feel about things after a year?

**DJ:**People now aren't as cautious as they should be. They should be cautious but not to the point that they're looking over their shoulders.



Lapa Lapa, 15

**HJ:** Where were you last September 11?

How did you hear about it?

**LL:** I was here [at my house]. I heard it on the news.

**HJ:** What was your first emotion?

**LL:** Sadness.

**HJ:** Are you afraid of terrorism?

**LL:** Yes.

**HJ:** Are you still affected by last September 11?

**LL:** Yes.



**HJ:** About what?

**LL:** Another bombing happening.

Nick Howder, 14

**HJ:** Do you remember where you were last Sept. 11?

**NH:** Yes I do. I was just waking up and my friend's mom called. I turned on the TV and started watching. For the first five seconds I thought it was a movie. Then they started talking about it. It was really sad. It was like a nightmare. Everyone who lived through it will never forget it. It's made me more happy with what I have. I'm a lot more appreciative of what I have.

**HJ:** What is terrorism?

**NH:** Killing other people. Sacrificing your life to kill others. I never realized how people can have so much hate for someone they don't know.

**HJ:** Who is a terrorist?

**NH:** It's like what the president says. It's a guy who doesn't like the US and wants to give up his life to get other people he doesn't like.

**HJ:** Why wouldn't people like the US?

**NH:** They disagree with the President's choices, or they think [the government] is doing something that it's really not.

**HJ:** Do you feel threatened by terrorism?

**NH:** Everyone is a little scared about what's happening. But we kind of have a mission here on Earth to do what we have to do, and just keep doing that.

**HJ:** Are you sad about what happened on September 11?

**NH:** Yeah. Am I sad? Yeah. When I see other people get sad I do to. I can't see other people get hurt. It's hard watching other people on TV who lost family Members. At first I thought my uncle was killed because he was flying to New York around that time. Then my mom told me that he had left for New York the week before.

**HJ:** Have you heard of the War on Terrorism?

**NH:** No. I know they're trying to find

bin Laden.

**HJ:** What do you hope to come out of all of this?

**NH:** I hope that this world will be a lot safer so that when I have kids they can live their lives the way they should. Even though I'm sad, it has made this world safer. Like how they check everyone now at the airport.

**HJ:** So you feel safer?

**NH:** Yeah. I do. Now when you're walking down the street downtown people say "hi" to you, they're a lot friendlier. There's a lot of stuff to prevent it from happening. I feel a lot safer in Scott's Valley because there's nothing they can



bomb because they can't do as much damage as they could in San Francisco for example where there's more people.

Laurel Cashen, 14

**HJ:** Where were you last September 11? What do you remember about it?

**LC:** I was at my mom's house, and my aunt called early in the morning. At first I thought a family Member had died. My mom turned on the TV and we saw the footage of the first Twin Tower falling, then we saw the second plane hit the other tower.

Then I went to school. It was really hard being in class that day. I wanted to give blood to the Red Cross, but I was too young.

**HJ:** What stands out the most for you?

**LC:** Watching TV. I thought it was a really bad joke, I didn't think anything like this could ever happen.

**HJ:** What is terrorism?

**LC:** Acts of hate on different countries, different people. It's to cause fear purposely, to create panic.

**HJ:** Who is a terrorist?

**LC:** Somebody with a lot of hate. Someone who wants revenge. Or somebody messed up enough to do something against other people who don't have anything to do with them, and to think it's justified.

**HJ:** Are you afraid of terrorism?

**LC:** No. You're just as likely to get hit by a car when you cross the street. I was reading about people in Israel who deal with it daily. They still go out and go to cafes, they don't let it stop them. We just have to keep doing what we have to do to keep from going crazy.

**HJ:** Do you still feel affected by September 11?

**LC:** When I think about it I get sad or to some point depressed. I keep it in the back of my head when I think of doing something to someone else. I'm definitely nicer to people. Now I say "good

11/25-11/28/01

11/29-12/1/01

12/2-12/5/01

- US military leads airstrike on Taliban prison uprising—hundreds of foreign Taliban captives are killed.
- Japanese announce three warships will support the campaign in Afghanistan.
- Bush sends warning to North Korea and Iraq of consequences for making weapons of mass destruction and adds that the War on Terrorism is just beginning.

- Ashcroft releases info that the Department of Justice is detaining at least 550 people in connection to the 9/11 investigation and/or immigration charges—won't release names of detainees.
- UN proposal to send in an international security force is rejected by the Northern Alliance.
- Ashcroft announces individuals seeking citizenship could expedite their process if they turn over info about terrorism and/or terrorists.

- Northern Alliance announces it will consider the international security forces along with a power-sharing Afghan government.
- Ashcroft announces he might relax some monitoring the FBI has been doing on political and religious groups.
- Eyewitnesses claim US-led bombing hit three villages and injured civilians in eastern Afghanistan—US military rejects claim.

- A man claiming to be an American is found amongst those who were involved in the Taliban prison rebellion—later identified as John Walker Lindh.
- Rumsfeld announces that US military forces may go to extreme measures to find al-Qaeda members—won't limit the scope of what extreme measures could involve.
- Canada & US sign agreements related to increased border security.

- The ACLU leads a lawsuit filed against the Department of Justice, citing that the rights of some 1,000 people detained since 9/11 have been violated and that the Department had to begin to release basic information on the detainees. To date, the Department contends that the names are to be withheld for the sake of National Security.



In July 2002, Marian Morris visited Afghanistan—ten months after US and allied forces moved into the country as part of the War on Terrorism. Visiting a region that shows so many scars from such actions as the Russian invasion, the wrath of the Taliban and the recent assault, Morris took to the streets with camera in hand to show the rebirth of Afghanistan. As a health care worker, Morris was able to capture the feelings and sights of those in her industry as well as moments in local school and assistance programs for homeless youth.



Healthcare worker in a local clinic



The road north out of Kabul leads to areas the US-led forces focus on in their search for al-Qaida and Taliban forces.



A teacher instructs her class



A local agency working with homeless youth offers instruction (below) as well as crafts-manship classes (right). A room at the facility shows the range of skills the participants have (above) .



With refugee buses returning from camps along the border (top) and streets bustling with merchants and pedestrians (right), it seems that one of the best indicators of a local population making a bid for recovery is found by walking around Kabul.



Inside Kabul local merchants set up shop in old Intermodal Containers (shipping containers).



Victims are still recovering

12/12/01

- France announces its opposition to the death penalty in the case of Zacarias Moussaoui, a man held since before 9/11 but now associated with 9/11 hijackers—offers diplomatic support for his trial.
- INS arrests ten Middle Eastern students in San Diego for violating their student visas by not attending class—the first such crackdown of its kind, none are thought to be associated with 9/11.

12/13-12/19/01

- Legislation passed in the House will give \$6.1 billion tax break to NYC and offers relief to families of 9/11 victims.
- US Embassy reopens in Afghanistan after 13 years.
- Gov. George Pataki announces that all the fires at the WTC (underground included) have finally been put out—three months later.

12/20/01

- First lawsuit is filed against an airline related to 9/11. The suit claims United negligent.
- Department of Justice announces a federal victims' fund with an average payout of \$1.65 million.
- Congress approves a reduced anti-terrorism package worth \$20 billion.
- Estimated number of victims drops dramatically to 2,963.

12/22-12/31/01

- Afghanistan's interim-prime minister, Hamid Karzai, sworn in.
- On an international flight, a passenger tries to ignite his sneakers loaded with explosives—later identified as Richard C. Reid, a British citizen.
- Rumsfeld announces that the Pentagon will hold Taliban and al-Qaida prisoners at a US Navy base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.
- Bush defends plan to have 9/11 suspects face military tribunal.

- With lines mounting, NYC announces the opening of a thirteen-foot high viewing platform overlooking Ground Zero. Free to the public, people are willing to stand in line for blocks for chance to view the site.



Middle East post 9/11

# Detention and aid

## ■ An examination of Israel and Egypt

BY CHRIS KORTRIGHT  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Contributor*

When looking at the effects of 9/11 on the Middle East, I have decided to focus on the policies of detention practiced by Israel and Egypt. While we are assaulted daily with information regarding the major conflicts in the region, and especially with TV images of the violence in Israel and Palestine, this information is only a partial picture of what is going on. Israel and Egypt's detainment policies are a more hidden indicator of the status of conflict in the region.

Egypt and Israel used detainment and military trials before 9/11. The governments of both countries have used detainment of dissidents as a tactic to maintain their power. However, the reasoning used to justify detainment has shifted since 9/11.

Since the creation of the State of Israel, the government has detained Palestinians who resisted Israeli occupation. It has violated every international agreement on human rights in order to maintain its security and its possession of the occupied territories. The US has turned a blind eye to most of Israel's practices, but since 9/11 and the "War on Terrorism," the US has wholeheartedly supported Israel's actions to put down the new Intifada. 9/11 has given Israel the excuse to exercise all might necessary in its attempt to crush Palestinian resistance, and the US has applauded its actions.

Egypt's practices of detainment are no different than those of Israel, but Egypt has a different historical relationship to the US. Egypt has a long history of banning and imprisoning opposition movements. Since the success of the 1952 revolution, the Egyptian government has outlawed Islamists and communist organizations and arrested their membership. After 9/11, Egypt has increased its detainment of Islamists (specifically those from the Muslim Brotherhood). The practice has benefitted Egypt two-fold. First, it maintains its power and stops opposition. Second, this practice strengthens the relationship between the US and Egypt because, in the process, Egypt becomes an ally in the US's "War on Terrorism."

Even in the wake of 9/11, the US has a double standard towards these two key allies. This double standard can be seen in the US's reaction to these two governments' policies towards detainment. It becomes particularly clear when we look at the detainment of US citizens by each country.

### Israel

Israel claims that it has detained 4,250 to 5,000 Palestinians in the current ongoing campaign. Although not all of these individuals have been detained since 9/11, the US has given Israel free reign regarding detainment if they do so under the name of the "War on Terrorism." Israel gladly uses the "War on Terrorism" to justify its current actions.

Both Palestinian and Israeli human rights groups have been up in arms over the conditions that the detainees have been living under. Al-Haq, a Palestinian human rights advocacy group, reported that Ofra-Batil detention center (the same detention center where the military courts are located) is divided into four sections, each section housing 250 tents. The tents are designed to hold twenty individuals, but each tent presently holds twice as many detainees. Detainees are given boards to sleep on, but there are no mattresses. They are given one blanket

“ Israel gladly uses the “War on Terrorism” to justify its current actions. ”

for every two people even though the temperature can fall below freezing at night. Daily food is rationed to one tomato shared between every four detainees and one pot of yogurt between eight. Detainees are not allowed to move out of the tents.

On April 5, Al-haq and two Israeli human rights groups, Hamoked and B'tselem, lodged a case with the Israeli High Court alleging that the detainees at Ofra have had their fingers, toes and other bones broken during interrogation. Prisoners, aged from thirteen to seventy, have their wrists bound for long periods with plastic cuffs and their identity papers confiscated, making it difficult and dangerous to travel if or when they are released.

Israel is not just detaining Palestinians, they are also detaining aid workers who are helping Palestinians. Dr. Riad Abdel-Karim, a 34-year-old American born Palestinian, was working for the International Medical Corps in Palestine when he was detained by

Israeli soldiers on May 5. He was boarding his flight home from Ben Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv when arrested. The Israelis accused Abdel-Karim of transferring money to sponsor suicide bombings, but they furnished no evidence to support the claim.

After an eighteen-hour interrogation session at the airport, Abdel-Karim was transferred to a police station near Petach Tikva where he was held in a four by three meter cell with twelve other inmates. After he complained about the inhumane conditions the police transferred him to the "dungeon," which is a two by two-and-a-half meter room with no windows, poor ventilation and a hole that serves as a toilet. After his release, Abdel-Karim claimed that his arrest was part of a deliberate campaign on the part of Israel to block humanitarian assistance to Palestinian civilians, particularly aid from American charity and relief organizations.

