

new indicator

Published at UCSD
By the n.i. collective

February 2003
36th Year of Publication

The Colombia Plan

Through the 1990s, Colombia was the leading recipient of U.S. military aid in Latin America

by Noam Chomsky

In 1999, Colombia became the leading recipient of U.S. military and police assistance, replacing Turkey (Israel and Egypt are in a separate category). The figure is scheduled to increase sharply with the anticipated passage of Clinton's Colombia Plan, a \$1.6 billion "emergency aid" package for two years. Through the 1990s, Colombia has been the leading recipient of U.S. military aid in Latin America, and has also compiled the worst human rights record, in conformity with a well-established correlation.

We can often learn from systematic patterns, so let us focus for a moment on the previous champion, Turkey. As a major U.S. military ally and strategic outpost, Turkey has received substantial military aid from the origins of the Cold War. But arms deliveries began to increase sharply in 1984 with no Cold War connection at all. Rather, that was the year when Turkey initiated a large-scale counterinsurgency campaign in the Kurdish southeast, which also is the site of major U.S. air bases and the locus of regional surveillance, so that everything that happens there is well



U.S. Special Forces trainers in eastern Colombia in 2003

known in Washington. Arms deliveries peaked in 1997, exceeding the total from the entire period 1950-1983. U.S. arms amounted to about 80 percent of Turkish military equipment, including heavy armaments (jet planes, tanks, etc.).

By 1999, Turkey had largely suppressed Kurdish resistance by terror and ethnic cleansing, leaving some 2-3 million refugees, 3,500 villages destroyed

continued on page 4

Ché Café Collective and BURN! under attack again...

UCSD Administration renews old charges of supporting terrorists on BURN! (burn.ucsd.edu)

After a whole three months without attacking the Che, Burn!, or free speech on campus (a new record), the UCSD administration sent a letter to the Ché Café on Jan. 23rd, 2003 informing members of the collective that "the Che Café, in operation of the computer web server located at burn.ucsd.edu is hosting the web site of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is a U.S. Department of State Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization". Individual members of the Ché Café Collective received letters that said, "you have been identified in connection with an incident of alleged misconduct at UCSD..." Previously, Nick Aguilar, Director, Student Policies and Judicial Affairs, wrote, "I appreciate your confirmation, per your above referenced letter, that the Che Cafe collective is not hosting a web site of the FARC, PKK, or any other U.S. State Department designated Foreign Terrorist [sic] Organizations, "FTO". Thank you for that confirmation." This was after the same charges being made currently had been made before (see letters fig. 1-3). The correspondence and letters show that the University changes its position constantly. The real question to ask is why does the administration keep levying these absurd charges? There are a few possible answers to this question.

First of all, the timing of this new attack is suspect. When looking at world events one quickly notices that Turkey has become a key point in US foreign policy towards the war in Iraq. Even though

the website in question gives only old information (it was last updated in 1999), it does represent a group who advocates against the brutal government in Turkey. The PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) is listed by the U.S. State department as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) but it has been active in denouncing the Turkish government and the treatment of the Kurds in Turkey. Interestingly enough, the Kurdish issue has become important very recently to the U.S. and Turkey, as the U.S. attempts to convince Turkey to allow massive troop movement in Turkey, especially in regions that are heavily Kurdish. BURN! is one of the few English language translations of many historical documents about the PKK.

Second, the administration's attacks on the co-ops, burn.ucsd.edu and progressive groups in general, has been constant. The co-ops and burn.ucsd.edu, seek to provide a valuable service to this campus as alternative sources information and resources. Unfortunately, the university does not like its policies questioned which is part of the rich history of the co-ops. Constantly attacking progressive organizations keeps them responding to the attacks, which, in turn, wastes their time. This has the two effects of limiting other things that they can do while making it harder to meet the necessary bureaucratic requirements of the university.