Abdel-Karim is one of many American aid workers who have been unlawfully detained by Israel in direct violation of their human rights and with little intervention by the US government. Abdel-Karim said that though US consular officials visited several times to check on him and tried to obtain medication for him, he said their main purpose was to ensure that he was being treated "in accordance with Israeli law." Abdel-Karim's response to this was, "If I were an American citizen detained wrongfully in any other country in the world, I would have found my government working to secure my release. But in Israel, where my country and my tax dollars provide so much assistance each year, my government is reduced to the role of begging my jailers to give me my medication. How very sad."

### Egypt

The Egyptian government has used the events of 9/11 as a reason to detain and try, in military court, members of both leftist and Islamist opposition groups. Islamist organizations have been hit the hardest, with the Muslim Brotherhood bearing the burden of this repression.

On December 26, the Supreme Military Court started the trial of twenty-two prominent members of the Muslim Brotherhood who were accused of "seeking to make use of current events in the Arab and Islamic world to incite the public against the government in order to take over." The defendants included nine univer-

sity professors and eight doctors. The rest were engineers and businessmen. All were well known activists in the eighty-three-year-old political Islamic organization, which has been banned since 1954.

Adel Abdel-Maqsoud, a spokesperson for the fifty-member defense team (which is made up of lawyers belonging to various political groups including liberals, leftists, Christians and women), said the latest clampdown "clearly was aimed at a carefully selected group of Brotherhood leaders in order to send a message that the government will not tolerate any protests after the September 11 attacks in America." He went on to say, "It was not a coincident that the arrests took place almost at the same time the United States decided to expand its crackdown on Islamic groups to include the Brotherhood."

On August 1, the Supreme Military Court announced their ruling, sentencing sixteen of the Brotherhood members. Five defendants were charged with having leading roles in the organization and were each given five years in prison. Another eleven were each given three years in prison for being members of the Brotherhood. Six defendants were acquitted. Between May and August of this year, 300 Brotherhood members have been arrested; they all face similar charges and trials as those above.

During another military trial of suspected Islamists, a police officer said, "Now they [the US and Britain] are praising what we are doing. But even our military trials are better than those held in the United States. The trials in the US will be secret, while ours are open—because we have nothing to be ashamed of."

Egypt is not only cracking down on Islamists, they are also cracking down on leftists. This can be seen in the Saabeddin Ibrahim case. Ibrahim was



### 1/1-1/12/02

- In January 2002, Caltrans is ordered by a US District Court Judge to include flags and patriotic banners in its list of items that could not be hung from highway overpasses.
- In its largest deployment since WWII, six German navy ships join the US-led War on Terrorism.
- Zacarias Moussaoui asks for a televised trial to insure a fair hearing.

- Canadian government commits up to 900 troops for peacekeeping in Afghanistan.
- 1,000 US troops ordered to Guantanamo Bay, with an additional 500 troops expected, since hundreds of al-Qaida and Taliban fighters are being held for questioning and possible charges.
- Bush signs \$317.2 billion defense bill, an additional \$20 billion set aside for Afghanistan operations and post 9/11 recovery.



Photographer's 1st Mate Class (AW) Shane T. McCoy/US Navy  
**US Army Military Police escort a new detainee to his cell on 1/11/02.**

### 1/13-1/16/02

- Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge explicitly compares the War on Terrorism to the War on Drugs, stating it will not end with al-Qaida.
- Second group of prisoners sent off to Guantanamo Bay.
- Ashcroft announces John Walker Lindh will be charged with conspiracy to kill US citizens, seeking life in prison, not the death penalty.

- The Pentagon announces 200 troops sent to Philippines to assist in campaign against groups linked to al-Qaida.
- The September 11th Fund is officially closed for donations after \$425 million is collected in four months. Focus shifted to distribution.

Go see MIDDLE EAST on Page 18



# Review of Charles Tripp’s *A History of Iraq*

By GRAHAM PARSONS  
*The Alarm! Newspaper Contributor*

“...those who are seeking to develop a new narrative for the history of Iraq must recognize the powerful legacies at work in the country if they do not want to succumb to their logic.”

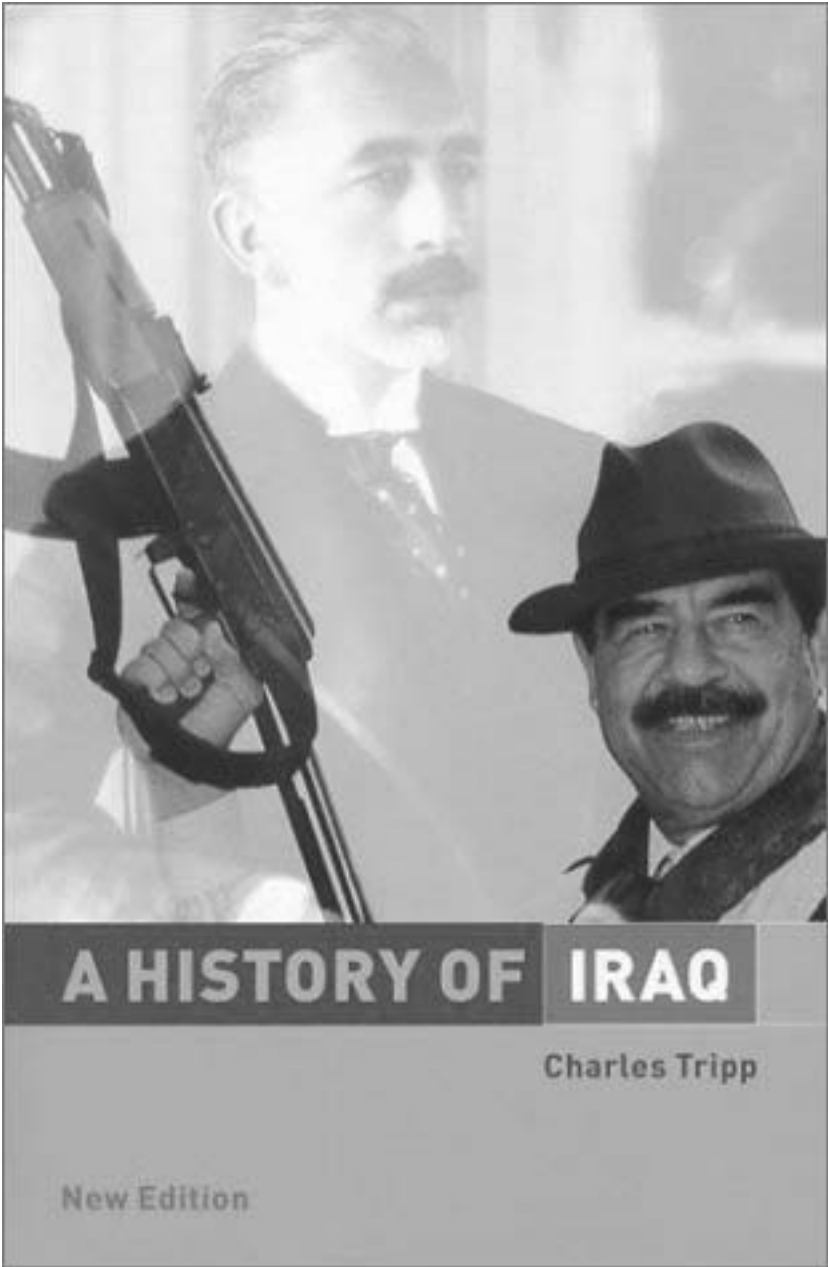
It has become clear that Iraq and Saddam Hussein will be the most likely focus of the next intense, sustained US military operation. In a recent article, *New York Times* correspondents Thom Shanker and David E. Sanger noted that the Bush administration is “developing a potential approach for toppling President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.” The article makes it clear that the administration’s debate over policy towards Iraq is currently limited to practical questions like “when” and “how,” having moved beyond broader questions like “if” or “should” we forcibly remove Hussein and his regime. For many of Bush’s policy makers—despite growing international and domestic opposition, even among some senior Republicans—the issue of a military intervention in Iraq seems to be settled, and a US-led invasion appears to be imminent. For those who are interested in gaining a basic understanding of the significance of such an event, an examination of Iraq’s distinctive political and social nature is certainly necessary. In this pursuit, Charles Tripp’s book *A History of Iraq* is a valuable resource (Cambridge, 2002).

*A History of Iraq* provides a comprehensive account of the Iraqi state from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate to the rule of Saddam Hussein in the post-Gulf war. It traces the as-

Iraqi politics, exemplified by the conflict between the perpetually ruling Sunni minority and the majority Shi’a groups. Despite relentless attempts on the part of the Shi’a community to organize effective political opposition, the Sunni elites succeeded in thwarting their efforts, often by means of ruthless violence. This adversarial relationship has made the hold on power of all of Iraq’s Sunni-dominated regimes precarious and largely unpopular. Nevertheless, throughout Iraq’s history, and despite the numerous coup d’état, successive governments have managed to maintain a Sunni character.

Another example of the significance of ethnicity in Iraq is the question of the Kurds. Historically, this question has been solved by Iraq’s rulers with little less than brutal repression and marginalization. The horrific massacres that the armed forces have carried out on the Kurdish population are appalling. Both Shi’as and Sunnis alike view the Kurds as ethnic outsiders and are unwilling to grant them even elementary rights of citizenship. The treatment of the Kurds, as well as the Sunni-Shi’a conflict, illustrate some of the real interests of power in Iraqi politics. To his credit, Tripp maintains a purely descriptive tone throughout, and tells of these upsetting relations with a steady objectivity.

There are, of course, other prominent themes in the story of Iraq. The systems of patronage on which the power of Iraq’s political elites have traditionally been based have simply



more effective and left the conventional use of violence unchallenged.

The final chapter on the rise of Saddam Hussein is where the above mentioned themes coalesce and find their most marked expression. Nepotism, patronage, oil and violence are integral components of the narrative of Hussein in Iraq. Helped by the income from Iraq’s healthy nationalized oil industry, which he made sure to have effective control over, Hussein has established expansive networks of economic dependents that completely rely on his position as dictator. He has used these networks—as well as violence—so efficiently, that during the near thirty years of his rule he has managed to contain repeated Kurdish and Shi’a revolts, as well as survive eight years of war with Iran, a devastating war over Kuwait and a decade of near-total economic strangulation. Indeed, the generation that has come of age under Hussein’s rule has seen Iraq’s most troubled and bleak times.

Although clearly illustrating Hussein’s culpability, Tripp does not believe Hussein is solely to blame for the plight of the Iraqi people. Specifically, Tripp is critical of the sanctions imposed and maintained

by outside powers (principally the United States and the United Kingdom) following Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait. He notes the “cruel paradox” that exists between the official justification of the use of sanctions—as leading to a weakening of Hussein’s hold on power and, in turn, allowing opposition to begin to operate and flourish—and their actual consequences, which have been to strengthen Hussein’s position and contribute significantly to the widespread suffering of the population. Tripp also brings to light the direct support Hussein received from the US prior to his invasion of Kuwait, and the virtual US-Iraq alliance that formed during the war with Iran. These points call into question the ostensibly benevolent intentions of United States policy towards Iraq, and raise deep concerns about the goals of the forthcoming invasion.

The dramatic nature of Iraq’s history on its own makes Tripp’s book engaging, and its relevance to currently unfolding events make the story terrifically compelling. This, combined with Tripp’s intelligence and keen analytical style, makes *A History of Iraq* required reading for those who want to understand America’s next war.

“ These points call into question the ostensibly benevolent intentions of United States policy towards Iraq, and raise deep concerns about the goals of the forthcoming invasion. ”

cendancy of a series of repressive, totalitarian regimes that have come in various political manifestations—first a monarchy, then a republic and then Saddam Hussein himself—and in the process, informs us of the extraordinary violence that has shaped Iraq’s political history. It is Tripp’s account of the concerns that have motivated this violence, however, that rewards the reader with knowledge of the more prominent themes in the story of Iraq.