Lastly, it must be realized that the

continued on page 3

Turkey's war on the Kurds

Press Statement by KADEK

(Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress)

FOR THE ATTENTION OF PUBLIC
OPINION

Propaganda for full scale war has been launched in the Middle East, the consequences of which will be difficult to foresee. The US-led military intervention in Iraq with seems unavoidable and this will lead to struggles in other countries within the region. The Middle East has suffered many wars during the 20th century and is beginning with war in the 21st century as well. It seems likely that the existing struggle between Israel and the Palestinians will be exacerbated to further increase the instability within the region. The policies followed by the Israeli government are inciting war and instability. The Israelis are insisting on war instead of peace and seeking advantage from the intervention in Iraq. The same is the case with Turkey as it shows its readiness to fight against the Kurdish people both in Southern and Northern Kurdistan. Turkey is intending to use the intervention on Iraq for putting an end to the Kurdish people's fight of freedom, which would provoke an uncontrollable large war. Today Turkey is preparing for war. Although KADEK has declared that President Abdullah Ocalan is the guarantor of peace, severe isolation is imposed upon him, which is proving to be an intention of war. His lawyers and family members have been repeatedly prevented from visiting him for ten weeks now. What is sought through the imposition of the severe isolation conditions is to incite the Kurdish people to fight of freedom despite the democratic intentions of the Kurdish people.

Another sign of warmongering is the

operation of the Turkish army being carried out against the armed guerrilla forces (People's Defence Forces/Halk Savunma Kuvvetleri) that have adopted a defensive position. The operations against the guerrillas have increased latterly with the rising debate about the coming intervention in Iraq. More importantly, the attempts to find a political solution to the in problems of the Kurdish people are obstructed. In the general elections held on 3 November 2002, DEHAP, which is the political party most representative of the wishes of the Kurdish people, was obstructed from achieving representation in Turkey's National Assembly by the an orchestrated campaign of deceptions that included such abuses as incorrect voters' lists, pressure on open voting, threats to those voting for DEHAP, the invalidating of many votes of DEHAP. Furthermore, the political activities of the Kurdish people are subjected to prohibitions and pressures.

Another important war aim of Turkey is to take prevent any gains that the Kurdish people could achieve as a result of the intervention in Iraq. Turkey has been transferring a huge contingent of its army to Kurdistan for the last one and half months. On the one hand the parts of Kurdistan that are under Turkey's control are exposed to a strengthened of the forces, while on the other hand a Turkish armed force of around 100 thousand is waiting for an order to seize South Kurdistan that is under the control of Iraq. As understood from what was announced by the state authorities, it seems sure that

continued on page 9

inside

War on Iraq—It's about more than oil.....p.2

"Welcome to UCSD...".....p.4
Everything is fucked.

The Antiwar Movement & the American Flag.....p.2

Who's Fighting the Good Fight?.....p.8
CounterPunch Names Project YANO One of Its "Magnificent Ten"

"Beyond Vietnam".....p.12
Address delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, at Riverside Church April 4th 1967, New York City

A Moment of Silence, Before I Start this Poem.....p.12
A poem of sorts by Emmanuel Ortiz

the centerfold.....p.6-7
a lovely little collection of photos & numbers from February 15th



War on Iraq—It's about more than oil

by Sean O'Torain
Labor's Militant Voice

It is not correct to talk about the coming war in Iraq as a war for oil. In fact, it is dangerous to do so. To do so is to seriously underestimate the ambition of the wing of US capitalism which is presently in charge in the Whitehouse. Of course oil is part of it. US capitalism is determined to have control over the finite oil resources of the world. But to think this is all, or even the most important part of the coming war then we are not seeing what US capitalism has in mind if we make this mistake, we underestimate what is at stake for our opponents and the forces that they will bring to bear against any serious challenge.

It helps if we look back at the evolution of the thinking of the dominant sections of US capitalism over the past decade and more. Consider the fierce opposition of these elements to Clinton when he was in power. This had nothing to do with Clinton's sex life. US capitalism, corrupt from top to bottom, is not concerned with such things. It was a much more central issue for these powers. US capitalism at the time was increasingly realizing the extent of its military, economic and technological dominance worldwide but Clinton meanwhile was carrying on watching the opinion polls at home to make sure he was still popular, dallying in the White house, cultivating the existing cooperative relations he had with other powers, and seeking every way to avoid foreign military engagement. What was increasingly at issue here for US capitalism was that Clinton was refusing to lead decisively in order to take advantage of the situation that existed and increase US capitalism's domination world wide.