One such theme is the relevance of tribal and ethnic affiliations to

reinforced the ethnic and tribal lines that mark divisions of power. This patronage system has made it exceedingly difficult for those left outside the patrimonial framework to enter the political arena and urge their interests, and led to the further proliferation of violence as a means of effecting the policies of those in power. Tripp’s insights into the increased importance of oil to the political economy are also interesting and illuminating. A dramatic increase in oil revenues has merely solidified the positions of those in power by making their systems of patronage

1/17-1/21/01

- Last survivor pulled from the WTC rubble goes home from the hospital.
- Zacarias Moussaoui, the first person indicted on charges related to 9/11, is denied his request for a televised court proceeding.
- Britain raises concerns over treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay—photos released show handcuffed prisoners with ears and eyes covered, kneeling on the ground. (see story on page 6).

- Fourteen detainees arrive at Guantanamo Bay on stretchers, raising additional concerns about the legality of the prison and the status of its occupants.
- Afghan Prime Minister Hamid Karzai is promised \$2.6 billion in relief funds over three years at a conference in Tokyo.
- Civil suit is filed addressing concerns about the detention and treatment of those detained at Guantanamo Bay.

1/23-1/31/01

- Bush announces that more than \$50 billion is needed for additional military spending—largest increase for Pentagon in 20 years.
- John Walker Lindh makes his first US court appearance.
- Rumsfeld declines repeated request to grant Prisoner of War status to Guantanamo Bay detainees, thus stripping them of protection under the Geneva Convention.

- President Bush welcomes interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai—the first visit by a head of Afghanistan in four decades.
- Saudi Arabia government announces it wants to talk to the 100+ Saudis held at Guantanamo Bay. Of the 158 men held from 25 nations, over 100 are of Saudi descent.
- INS announces civil rights advocates will be permitted to meet with 9/11 foreign national detainees.

- “Axis of Evil,”—Bush characterizes Iraq, Iran and North Korea as dangerous.
- “Sleeper cells”—FBI Director Robert Mueller believes terrorists are still in the US awaiting instructions.

Book Review



# In Retrospect

# All is fair...

By **BLAIZE WILKINSON**

The Alarm! Newspaper Columnist

*She moved through the fair.  
Her green eyes darted like the wind.  
She moved through the fair  
As if it were someplace she'd never see again.*

*She stops and waits.  
She stands just beyond the light.  
And if heaven calls, she knows she'll go.  
And if not, she'll be all right.*

*She moved through the fair.  
Her cotton dress was new.  
She looked like a queen.*

—Bill Morrissey

## ...in Love

We had planned to go to the fair on September 11. After my dad woke me up that morning and told me to turn on the TV, I took it upon myself to call everyone I could think of. I woke Becky up out of a sound sleep, and she, in a dream-addled voice, asked, "Does that mean we don't get to go to the fair?"

We couldn't have gone to the fair that day, even if we hadn't been stuck in front of the television, watching the same images over and over and over. Governor Gray Davis had ordered a postponement of the fair's opening day. We went a couple of days later.

They probably would have used hand-held metal detectors to scan us all at the gate anyway, but the process took on an eerie significance. Everything that day was to take on some kind of eerie significance.

I know they have agricultural and craft fairs in other countries. But, for me, there is nothing that makes me feel more American than a fair or a parade.

We went to see the poultry exhibit. I was delighted with the cages full of Spangled Hamburg, Dominique, Cochinchina and Polish chickens. I thought of the ingenuity, the centuries of careful breeding and happy accidents,



that went into the creation of utility breeds—chickens who are both good laying chickens and good eating chickens. Many of these breeds are now endangered as the poultry industry focuses on specialty chickens with either prodigious laying capacity or giant hormone-pumped meaty muscles. I found myself feeling melancholy in the contemplation of endangered chickens. I hoped that the ingenuity that created them was not also endangered.

We saw the goats and sheep, the horses and cows. We went into Brad's Reptile World and ogled the exotic animals. We went to the petting zoo and got to stroke a bristly squirming baby pig no bigger than my cat. We saw a big bunny in a cage, with a baby bunny perched exactly on the center of its back. We watched the carnies hustle customers to try the games. We paid for our tickets to bet on the racing pigs. We ate fried things

that meant I was reading about Hedy Lamarr at a county fair two days after September 11's strange intersection of cell phones and war.

## ...in War

I was already being told by the media that September 11 was my generation's Pearl Harbor. I had already formulated my dissent against this characterization: since Pearl Harbor led to the wide-scale relocation and internment of Japanese aliens and Japanese-Americans, and, to a lesser extent, of Italian- and German-Americans, I didn't like the potential implications of the Pearl Harbor metaphor. Also, the attack on Pearl Harbor was the act of a *nation* against a military target. September 11 was, as far as we could tell, the attack of a *group*. And the target had been, for the most part, civilian.

Yet, in some ways, the Pearl Harbor comparison was apt. After

*“ But, my illogical mind  
asked, if terrorists were out  
to attack symbols of American  
culture and society,  
wouldn't a county fair be a  
reasonable target? ”*

and felt covered with a thin film of grease. We admired the prize-winning pumpkins and lemons, and the vegetables dressed up like animals and people.

There was something about the whole thing that felt bittersweet and a little frightening. It felt odd to be in a crowd when my instinct was to avoid congregations of people. It felt odd to be seeking enjoyment when my instinct was to mourn. It felt odd to worry in such an innocuous situation. But, my illogical mind asked, if terrorists were out to attack symbols of American culture and society, wouldn't a county fair be a reasonable target?

One room off to the side of the fruit and vegetable building had a display on patents and inventions. There we looked at an exhibit documenting an invention by 1930s Hollywood actress Hedy Lamarr. Her plan was to use radio signals to guide torpedoes. This original purpose never panned out, but her patent is the basis of modern-day satellite communications. I was struck by the weirdness of chance, the coincidence

Pearl Harbor, residents of California worried they would be next. After September 11, I think that most of us, at one point or another, however fleetingly, worried we might be next. I worried, fleetingly, that I might be next.

Pearl Harbor had its effect on the Santa Cruz County Fair, too. In 1941, the fair completed its purchase of the land where it is held to this day, and the first county fair on the site took place in October of that year. On June 11, 1942, six months after Pearl Harbor, the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* announced that "A series of small fairs or field days will probably replace the annual Santa Cruz County Fair this year." Wartime meant new rules, and the new strategy was that "By having several separate and distinct days for various groups, it is hoped to keep attendance down to a level below that which would bring protest from army and navy officials....10,000 persons saw last year's fair during four days....the government has clamped down on crowds of such size." The fair, with its kid's bicycle day, horse pulling contests, grange



presentations, military exhibitions and "grunt and groan" strongman contest was shut down for the duration of the war.

Our war has not shut down the fair this time. There will be a memorial "Moment of Silence" before, ridiculously enough, the Sha-na-na concert. There will probably be a lot of flags. But perhaps not that many more than usual. Fairs, I think, are generally patriotic, even in peacetime.

## Homeland

The United States is my home. During an event like the county fair, when the smell of hay and manure pulls me nostalgically back to my childhood spent in a farming town in Colorado, the United States might even be my homeland. But, despite my own pride and rather troubled patriotism, the new Department of Homeland Security gives me the willies. Not necessarily because of its mandated function. Protecting one's own country seems like it could be a reasonable endeavor. It is the *name* of the department that creeps me out.

"Homeland" sounds too much like "fatherland," a phrase that smacks to me of the totalitarian desires of some place like Third Reich Germany. I would infinitely prefer it if the new department were called "Domestic Security."

I am domestic. I cook, I clean, I can vegetables, I wear an apron. I go to the county fair, and look at the exhibits, hoping to find new recipes for the apples that become so plentiful at the farmers' market this time of year. I participate in activities like the fair because they make me feel connected to my land, to the bounty of the harvest, to my own pioneer roots.

I want my domestic life to be secure. I want to someday own my own little flock of heirloom utility chickens. I want to feel safe: in my own bed, when I am driving across the Golden Gate Bridge, at the county fair. But I recognize that, since I live in the United States, my domestic position in the world is only supported at the expense of others. My pride is also my shame. I hope this year's fair helps to remind me of that.

2/02-03/02

- E-mail message indicates that *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Daniel Pearl was killed because demand to release Pakistani prisoners was not met—*Journal* dismisses claim as a hoax. Weeks later the State Department confirms his death.
- Bush proposes \$2.13 trillion budget that allocates \$379 billion to the War on Terrorism.

- Federal grand jury delivers ten indictments on John Walker Lindh—pleads not guilty.
- Airlines announce a record loss of \$15 billion (internationally) in 2001.
- Bush changes stance and agrees that Taliban detainees fall under the Geneva Convention but not the al-Qaeda detainees.
- 200 detainees at Guantanamo Bay go on hunger strike.

- Announcement of possible \$7.18 billion suit to be filed by some 1,300 people against NYC for alleged negligence related to WTC cleanup and recovery.
- Pentagon denies plans to infuse the media with false info to promote the War on Terrorism through the new Office of Strategic Influence.
- INS announces 326 people are still being detained, down from the 460 announced in January

- The Pentagon announces that the newly-formed Office of Strategic Influence will be closed down. Rumsfeld cites criticism that caused critical problems in the functionality of the Office.
- NYC Mayor Bloomberg announces two vertical beams of light will light the skies near WTC site as a temporary memorial.

- "Shadow Government"—implemented by Bush consists of at least seventy-five officials located in mountainside bunkers. Federal officials state the cold-war-era plan went into effect hours after 9/11 events began.



# Terror on the West Coast

By MATT MELAMED  
Pacific News Service

*EDITOR'S NOTE: The shock of September 11 and its aftermath reaches far beyond New York, into the dreams of a young man in San Francisco. PNS contributor Matt Melamed, 28, says that the terrorist attack brought back primal fears and recurring nightmares not felt since childhood—only now, there's no safe parents' room to retreat to. Melamed (mmelamed@pacificnews.org) works for The Beat Within, a weekly writing workshop and publication for incarcerated youth in the San Francisco Bay Area.*

SAN FRANCISCO—The first one occurred a few weeks after September 11. I was on a plane, cruising over the bay, downtown San Francisco below to my left. I was in the cockpit. I wasn't flying the plane, but my view of the sky and the city and the bay was uninterrupted. And I felt something that I only feel in dreams, more than a sense of foreboding, an instinctive knowledge that something inescapable was about to happen. The plane pointed, nose down, toward the Golden Gate Bridge. My stomach dropped, possibly from the change in altitude, possibly from the approach of the inevitable. Just before impact, I awakened.

The second one occurred a few months later. I was on a beach at the western edge of the city, overlooking the Pacific. I sensed something about to happen. I saw a fleet of airplanes flying east. My housemate and I started running the miles between the beach and our apartment. As the planes reached land, they dropped bombs. With the sound of explosions behind us, we ran. The planes overtook us, and bombs fell like giant raindrops. We reached our apartment, which was reduced by the bombs into a foundation in a sea of light brown dirt, a bunker in the desert. We dove in, caught our breath, and, feeling safe, watched the eastward moving flock of planes continue their destruction.

In the weeks following September 11, I was in sensory overload. I lost the ability to filter messages. We were told of plans for revenge, plans to seek and destroy, that others were either with us or against us. I was incapable of understanding my feelings. I joined in conversations, but mostly I fell silent. I was angry, but I simply wanted to mourn.

I took to reading foreign papers and communicating with friends in New York, seeking both a more reasoned response from the one I

was hearing and a more immediate emotional response than I felt I could claim from out here. I was lucky enough not to know anyone who died. Any opinion I had about America's response wasn't as valid as those who'd been more directly affected.

Today, it feels as if a new equilibrium has been established. One war has ended and another is in the planning stages. Corporate scandal has taken over the front pages. Stories about foreign policy concern Iraq more than Afghanistan. Nine-one-one has become a name that distances us from the reality of the terror; there were enough eulogies to numb the pain.

The attacks, however, have changed me in one significant, everyday way. Through my nightmares, I have rediscovered fear beyond existential abstraction. These recurring dreams are direct, and terrifying, and they mess me up. While my path through life continues on much the same track as before, I have lost my subconscious certainty.