Of course Clinton carried out the policies of the corporations, defending US capitalism's interests through out the world. He defended capital, capital markets, and attacked labor, especially through the so called reform of welfare etc. But they never trusted him. Not only would he not lead decisively, but they knew that within him lurked the soul of a liberal. A liberal who thought that with little reforms here and there, he could make capitalism work better than the capitalists could themselves. And as a result, go down in history as a great leader. For example, after the collapse of stalinism, as the corporations were just gaining momentum in their offensive to privatize everything, Clinton was actually talking about increasing the role of government in the economy with his proposals for the health care system. Although they slapped him down and defeated him on this issue, they never trusted this liberal in the Whitehouse. On top of this, they saw the opportunity to increase their dominance being wasted.

But it was not Clinton who was in power in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of stalinism or the last Gulf War. It was the previous Bush regime that was in the Whitehouse. It was the previous Bush regime which left Hussein in power. What explains this regimes actions at that time? The truth is that US capitalism did not fully see the opportunities that were opening to it at that time. It was still trying to see what was what as the world changed and the dust settled. It's dominant thinking was to see that no major catastrophe developed such as a nuclear accident or exchange, that its existing interests and some sort of order were protected and preserved and that no major regional powers developed to fill the vacuum that was left by the collapse of Stalinism.

The Gulf War and the war against Serbia were both fought to stop stronger regional powers from developing and to warn the rest of the world that the US would decide who would fill the post stalinist world vacuum. The former Bush in the Whitehouse talked about a "new world order" but in reality his regime could not see much further than stabilizing the situation after the collapse of the stalinist regimes, protecting existing US interests and preventing any new powers from expanding into the void. What has to be understood with all its implications is that this new Bush in the Whitehouse and the section of US capitalism that he represents have a much different world view today. US capitalism is increasingly coming to see the world in a much more ambitious manner. US capitalism believes that there is no force in the world that can stand in its way. And increasing sections are now concluding that this is the time for it to step out and consolidate its victory over stalinism, to enforce its will on its other Imperialist rivals, to increase its exploitation of the former colonial countries and to take back all the concessions it was forced to make to its own working class and the working class internationally. In other words to rule the world to an extent it never did before and to an extent never done by any other power before. This is the thinking that now controls the Whitehouse.

US capitalism is pursuing its greatest ever offensive. The present Bush regime is bent on nothing less than total world domination. "Full spectrum domination" as they now say. Out of the immediate conflict it wants 75,000 troops in Iraq permanently and a puppet regime there, it wants to keep its forces in Afghanistan with its puppet regime there and it wants military bases extended and built and made permanent in every area of the middle eastern and central Asian regions and the world. China is a big one that they have to be careful about but they will see what happens, presently they are surrounding it with bases, anyway they cannot be paralyzed from acting now by trying to see every "detail" in advance. The coming war in Iraq is about world domination by US capitalism to a degree that has never been achieved by any power before.

Over the past decade or so the idea of globalization has been pursued. Basically it means that capital and especially US capital can go where it likes and do what it likes. It means that all the world's resources including its markets and its labor are to be available to US capital unhindered by any local rules or traditions or by any concessions won by the working class. Globalization means US capital rules and that all resources must be "liberated" from all restraints and made available to US capital. Of course all capital is seen as getting greater access and freedom but the one that counts, the one that is driving this is US capital.

Part of this process is the driving down the cost and conditions of labor through competition and repression. This is not only about territorial control, access to resources and domination over its rivals, this is also about cutting to starvation levels the cost of labor and putting the working class back into the position it was 100 years ago and more. The world's working class is to be put under the total control of capital again and all the gains and rights it has won are to be taken away. US workers would be making a bad mistake if they thought that this drive for total world domination is not also directed at it. In fact the US working class is one of its main targets. Freeing US capital to go

where it likes and do what it likes has as one of its objectives to reduce the high cost and conditions of US labor to the level of those of the lowest and least protected and environmentally most polluted labor in the world. Under US capitalism's present offensive US labor's fall would be greater than that of just about any working class in the world.

Worldwide counter revolution in the form of US capitalism's world domination. This is what is unfolding. The coming Iraq war has to be seen as part of this process. It is not a simple issue of gaining control of more oil resources. It is about absolute control over the world.