I had a recurring nightmare when I was younger. I am near the grammar school down the street from my suburban home. I look up and see a nuclear missile headed toward my town. I run uphill on the concrete sidewalk toward home, occasionally looking up and seeing the missiles multiply. They descend in slow motion, as if inertia is making it necessary for them to be pushed towards the ground. I round the corner one house past mine, by the layered brick stand holding the street sign lettered in black. I am transported to a rowboat on a lake, part of an exodus of people I don't know. We paddle as the missiles continue to fall, realizing that we are safe, but that we don't know each other. Our families and friends aren't there.

I would awaken from these dreams sweating and head to the safety of my parents' room. Now, after nearly 20 years free of fear, I have been put back in touch with the primal emotion, and there is no equivalent to my parents' room, nowhere I can go to lay back down secure in the stability of my life.

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# For an immigrant, 9/11 brought America the world

By SANDIP ROY  
Pacific News Service

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Previous experience with deadly attacks and vicious backlash provided no comfort for an Indian immigrant in America on Sept. 11. American innocence crashed down with the Twin Towers on that day, and destroyed with it, writes PNS contributor Sandip Roy, was the notion among newcomers that America could be a safe haven from the troubles of the rest of the world. Roy (sandiproy@hotmail.com) is host of "Upfront"—the Pacific News Service weekly radio program on KALW-FM, San Francisco.*

Most of all, I remember the stillness. School had been suspended in the middle of the day. As I rode home, the city was shuttering down. Businesses were closing, hand-lettered signs put in windows. Knots of anxious people clustered around storefronts listening to the radio. Everyone had left their televisions on, though there was no new news. The same images repeated over and over again, the same few details recited in somber funereal tones.

There was an air of disbelief, of suspension, a feeling that the world as we knew it was ending. Though we did not know it then, revenge riots were already breaking out in parts of the city. There would be bloodletting before the night was through—small convenience stores vandalized, people killed, homes burned. But it was still deceptively calm as we absorbed the shock of what had happened.

It was October 31, 1984, and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had just been killed by her Sikh bodyguards.

When the Twin Towers fell in New York last September 11, I remembered that hushed feeling from 1984. For many of us from the teeming countries where most of the world's population lives, September 11 felt horribly familiar. Buildings exploding. Bodies. Rubble. Death counts in the hundreds, even thousands. Except this was America. It wasn't supposed to happen here.

In America, we were supposed to be safe. We came here to be safe—from sleeping sickness, pogroms and terrorists. Here, the borders were sealed behind us so thoroughly that not even an errant mango could get in. My neighbor in India tried to smuggle in some Alphonso mangoes that his daughter in New Jersey adored. But customs officials at JFK yanked the illegal fruits out of his suitcase.

When I came to the United States for the first time, I wondered if immigration officials would harass me, a single man in his twenties from a turbulent part of the world. I didn't have to worry. Customs officials and their formidable sniffing dogs were much more interested in middle-aged Indian women. I watched as they rifled through the contents of the bursting-at-the-seams suitcase of a lady who could have been my aunt. They knew if anyone was likely to try and smuggle in some forbidden Indian mangoes or gourds it would probably be some overindulgent mother visiting from Delhi. I wondered about this strange land that so feared a ripe mango.

With September 11, there was really something to be afraid of. I knew that with fear and anger would come backlash, just as there had been for the Sikhs in India in 1984. Oddly, the first victims in the aftermath here were Sikhs as well, mistaken for Osama bin Laden look-alikes because of their turbans and beards. I knew there would long delays in airports and people in uniform pawing through suitcases. I knew because I had been to the airports in India after a plane was hijacked by Islamic militants in 1999. I knew there would be a drag-net that would sweep up hundreds of innocent people as lawmakers tried to cobble together new laws to make us feel safer. As the death count went up it became harder and harder, especially for those of us far away on the West Coast, to mourn what had essentially become a number. I knew how to take numbers in stride. In India people joked darkly that when a tree falls, it kills fifty people.

Knowing this made nothing easier. I didn't feel smugly superior, as if I knew how to navigate through this new America. But it was a strange feeling to watch the most advanced country in the world struggle to adjust to rules and regulations and inconveniences that used to be part and parcel of our daily lives. It was disconcerting to realize how I had never really left that world behind.

On September 11, 2001 that world gate-crashed into America. And I mourned for the lost innocence of a country that once so quixotically stopped ripe Alphonso mangos at its borders.

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Regional Commentary

## 3/02-04/02

- 7.2 magnitude earthquake hits Afghanistan, at least 100 die.
- Ashcroft announces his belief that people taken into custody during 9/11 investigation should be subject to existing laws regarding collection of DNA.
- UN announces that US actions in Afghanistan are responsible for high civilian casualties.

- "Multi-colored alert system," announced by Tom Ridge to classify domestic terrorism threats.
- Student visa approval comes from INS to Florida flight school for two of the suspected 9/11 hijackers, bringing further criticism to the Service—White House investigates the error.

- Jordanian King Abdullah II warns Cheney further actions in the region could undermine goals in Afghanistan.
- Ashcroft announces the Department of Justice is seeking additional 3,000 foreign visitors for voluntary questioning—trying to shake loose allegations of ethnic profiling.
- Bush administration announces it will seek the death penalty for Zacarias Moussaoui.

## 4/02-05/02

- Prosecutors admit no evidence linking Lindh to attacks on Americans—judge responds by warning defense team no proof needed to convict on conspiracy charges.
- Trial opens in Pakistan for the four men accused of kidnapping and killing Daniel Pearl.
- British Prime Minister Tony Blair announces urgency for Hussein to allow weapons inspectors.
- Pentagon officials admit US Special Forces took photos with

- Lindh bound, blindfolded and marked with obscenities—defense claims evidence that Lindh was abused by soldiers.
- Second quake hits Afghanistan—5.8 magnitude.
- US F-16 mistakes Canadian troops as enemy & drops 500-pound bomb—casualties and injuries.
- Moussaoui requests to represent himself.
- The Bush administration releases plans to oust Hussein.





Cartoon by Alexander Zudin

From Middle East on page 14

a sociology professor at the American University in Cairo and a NGO activist. He is 62 years old and both an Egyptian and American citizen. Ibrahim is the founder and director of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, which was closed after his arrest.

The government charged Ibrahim and twenty-seven other people connected to the Center with several crimes, including accepting foreign funds without government approval. The foreign donor in question was the European Union, which provided money to promote political awareness and participation in Egypt's general election. Other charges included compiling false reports about the status of Copts in Egypt, attempting to embezzle money and making plans to bribe radio and television officials to broadcast programs about the Ibn Khaldun Center. The State Security Court made a decision on May 21 that Saadeddin Ibrahim would serve seven years in prison.

Battle for Aid

President George W. Bush opposed new aid to Egypt in protest against the sentencing of Saadeddin Ibrahim. On August 15, the White House announced that its decision will not affect existing aid programs to Egypt, which equal almost \$2 billion a year in economic and military assistance. The decision by Bush will prevent Egypt from receiving the extra \$130 million it had been seeking to compliment an Israeli request for \$200 million to fight terrorism. Egypt traditionally receives aid that equals about two-thirds of any new aid the US gives to Israel.

Secretary General of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights Hafez Abu-Sae'da (Saadeddin Ibrahim's good friend and one of his most vocal supporters) told *Al-Ahram Weekly* that he denounces international pressure when there is a "double standard" in its application. He emphasized that while the US has a right to defend Saadeddin Ibrahim as an American citizen, it should not use aid as a tool to pressure countries, "especially since Israel enjoys the support and assistance

of the US despite its flagrant violations of international human rights laws." The different responses evoked by the cases of Dr. Riad Abdel-Karim and Saabeddin Ibrahim are a clear example of this double standard.

With the US supporting repressive governments throughout the Arab world in the name of the "War on Terrorism," the double standard in aid support is telling. The US will always give an endless supply of economic aid to Israel even when they detain American citizens. The "War on Terrorism" has promoted the repression of dissidents the world over. As Bahieddin Hassan, the head of the Cairo Center for Human Rights studies, said, "In the aftermath of the September 11th attacks, the US's 'War on Terrorism' has come at the expense of civil liberties, leading to a set back in democracy world wide. Thus, it is impossible for any human rights activist to accept the US as an advocate of democracy."



Photo courtesy of Emily Heil

As it becomes more apparent that we will be revisiting Operation Desert Storm, Santa Cruzans are making their opposition visible.

From RIGHTS on page 11

tional security, in May 2001 designating it as the agency in charge of terrorism response. Bush's "National Strategy for Homeland Security" places FEMA under the Office of Homeland Security. In August, the Los Angeles Times reported Attorney General John Ashcroft's announced desire to create "camps for US citizens he deems to be 'enemy combatants'". According to Ritt Goldstein in the Sydney Morning Herald, a right wing web-site, NewsMax.com, has reported that FEMA is pursuing a "crash effort" to build "temporary cities to handle millions," supposedly those fleeing weapons of mass destruction. It added that FEMA had been given a deadline of having the cities "ready to go by January 2003." And in a subsequent posting to the NewsMax.com website, a copy of FEMA's project particulars noted that those contractors seeking to participate in the program "must demonstrate capability of establishing group housing developments (designing, developing, constructing, and acquisition of property) and maintenance of complex(es) for periods exceeding two years."

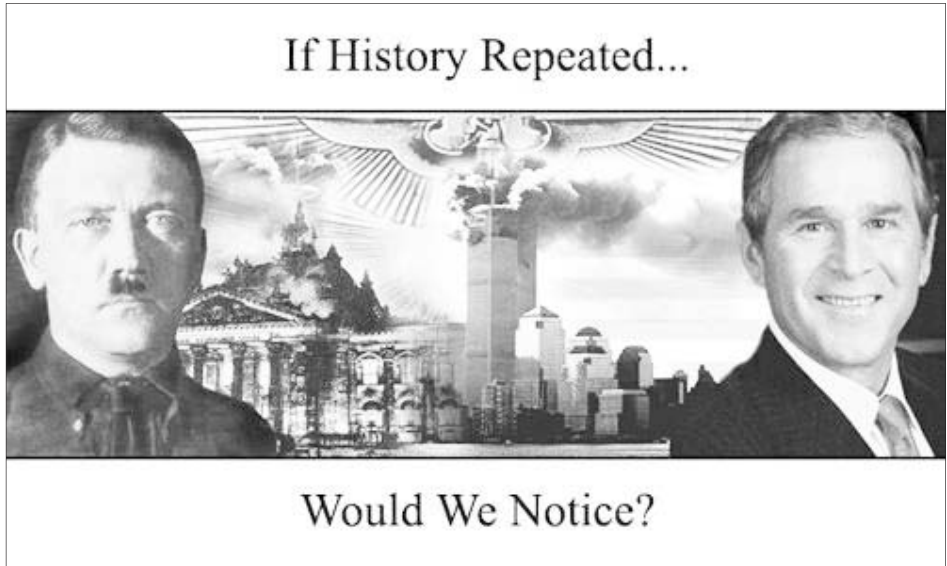
Such threats must be taken seriously because the government has been abandoning the rule of law and judicial oversight in its anti-immigrant and anti-terrorist actions. In June, responding to a court order requesting the figures, the Justice Department admitted it is still holding at least 147 people rounded up as part of the investigation into the September 11 terrorist attacks, and that eighteen are not represented by lawyers. The government did not reveal how many people had been detained or are still being held without being charged. A Justice Department official said the government can hold people as material witnesses to a crime without ever charging them with an offense. In July, the Justice Department inspector general's office reported that 458 complaints had been received under the USA PATRIOT Act in which the sender suggested a connection to possible civil rights abuses. Eighty-seven of the complaints were judged to be under the office's jurisdiction. Of these, the Inspector General opened only nine formal investigations.

The case of US citizen José Padilla,

the suspect in an alleged radioactive "dirty bomb" plot, shows that such extra-judicial measures are not restricted to immigrants. "The last time I looked at the Constitution, he still had constitutional rights," his court-appointed attorney Donna Newman told CNN. The Padilla case should be a "constitutional concern for everybody," Newman said. "He was taken and will now be detained in a military prison." While US District Court Judge Michael Mukasey said he would consider Newman's motion, it was unclear what jurisdiction, if any, the court has in the case now that Padilla is in the custody of the US military. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said that Padilla—who also goes by the name of Abdullah Al Muhajir—may never face trial. "Our interest is not in trying him and punishing him," Rumsfeld said. "Our interest is in finding out what he knows." In a meeting in his Cabinet room, Bush said, "This guy Padilla's one of many who we've arrested.... The coalition we've put together has hauled in 2,400 people. And you can call it 2,401 now. There's just a full-scale manhunt on.... We will run down every lead, every hint. This guy Padilla's a bad guy and he is where he needs to be: detained."

If Bush succeeds in launching a full-scale war on Iraq, such repressive acts, as well as racist attacks against immigrants, are certain to increase, as they did dramatically during his father's Gulf War, when attacks against Jews, Arabs, and those mistaken for them, were widespread. The need for an assertive defense of immigrant rights, civil liberties and peace has never been greater.

Michael Novick is author of *White Lies, White Power* ([http://www.commoncouragepress.com/novick\\_white.html](http://www.commoncouragepress.com/novick_white.html) link for website) and publisher of *Turning the Tide*, a periodical magazine of *People Against Racist Terror* in Culver City, California. He is also a member of *Los Angeles Anti-Racist Action*. *Anti-Racist Action* is an international movement of people committed to exposing, opposing and confronting racism, sexism, homophobia and other forms of bigotry. To find an ARA chapter near you, visit <http://www.antiracistaction.ca/contactinfo.html>.



5/02-06/02

- Thirty-two prisoners arrive from Afghanistan, the first large transport in nearly two months—total prison population: 332 comprised of people from 30 countries.
- Anthrax investigators announce their ability to eliminate some labs as possible producers of the virus based on new system of analysis.
- Defense team for Lindh to subpoena fifteen Afghan

fighters held at Guantanamo Bay—setting the stage for a showdown with the Department of Justice.

- White House admits US Intelligence indicated Osama bin Laden might hijack planes. In response, White House only issued private warnings instead of wide-scale notifications. White House later releases Bush notified on 8/6/01.

- NYC Mayor Bloomberg announces 5/30 will be the end of search for human remains at WTC. Excavation completed 3 months ahead of schedule at \$750 million vs. estimated \$7 billion.
- Bush Administration announces no guns in cockpits.
- World Bank and International Monetary Fund workers are sent home in Washington, DC after anthrax scare.

- Face recognition software used at Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island with federal database of terrorist suspects.
- FBI answers to allegations that it might have been able to thwart the 9/11 attack if it had used the information it had available. Admitting to the bumble, it announced the agency would be placing a priority on terrorism prevention.



Department of Defense

British Royal Engineers of Task Force Jacana destroy a cave in Afghanistan on 5/10/02 as part of Operation Snipe.



# Closing comment from an Editor

### On local content

Some of our regular readers may be wondering what happened to all the local content in this issue. Generally, we have several articles focussing on goings-on in Santa Cruz. We (I, specifically), had planned to do something on local politics since 9/11 for this issue, but found the task rather difficult. Difficult, in part, because I found it hard to come up with much positive to say. In the months following 9/11, there was plenty to be hopeful about: numerous anti-war rallies, the poster campaign of People of Color Against the War (and their subsequent principled stand after their persecution for this poster), the intelligent teach-ins, the citizens' groups formed to thwart acts of racist violence, the banner-hangings on Hwy. 17 and—dare I say it—Issue 1, Number 1 of The Alarm! Newspaper, published jointly with the Cement Boat on September 18, 2001. But, since that initial burst of clear and broad-based discontent toward the

Bush Administration and its “War on Terrorism,” Santa Cruz, it seems to me, has been demoralized and eviscerated in the face a “permanent war” that has little effect on most of our personal lives other than helping to maintain our relatively high standard of living.

It is clear that we have a lot of work to do if we ever hope to effectively counter Bush's madness, and much of that work needs to happen locally, on the job, on the streets, in school, at home and in our neighborhoods. At root this is an appeal for all of us to break down the barriers that keep us from talking and acting together, to learn to recognize each other's struggles in our own, to find the intersections between them and work together from those points to put an end to this madness and build something far more healthy, fulfilling and even beautiful in our daily lives.

—Fhar Miess

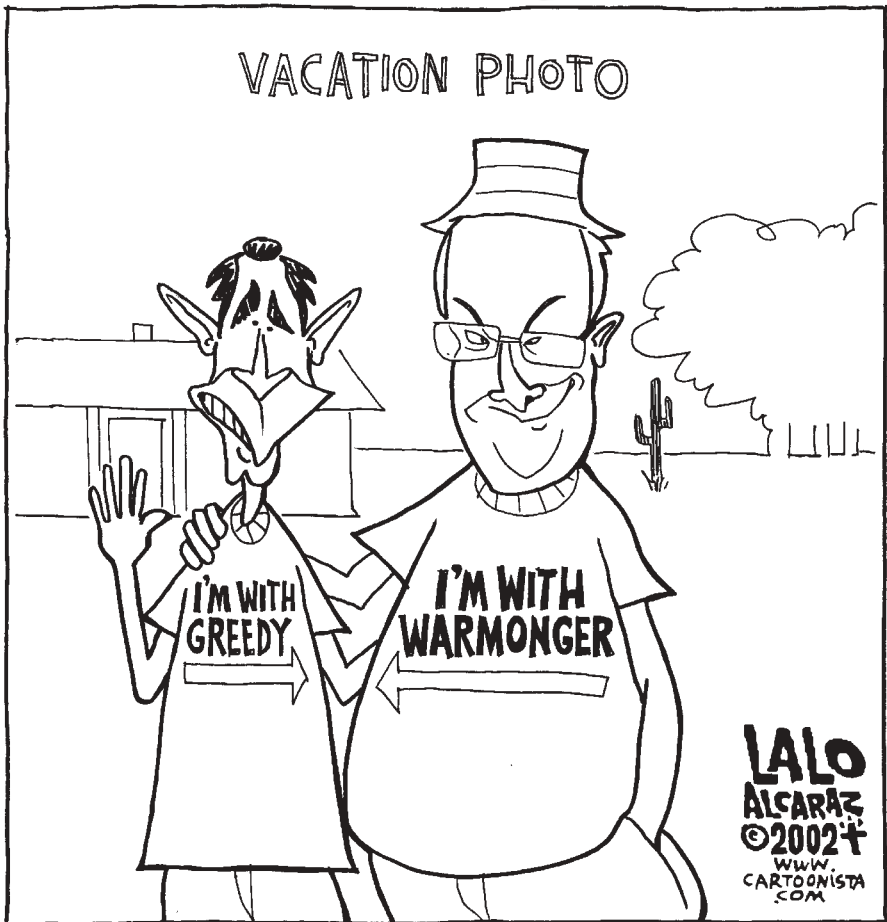
### From labor on page 5

rubber bullets and pepper spray. On Labor Day, ILWU Local 5, representing Powell's Bookstore workers, filed two suits with the Independent Police Review Board against the Portland Police Bureau and officers “due to their mishandling of the August 22nd, 2002 demonstration and subsequent use of excessive force.”

In other recent developments, the Washington State Labor Council voted overwhelmingly in late August to support a resolution condemning President Bush's “war on terrorism,” his administration's attacks on civil liberties and the broad cuts to social services enacted in deference to expanded defense budgets and bailouts and subsidies for industry at the expense of workers.

It is becoming more and more clear in the ranks of organized labor, as it should be becoming clear to all of us, that the attacks of September 11, horrific as they were, provided an excellent opportunity for the Bush Administration to delay an inevitable economic disaster by syphoning vast sums of money away from public services and into private industry, particularly the defense industry, all while using the pretext of a “war on terrorism” to thwart the resistance that organized labor and progressive activists would surely mount. Unlike in most previous wars, labor is being offered no concillation prizes for its sacrifices. Instead, conditions grow worse for most of us every day, despite the rhetoric of economic recovery.

Many of us are baffled by the insane logic that drives the present Administration, but there is something of a rationale behind it. “It's the stupid economy.” We are engaged in an economic system that makes no sense for anyone but a very small elite. And we must resist the explanation that the recent turn of events is simply a “correction” to an economy that remains fundamentally sound. Any economy that requires a permanent war, an oppressed populace and inexhaustible resources to maintain its health is not worth investing in. There are options, and we must learn to build and use them.



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6/02-07/02

- The Department of Justice announces that nearly 100,000 new visitors to the US will be required to submit photos, fingerprints and detailed travel plans upon arrival.
- Reports indicate that the Bush Administration is developing a new military strategy that embraces pre-emptive attacks vs. containment and deterrence.
- “Dirty Bomber”—Jose Padilla is arrested.

- Zacarias Moussaoui granted right to serve as own council despite claim he's mentally-ill.
- Press leak states Bush gave CIA approval for covert program to oust Hussein—lethal force OK'd.
- Report concludes accidental bombing of Canadians, pilot error.
- Supreme Court sides with Fed's request to keep 9/11-related immigration hearings closed.
- Afghan VP Haji Abdul Qadir is assassinated in Kabul.

7/02-8/02

- US admits forces accidentally hit Afghan town killing dozens of civilians.
- Smallpox scare has the government planning to revive a thirty-year-old practice of vaccinating public against the virus.
- Four men are convicted of killing Daniel Pearl by Pakistani judge.
- Lindh takes a White House-approved plea offer. Facing up to 20 years in jail, sentencing is scheduled for October. 4, 2002.

- The House approves to create a \$38 billion Department of Homeland Security.
- US District Court Judge Kollar-Kotelly rules British & Australian captives at Guantanamo Bay have no rights to appear in US courts.
- Federal judge rules that the Department of Justice does not have the right to hide the identities of detainees, reverses order later in month.

- Saudi foreign minister announces US can't use Saudi Arabia to mount attack on Iraq.
- \$100 trillion dollar lawsuit filed by over 600 families of the 9/11 victims.
- CNN airs tapes it discovered—allegedly illustrating al-Qaida training camps & examples of chemical weapons training.
- NY Governor Pataki signs bill requiring background checks for employees of Nasdaq, NYSE and ASE.



Calendar of Events



Send calendar submissions to [calendar@the-alarm.com](mailto:calendar@the-alarm.com) or mail hard copies to:  
**The Alarm! Newspaper**  
**ATTN: Community Calendar**  
**P.O. Box 1205**  
**Santa Cruz, CA 95061**  
Please include the date, time, title of event, description and contact number. Submissions are due on Tuesday by 5PM for that Friday’s edition.

SATURDAY 9/7

**10 AM** Evergreen Cemetery Tour: Mysteries Solved and Unsolved. Help solve some of the mysteries behind the tombstones in this interactive tour. Call 429-1960 for info. At the Evergreen Cemetery on Corral St. next to Harvey West Park, SC

**11AM–10 PM** Annual Greek cultural and food festival. Featuring traditional Greek foods and pastries, live Greek music and dancing. Call 429-6500 for info. At the Prophet Elias Greek Orthodox Church, SC.

**12:30–1 PM** Redwood Grove Hike. Guided & informative tour through the redwoods. Call to cofirm 335-7077. At Henry Cowell Redwood State Park, HWY 9, Felton.

**5:30–9:30 PM** Political Activist Evelyn Schoenfeld Remembered. Local homeless civil rights, as well as advocate for US political prisoners, and opponent of militarism. At The Pacific Cultural Center,1307 Seabright Ave., SC.

SUNDAY 9/8

**9 AM–1 PM** Live Oak Farmers’ Market. At the East Cliff Shopping Center, 1515 East Cliff Dr.

**10 AM** Downtown Santa Cruz Antiques and Collectibles Show. Vendors throughout California provide high quality pre-1960s antiques and collectibles for purchase. Admission and parking are free. Call 425-7160, at the Cedar St. Parking Lot, SC.

**12–3 PM** Preparing the winter garden. Come learn how to prepare your garden beds for the wenter, learn about covering plants, best-performing vegetable varieties and more. For info call Joni Tannheimer 459-3240. \$5 for members \$10 non-members. At the UCSC Farm, Louise Cain Gatehouse, SC.

**12–3 PM** Cooking Fun in the Garden. For kids ages 7 -11. Children will learn to make the farm-to-fork connection while learning about and eating the six plant parts. \$5/person. At the UCSC Farm, Children’s Garden, SC.

**12–8 PM** Annual Greek cultural and food festival. Featuring traditional Greek foods and pastries, live Greek music and dancing. Call 429-6500 for info. At the Prophet Elias Greek Orthodox Church, SC.

**7:30 PM** Performance: Freefall Improvisational Theater. Call 688-6882 for more info. \$8/person. At the Actors’ Theater, SC.

MONDAY 9/9

**9–10:30 PM** Creative Writing for Fun. Adults 55+ learn to make creative writing easy and enjoyable in this friendly and supportive class. Register by calling 420-6180 or visiting the Downtown Senior’s Office, SC.

**12–4 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz. Call 425-2667 for location.

**12–4 PM** Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**3–5 PM** Free HIV testing, educational videos, information and safer sex supplies. Call 761-8595 for info. At Casa Bienestar, 90 Mariposa Ave., Wats.

**4 PM** Food Not Bombs, free vegan food served in front of Cinema 9. On Cooper St. & Pacific Ave., SC.

**4:30 PM** “Merrymaking Monday.” Join Food Not Bombs and Downtown for All in a celebration that is all-inclusive. Hackeysackers, skateboarders, jugglers, merchants, tourists, etc. invited. At the corner of Pacific Ave. & Cooper St., SC.

**6:45 PM** March in protest of the new City Ordinances. March starts at the Clock Tower, and proceeds down Pacific to the Saturn Cafe to celebrate the Saturn’s Birthday. Sponsored by Downtown for All, the Santa Cruz Peace Coalition, and the Saturn Cafe. Call 596-2580 for more info. Downtown, SC.

**7:30–9:30 PM** Lecture: Christopher Hobbs, prolific author of 24 books on health and herbal medicine, including: *Herbal Remedies for Dummies* and *The Botanical Safety Book*.Contact Stephen McGabe for more info. Free. At the UCSC Arboretum, CNPS, SC.

**9 PM** Hip-Hop Lab open mic.. Call 688-9888 for more info, no cover, ages 21+. At the Aptos Club, 794 Soquel Ave., Aptos.

TUESDAY 9/10

**12–6 PM** Organic fruits, vegetables and flowers grown at the UCSC Farm and Garden. At the corner of Bay St. & High St., SC.

**12–11 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/adult, \$5/11 year-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**2 PM** Reclaim the Streets Protest/party. Bring costumes, bubbles, hackeysacks, instruments, and art. The new ordinances will become legally enforced on this day. Call 569-2580 for more info. At the Clock Tower in Downtown, SC.

**2:30–6:30 PM** Felton Farmers’ Market. 6090 HWY 9, Felton.

**5 PM** Youth Coalition SC. At the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway Ave., SC.

**Martes 6:30–7:30 PM** Grupo de apoyo para madres y niños sobrevivientes de la violencia doméstica. En español. Defensa de Mujeres, 406 Main St., Wats.

**6:30–9 PM** Parent’s Support Group. For parents who need more information to understand or help a loved one during and after use of drugs and alcohol. Call Casa Bienestar 761-8595, 90 Mariposa Ave., Wats.

**7 PM** Earth First! Meeting. At 509 Broadway Ave. (next door to the Resource Center for Nonviolence), SC.

**7 PM** Downtown for All meeting. At the Wired Wash Cafe on Laurel St., SC.

**7 PM** Santa Cruz Peace Coalition meeting. Call 841-9139 x 1917 for info. At the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway Ave., SC.

WEDNESDAY 9/11

**12–11 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/adult, \$5/11 year-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**12–4 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz, call 426-2667 for location.

**2:30–6:30 PM** Santa Cruz Farmers’ Market. Lincoln & Cedar St., SC.

**4 PM** Food Not Bombs serves free, hot, vegan food, at the Farmer’s Market, Lincoln & Cedar St., SC.

**Miércoles/Wednesday 7-8:30 PM** Drop-in domestic violence support group/grupo de apoyo para sobrevivientes de la violencia doméstica. In English y en español. Childcare available. Hay cuidado di niños. Women’s Crisis Support, 1658 Soquel Dr. Suite A., Santa Cruz.

**5:30 PM** Gay Men’s Volleyball. All levels welcome. Call 459-7506 for more info. At the Main Beach, SC.

**7:30 PM** “Lets talk about the movies,” a free discusson group open to all who enjoy talking about movies. Each week a local movie critic, or member of LTATM leads a discussion about a film currently playing in the area. Go to [www.ltatm.org](http://www.ltatm.org) to find out which film is next. At the Del Mar Theater, mezzanine level on Pacific Ave., SC.

**7:30–9 PM** Free community forum—Transforming the Lives of Children, with Suzanne Arms, author, photojournalist, visionary and activist. Birthing and caring for babies and young children, the choices that impact our lives and society. Sponsored by Mountain of Love Productions. At the Pacific Cultural Center, intersection of Seabright & Broadway, SC.

\* There will also be numerous events held in SC County in remembrance of 9/11.

THURSDAY 9/12

**12–6 PM** Organic fruits, vegetables and flowers grown at the UCSC Farm and Garden. At the corner of Bay St. & High St., SC.

**12:30–4 PM** Youth hours. Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**12–11 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/adult, \$5/11 year-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**7 PM** Gay Teen Alliance. For youth ages 14–25, all genders, bilingual. For info call 772-8200. 12 E. Gabilan St., Salinas.

**7 PM** Drop-in domestic violence support group. Call 426-3062 for info. At the Walnut Avenue Women’s Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**7–8 PM** (beginning) **8-9 PM** (intermediate/advanced) Free salsa dance class. At the Wired Wash Cafe on Laurel St., SC.

**7–8:30 PM** Young Warriors. Young women’s leadership program. Drop-in support also for survivors of violence. Call 426-3062 for info. At the Walnut Ave. Women’s Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**7–8:30 PM** Wise Guys. Drop-in support group for teenage survivors of violence. At the Walnut Ave. Women’s Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**9 PM** Dance Church, free-form dance environment, bring an item for the altar. All ages. Call 466-9770 for more info. At the 418 Project, 418 Front St., SC.

**10 PM** Roots Late Night Cafe. Featuring performances, open mic, dancing & a live DJ. Call 459-4838 for more info. At the UCSC Student Center, SC.

FRIDAY 9/13

**12–11 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/ adult, \$5/11 y-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**1:30–5 PM** Women’s hours. Condoms, coffee and conversation. At the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**3–7 PM** Watsonville Farmers’ Market. Main & Park St. around the Plaza, Wats.

**5 PM** Peace Vigil and human billboards protesting war. Call the Santa Cruz Peace Coalition 427-2676 for more info. At the intersection of Ocean St. & Water St., SC.

**5–6 PM** Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**9 PM–1 AM** Community Dance Jam with live DJ. Smoke-free, alcohol-free environment, all ages. \$7 (after 9:30), \$5 (before 9:30). Call 425-3325. At the 418 Project, 418 Front St., SC.

SATURDAY 9/14

**8:30 AM–5 PM** Sustainable Living and Ecological Building Conference. Presentations by 17 speakers, government reps, experts in sustainability and ecological building, including Sam Farr and Fred Keeley. Hands-on training and demonstrations in ecological building techniques, biodiesel demos. Cost \$126, \$50/students and seniors. Call 459-7676 for info. At the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium, SC.

**10–2 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz. Call 426-2667 for location.

**10 AM–11 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/ adult, \$5/11 y-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**12:30–1 PM** Redwood Grove Hike. Guided & informative tour through the redwoods. Call to cofirm 335-7077. At Henry Cowell Redwood State Park, HWY 9, Felton.

**2 PM** Food Not Bombs serves free, hot, vegan food, at San Lorenzo Park, SC.



Visit the Santa Cruz County Fair. Sept. 10 - 15. At the County Fair Grounds, Watsonville. \$7/adult, \$5/kids 11-under.



**5 PM** Julia Butterfly speaks at the Green Conference. Free. Outside of the Civic Auditorium, SC.

SUNDAY 9/15

**8:30 AM-5 PM** Sustainable Living and Ecological Building Conference. Presentations by 17 speakers, government reps, experts in sustainability and ecological building, including Sam Farr and Fred Keeley. Hands-on training and demonstrations in ecological building techniques, biodiesel demos. Cost \$126, \$50/students and seniors. Call 459-7676 for info. At the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium, SC.**9 AM-1 PM** Live Oak Farmers' Market. At the East Cliff Shopping Center, 1515 East Cliff Dr.

**10 AM-9 PM** 106th Annual Santa Cruz County Fair. The fair highlights the best of Santa Cruz County. Six days of fun and festivities, including a large carnival. \$7/adult, \$5/11 year-old & under. Call 724-5671 for info. At the County Fairgrounds, Wats.

**12-5 PM** Watershed Environmental Poetry Festival, a day of poetry, music and environmental activism. Call (510) 526-9105 or visit [www.poetryflash.com](http://www.poetryflash.com) for info. Free, at the Martin Luther King Jr. Park, Berkeley.

**7 PM** After Sept. 11: Will the PATRIOT Act and Homeland Security Make Us Safer? Join the Peacemakers and Speakers from the National Lawyer's Guild and ACLU to debate and discuss this question. \$5-\$10 donation requested. Call 423-1626 x 302 for info. At the First Congregational Church, 900 High St., SC.

**5 PM** Julia Butterfly speaks at the Green Conference. Free. Outside of the Civic Auditorium, SC.

MONDAY 9/16

**9-10:30 PM** Creative Writing for Fun. Adults 55+ learn to make creative writing easy and enjoyable in this friendly and supportive class. Register by calling 420-6180 or visiting the Downtown Senior's Office, SC.

**12-4 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz. Call 425-2667 for location.

**12-4 PM** Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**3-5 PM** Free HIV testing, educational videos, information and safer sex supplies. Call 761-8595 for info. At Casa Bienestar, 90 Mariposa Ave., Wats.

**4 PM** Food Not Bombs, free vegan food served in front of Cinema 9. On Cooper St. & Pacific Ave., SC.

**4:30 PM** "Merrymaking Monday." Join Food Not Bombs and Downtown for All in a celebration that is all-inclusive. Hackeysackers, skateboarders, jugglers, merchants, tourists, etc. invited. At the corner of Pacific Ave. & Cooper St., SC.

**9 PM** Hip-Hop Lab open mic.. Call 688-9888 for more info, no cover, ages 21+. At the Aptos Club, 794 Soquel Ave., Aptos.

TUESDAY 9/17

**12-6 PM** Organic fruits, vegetables and flowers grown at the UCSC Farm and Garden. At the corner of Bay St. & High St., SC.

**2:30-6:30 PM** Felton Farmers' Market. 6090 HWY 9, Felton.

**5 PM** Youth Coalition SC. At the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway Ave., SC.

**Martes 6:30-7:30 PM** Grupo de apoyo para madres y niños sobrevivientes de la violencia doméstica. En español. Defensa de Mujeres, 406 Main St., Wats.

**6:30-9 PM** Parent's Support Group. For parents who need more information to understand or help a loved one during and after use of drugs and alcohol. Call Casa Bienestar 761-8595, 90 Mariposa Ave., Wats.

**7 PM** Earth First! Meeting. At 509 Broadway Ave. (next door to the Resource Center for Nonviolence), SC.

**7 PM** Downtown for All meeting. At the Wired Wash Cafe on Laurel St., SC.

**7 PM** Santa Cruz Peace Coalition meeting. Call 841-9139 x 1917 for info. At the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway Ave., SC.


WEDNESDAY 9/18

**12-4 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz. Call 426-2667 for location.

**2:30-6:30 PM** Santa Cruz Farmers' Market. Lincoln & Cedar St., SC.

**4 PM** Food Not Bombs serves free, hot, vegan food, at the Farmer's Market, Lincoln & Cedar St., SC.

**5:30 PM** Gay Men's Volleyball. All levels



Food Not Bombs serves free, hot, vegan food on Monday, Wednesday, and Fridays in the City of Santa Cruz.

welcome. Call 459-7506 for more info. At the Main Beach, SC.

**Miércoles/Wednesday 7-8:30 PM** Drop-in domestic violence support group/grupo de apoyo para sobrevivientes de la violencia doméstica. In English y en español. Childcare available. Hay cuidado di niños. Women's Crisis Support, 1658 Soquel Dr. Suite A., SC.

**7:30 PM** "Lets Talk About The Movies," a free discusson group open to all who enjoy talking about movies. Each week a local movie critic, or member of LTATM leads a discussion about a film currently playing in the area. Go to [www.ltatm.org](http://www.ltatm.org) to find out which film is next. At the Del Mar Theater, mezzanine level on Pacific Ave., SC.

THURSDAY 9/19

**12-6 PM** Organic fruits, vegetables and flowers grown at the UCSC Farm and Garden. At the corner of Bay St. & High St., SC.

**12:30-4 PM** Youth hours. Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**7 PM** Gay Teen Allance. For youth ages 14-25, all genders, bilingual. For info call 772-8200. 12 E. Gabilan St., Salinas.

**7 PM** Drop-in domestic violence support group. Call 426-3062 for info. At the Walnut Avenue Women's Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**7-8 PM** (beginning) **8-9 PM** (intermediate/advanced) Free salsa dance class. At the Wired Wash Cafe on Laurel St., SC.

**7-8:30 PM** Young Warriors. Young women's leadership program. Drop-in support also foe survivors of violence. Call 426-3062 for info. At the Walnut Ave.Women's Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**7-8:30 PM** Wise Guys. Drop-in support group for teenage survivors of violence. At the Walnut Ave. Women's Center, 303 Walnut Ave., SC.

**7-9 PM** Lecture: Dan Haifley speaks about "How Politics Formed the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary" and William Duros speaks about "The Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary—10 years of ocean conservation on the central coast." \$5 general public, \$4 members. Call 459-3800 for more info. At the Seymour Center at Long Marine Lab, SC.

**9 PM** Dance Church, free-form dance environment, bring an item for the alter. All ages. Call 466-9770 for more info. At the 418 Project, 418 Front St., SC.

**10 PM** Roots Late Night Cafe. Featuring performances, open mic, dancing & a live DJ. Call 459-4838 for more info. At the UCSC Student Center, SC.

FRIDAY 9/20

**1:30-5 PM** Women's hours. Condoms, coffee and conversation. At the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**3-7 PM** Watsonville Farmers' Market. Main & Park St. around the Plaza, Wats.

**5 PM** Peace Vigil and human billboards protesting war. Call the Santa Cruz Peace Coalition 427-2676 for more info. At the intersection of Ocean St. & Water St., SC.

**5-6 PM** Condoms, coffee and conversation at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**9 PM-1 AM** Community Dance Jam with live DJ. Smoke-free, alcohol-free environment, all ages. \$7 (after 9:30), \$5 (before 9:30). Call 425-3325. At the 418 Project, 418 Front St., SC.

SATURDAY 9/21

**9-12 AM** Team with the Seymour Center crew as we clear the trash from Davenport Beach. All materials will be provided, wear work clothes. Call 459-3800 for info, go to [www.ecoact.org/acc/index.html](http://www.ecoact.org/acc/index.html) for a map of more cleanup sites. At Davenport Beach (look for fish flags), 8 miles north of Santa Cruz, Davenport.

**10-2 PM** Cook with Food Not Bombs Santa Cruz, call 426-2667 for location.

**12:30-1PM** Redwood Grove Hike. Guided & informative tour through the redwoods. Call to confirm 335-7077. At Henry Cowell Redwood State Park, HWY 9, Felton.

**7 PM** September—11 One Year Later, lecture with Dave Emory long-time researcher and radio host. Cost \$10. At Louden Nelson, 301 Center St., SC.

**2 PM** Food Not Bombs serves free, hot, vegan food, at San Lorenzo Park, SC.

Bean Creek 4 Mile Run. Local fundraiser benefitting technology and art programs in Scotts Valley School District. Come and run and join the fun. Call 662-7073 for more information about times and locations—starting point SV Middle School, Scotts Valley.

SUNDAY 9/22

**9 AM-1 PM** Live Oak Farmers' Market. At the East Cliff Shopping Center, 1515 East Cliff Dr., Live Oak.

MONDAY-FRIDAY

**1 PM** Democracy Now! with Amy Goodman. FRSC 96.3 FM.

**5:00 PM** Free Speech Radio News. FRSC 96.3 FM.

**5:30 PM** Earth First! Radio. FRSC 96.3 FM.

**Tuesdays & Wednesdays 3-6:15 PM** Free HIV testing at the Drop-In Center, 412 Front St., SC.

**Every weekend** Tidepool Explorations. Join a Docent Naturalist and discover the amazing plants and animals that make their home in the intertidal habitat. Event held at Natural Bridges State Park, times vary. Call for details 423-4609.

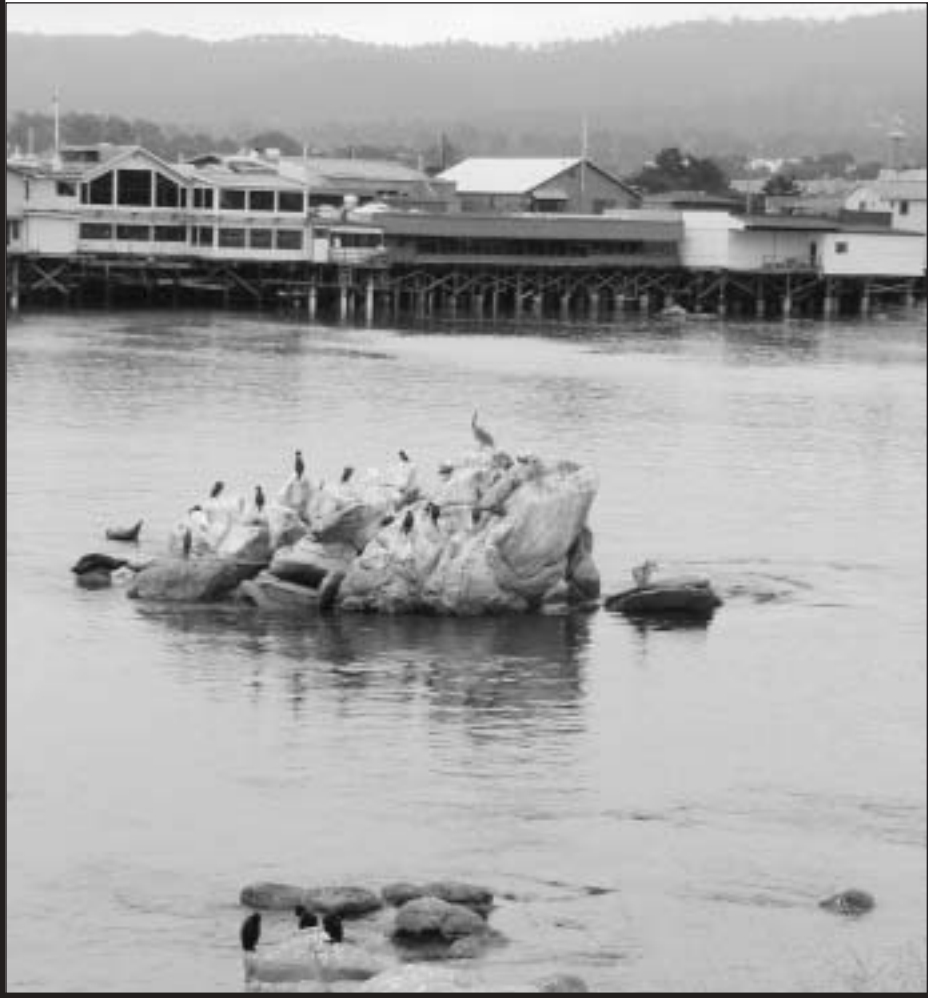
Announcements:

There's a brand new website in town called [www.santacruzbarter.com](http://www.santacruzbarter.com) It's a place where you can trade any item or service you have for something that you want. Santa Cruz Barter is offering a free three-month membership for posting your ad. You'll get something for free and you'll be helping a local dot-com get started. Go to [www.santacruzbarter.com](http://www.santacruzbarter.com) and click on "Register."

Recycle your computer! A local teacher is coordinating the placement of unused or unwanted computers in the homes of students who could use them for homework. Call 684-2627 if you have a spare computer.

Local Happenings

Learn about "How Politics Formed the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary." A lecture with Dan Haifley and William Duros. Thursday 9/19 at 7 PM. *See listing for details.*





# Wholly Cross-Words

## By Oliver Brown

Across

1

Native tribe

5

Butters onto a bagel quickly

10

Defendant's answer

14

50th State dance

15

Prototype program

16

They're sometimes electric

17

Addict

18

Plenty (as in evidence)

19

Undertaking

20

"Ram's Head White Hollyhock" painter

23

Atom type

24

Too

25

Divvy up

28

Go-Gos label

30

Pyramids

34

In the neighborhood

35

X singer

36

Felt hat

37

John Goodman role in "Rose-anne"

38

Intro to Feminism and Biology 101

40

Grain

41

Third-party trust

43

Native tribe

44

Group of young women

45

Cut off hair

46

Some

47

Overthrow of the cut-off man

48

Droops

50

Walk all over

51

Fugitive Slave Law response

58

On a cruise

59

Ruth's uniform number

60

Bird suffering extinction in the 17th century

61

False god

62

Julianne Moore role in *Boogie Nights* (1997)

63

Family chart

64

No \_\_\_\_ land

65

Multiple operations done concurrently

66

Mend

Down

1

Train sound

2

Trick

3

Margarine

4

Soldier

5

Picasso's country of origin

6

Isabel Allende's city of origin

7

Dog food

8

Beer Barrel and Liechtensteiner

9

"Your brains, Fezzik's strength, my \_\_\_\_\_,"—Inigo Montoya in *The Princess Bride* (1987)

10

Iams

11

Table lengthener

12

Otherwise

13

Inquire

21

Fetchd

22

*The Hundred Dresses* author

25

South American mountain range

26

Bridle

27

Eric Stoltz role in *Pulp Fiction* (1994)

28

Promissory note

29

Fred Berry role in "What's Happening!!" (1976)

31

Cow

32

"Inside the Actors Studio" TV channel

33

Woodland goat-man

35

*Wall Street Journal* founder

36

Service charge

38

Pinkish-orange

39

Dive

42

Spanky and Alfalfa

44

Extent

46

Respiratory disorder

47

Keyboard key

49

Move closer to an idea (2 words)

50

Computer workers

51

Producer of *Hemp for Victory* (1942)

52

"The only monster here is the gambling monster that has enslaved your mother! I call him Gamblor, and it's time to snatch your mother from his \_\_\_\_ claws!"—Homer Simpson

53

Planets

54

Earth inheritors

55

Talk his ear off

56

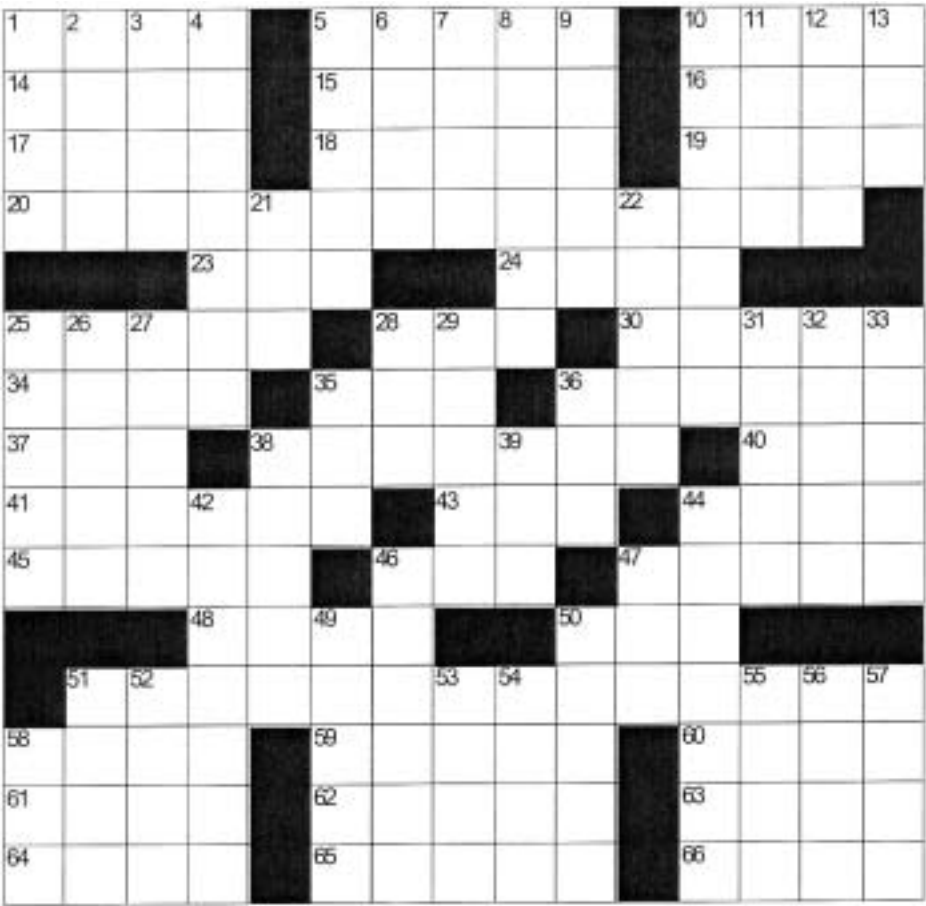
Concept

57

Christmas in Haiti

58

Toothpaste



Puzzle #012



Answers from last puzzle (# 011)

Kiva's

New Management Specials

(offers expire 9/21/02)

Monthly Membership

\$80 (reg. \$105)

(w/ this ad)

Yoga Schedule starting July 1st (check for times)

Local Special Day Pass

\$12 (reg. \$16)

(w/ this ad • Mon – Thurs Only)

Communal Gardens

Sauna – Hot Tubs – Cold Plunge

Private Redwood Hot Tubs – Professional Massage

Spa Room Coming Soon!

KIVA

Retreat House Since 1981

Mon-Thur 12pm - 11pm • Fri-Sat 12pm - 12am

Sun 9am - 1:30pm Women's Morning • 1:30pm - 11pm Co-ed

702 Water Street – Santa Cruz – 429-1142

Check out our new website • [www.kivaretreat.com](http://www.kivaretreat.com)

No Bosses

No Borders

Just Magick.

The Sacred Grove

(Books, Ritual Tools & Supplies, Classes, Services, Reference Library, Loitering/Study Area...)

924 Soquel Ave. In Santa Cruz, a couple blocks East of Branciforte

(831) 423-1949 <http://www.the-sacredgrove.com>

We're open on Mondays 11am-6pm, Tuesday-Sunday 11am-9pm



Classifieds

To place a listing email us at  
*classifieds@the-alarm.com*  
or fill out this form and send it to:  
P.O. Box 1205  
Santa Cruz, CA  
95061

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Email:

Text:

Section listings:

☐ for sale/for grabs/for trade

☐ services offered

☐ work opportunities

☐ musicians and artists

☐ lost and found

☐ pets

☐ housing

☐ garage sales

☐ seeking...

☐ personally

Classified rates

\$2.50/line Standard display  
\$20/inch Display classifieds  
(we charge an additional  
one-time fee of 35% for ads  
that require design work).


To place an ad call 429-  
NEWS between 9 a.m. and  
5 p.m. Monday, Tuesday  
or Thursday. Ads received  
after the classified section  
is full will be held for the  
next issue.

Users' guide for  
personal ads

To place a personal ad,  
email:  
p e r s o n a l s @ t h e -  
alarm.com  
or send the form on the  
left completed to:  
P.O. Box 1205  
Santa Cruz, CA 95061

To reply to a personal  
ad, email:  
p e r s o n a l s @ t h e -  
alarm.com. Specify  
which listing you are  
responding to by includ-  
ing the number you  
see at the beginning of  
the ad and placing it in  
subject heading of  
your message. All  
responses will be  
forwarded.

Personals cost  
\$2.50/line.  
Good Luck!



For sale/grabs/trade

For sale/trade: Canon Hi-8  
video camera. Great condition  
w/ tapes. Price negotiable. Call  
457-2553.

Black and Decker Panel saw.  
\$75.00 obo. Call 425-2727

Personals

You asked for it...so here  
they are—real personals for  
real people. See the previous  
column for info on how to re-  
spond and place an ad. YOU  
WON'T NECESSARILY FIND  
A DATE, BUT YOU WILL GET  
A LAUGH!

08230201 I never want to  
grow up! I'm Peter Pan! Be my  
Wendy! Must be into juggling,  
Japanese punk rock, Kali Mo-  
cho and neck beards.

08230204 Elvis lips! Hot wax!  
Crayola Fetish! I'm a sassy  
newsie looking for a companion  
to pour my cider while I sit on  
the stoop.

08230206 Jack-guzzling, cam-  
el-smoking, sensitive Emo man-  
child seeks similarly-wounded  
stylish, cute girl for leftist poli-  
tics, debauchery and discus-  
sions of Hot Water music lyrics.  
Black hoodie a must, fishnet  
stockings a plus. Does your  
soul cry out in the dark? Mine  
does too. Let's bleed together  
and make it a double.

08230208 I SAW YOU: you red-  
haired vixen working at Capitola  
books. Putting away the Spe-  
cial Edition Life magazine you  
dropped a copy, I tried to pick  
it up for you and you smirked.  
Me: short, dark hair giggling.  
You, a goddess holding my  
heart in your hand on a Monday  
afternoon.

08230210: I like editing and I  
like my cats. I know my history  
and I want to get to know yours.  
Want to go for a walk on the  
secret staircases... I won't tell if  
you don't.

09060201: I saw you on Pacific  
Ave. You: blond dreads scoot-  
ing along on your electric blue  
razor. Me: punk with torn Car-  
hart jeans, screaming that you  
almost ran me over. I was mad  
then—I am curious now.

09060202: We worship the  
white unicorn. The majesty and  
magic. Do you feel the same  
way? Meet by the duck pond in  
San Lorenzo Park on Sunday at  
dusk if you want to be initiated.  
You will know us when you  
see us.

09060203: You: the man with  
all the cheese knowledge at  
New Leaf on Mission. Me:  
distressed over upcoming wine  
and cheese party. Your drunken  
goat was amazing. Contact me.

09060204: Over Labor Day  
weekend you were on your way  
out as I was on my way in. You  
left the apartment fairly clean  
except for your stash of porn  
under the kitchen sink... want  
it back?

09060205: I was on the 71 on  
9/3, you were wearing a white  
weight belt and had a bag full  
of t-shirts. If you are reading  
you need to JUST STOP IT.  
You spent the whole ride pick-  
ing your nose. Remember you  
share the bus with others!

09060206: I know all the words  
to "Like a Virgin" I even have  
a country version of it on vinyl.  
want to come over for a "lip  
sync?"

09060207: Together we can  
paint the town red. Me: expe-  
rienced, dark hair and tanned.  
You: wild and adventurous  
looking for a experience of a  
lifetime.

09060208: Lonely, depressed  
man looking for a short woman.

09060209: At the bike church. I  
had a beach cruiser with a bro-  
ken chain and you put it back  
on with a smile. What a swell  
place. Let's go out for a chai!

09060210: Grumpy coffee  
shop worker looking for others  
to start a support group . Sick  
of asking if they "want room for  
cream?" Me too, let's talk.

09060211: Classes are  
back in session. I need a  
study buddy for human  
sexuality...interested?

09060212: I went to the Box,  
you weren't there. I looked for  
the bat wings & weaved alone.

Work Opportunities

*The Alarm!*  
*Newspaper* seeks  
contributors. We  
are looking for bi-  
lingual applicants  
with strong writ-  
ing and editing  
skills. Please send  
a letter of interest  
and writing sam-  
ples to: P.O. Box  
1205, Santa Cruz,  
CA 95061.

*El colectivo de  
El Periódico La  
Alarma!*  
busca colabora-  
dores. Aceptamos  
aplicaciones de as-  
pirantes bilingues  
con habilidad para  
escribir y editar  
artículos. Favor  
de mandar una  
carta de interés y  
ejemplos de sus  
escritos a: P.O.  
Box 1205, Santa  
Cruz, CA 95061.

To subscribe to the Alarm!

Fill out the following form and send it to:  
P.O. Box 1205  
Santa Cruz, CA 95061  
or email:  
[www.the-alarm.com/subscribe.html](http://www.the-alarm.com/subscribe.html)

Billing Information	Recipient's Information
Name:	Name:
Address:	Address <sup>†</sup> :
Phone:	<input type="checkbox"/> Prisoner <sup>‡</sup>
Email:	Note: _____
Best way to contact you: <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> US Post <input type="checkbox"/> Phone <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____	

Length of Subscription: ☐ 1 year (\$30) ☐ 9 months (\$23) ☐ 6 months (\$17) ☐ 3 months (\$9)  
Additional donation\*: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\* We are operating on very tight budget, so please consider a donation if you can afford it to help keep us afloat. If you would like to earmark your donation to a specific purpose (for instance, to subsidize a prisoner's free subscription), please indicate this in the "note" area.  
‡ Subscriptions are free to prisoners. If you are a prisoner—or a prisoner's advocate ordering a subscription for a prisoner—please check the "Prisoner" box and you will not be billed. If you want to *buy* a subscription as a gift to a prisoner, please do not check the "Prisoner" box.  
† Subscription costs will be higher for subscriptions outside of the US. Contact us for details:

[www.the-alarm.com](http://www.the-alarm.com)

831-429-NEWS



One year ago, 2,998 lives were taken by extremists with no regard for human life or liberty.

**A**nd in the months since, we survivors have seen our lives taken too, piece by piece. A nation of millions, held hostage by terrorists! We look on in horror as they send Anthrax through our mail, tap our phones, fill our airports with armed gunmen, spread invisible webs of informers throughout our ranks.

No one knows where it will stop. The War on Terrorism is turning out to be as effective as the War on Drugs: it may not do much against terrorism, but it sure does a lot for war.

And you know where terrorists come from, don't you? They are the orphaned children who grow up where the last generation's bombs fell. Terrorism is the small-town startup company, war the multinational franchise that puts it out of business—but depends on others coming along to keep the market fresh and maintain the illusion of competition.

"Either you're with us, or you're against us." So speak both the terrorists and the ministers of war. They need each other, rely on each other to complete the protection racket; that's why the C.I.A. funds and trains and provokes the terrorists, and the terrorists aim for *us*, not the government whose haphazard bombings and self-serving policies maintain their bases of support. Without each other, neither would have a way to justify their existence.

But as the initial wave of hysteria wears off, many of us are questioning whether we *are* with them. How many of us voted for our current commander-in-chief—not many, with millions in prison unable to participate, millions more abstaining, and the other candidates receiving a majority of the votes counted! If we set out to address the tragedies of this world ourselves, employing compassion and engagement instead of bombs, where would the support come from to keep the terrorists armed and housed? Taking matters into our own hands, we could put the warlords and terrorists out of business at once, and save all our lives in the process—something no amount of force can do for us.

*By the end of December 2001, civilian casualties in Afghanistan far exceeded casualties in Manhattan on September 11 [BBC News, January 3, 2002], while Osama bin Laden remained at large—as he still does. One can be sure that every relative, friend, and neighbor of the Afghan innocent dead is now more sympathetic to the terrorists, rather than less.*



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# When will it end?