An article in the Wall Street Journal of January 29th, 2003, confirms this general analysis even if it has to use words like "liberation" to hide what US capitalism is seeking to impose on the rest of the world. The article is jointly written by Lawrence Kaplan of the New Republic and William Kristol of the Weekly Standard. These two extreme right wingers confirm the general thrust of our analysis. The heading of the article is "Neither a Realist, Nor a Liberal, W (that is how they refer to the Bush presently in the Whitehouse) is a Liberator." I will return to this word liberator later.

These two right wingers whose views now coincide with the majority of the Whitehouse regime write about the thinking of US capitalism during the period of the previous war against Iraq: "The men who decided on the aims of the Gulf War were self declared 'realists' who believed that foreign policy should be grounded in vital interests - oil wells, strategic choke-points, and most of all regional stability. Their preference for order over liberty extended even to the Soviet Union, where national security advisor Brent Scowcroft found it 'painful to watch Yeltsin rip the Soviet Union brick by brick away from Gorbachev'. In China the Bush team reacted to the massacre in Tiananmen Square by excusing the communist regime in Beijing. And in the former Yugoslavia, the president justified American inaction by likening the bloodshed to a 'hiccup'. It was in Iraq however, that the Bush teams foreign policy philosophy manifested itself most clearly. Once Kuwait was liberated the Bush team redirected its energies to ensuring Iraqi 'stability' - even if it had to be enforced by Saddam Hussein."

The two writers go on to look at the eight years of the Clinton presidency: Their critique is critical. "Bill Clinton's Iraq policy reflected very different assumptions about America's role in the world. By the time he entered office, the reflexive suspicion of American power that had plagued the Democratic Party after Vietnam had receded along with the threat of communism. But the 'come home America' sensibility it had encouraged still lingered. As Peter Tarnoff, President Clinton's undersecretary of state for policy explained in 1993, 'we simply don't have the leverage, we don't have the influence, we don't have the inclination to use military forces.' When Mr. Clinton's focus did wander abroad, the result was a world view that reduced a complex and dangerous world environment to a simple narrative of material progress and moral improvement. Thus he famously gave state sponsors of terrorism a linguistic cleansing, changing their official title from 'rogue states' to 'states of concern'.

Kaplan and Kristol then go on to compare the "realists" of the previous Gulf War Bush regime and the "liberals" as they call them of the Clinton era. They write: "Realists and Liberals approach the world from different directions, but when

continued on page 8

the new indicator

copy which is printed without a byline may be assumed to represent the position of the new indicator collective.

articles and letters are welcomed. please type them and send them to: ni@libertad.ucsd.edu or to: new indicator collective B-023C Student Center La Jolla, CA 92093

the views expressed in this publication are solely those of the new indicator collective, while the publisher of this publication is recognized as a campus student organization at the university of california, san diego, the views expressed in its publication do not represent those of asucsd, the university of california, the regents, their officers, or employees, each publication bears the full legal responsibility for its content.

Within ten academic days from the date of this notice, 1/23/2003, accused student must schedule a meeting with Carmen Vazquez at (858) 534-4378
Date notice sent: 1/23/2003

Verbatim copying and distribution of this entire paper or any entire article within is permitted (and encouraged) in any medium, provided this notice is preserved.

This information is free; you can redistribute it and/or modify it under the terms of the GNU General Public License as published by the Free Software Foundation; either version 2 of the License, or (at your option) any later version.

This work is distributed in the hope that it will be useful, but WITHOUT ANY WARRANTY; without even the implied warranty of MERCHANTABILITY or FITNESS FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE. See the GNU General Public License for more details.

For a copy of the GNU General Public License write to the Free Software Foundation, Inc., 675 Mass Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA.

Copyright © 2002 new indicator collective

Verbatim copying and distribution of this entire paper or any entire article within is permitted (and encouraged) in any medium, provided this notice is preserved.

This information is free; you can redistribute it and/or modify it under the terms of the GNU General Public License as published by the Free Software Foundation; either version 2 of the License, or (at your option) any later version.

This work is distributed in the hope that it will be useful, but WITHOUT ANY WARRANTY; without even the implied warranty of MERCHANTABILITY or FITNESS FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE. See the GNU General Public License for more details.

For a copy of the GNU General Public License write to the Free Software Foundation, Inc., 675 Mass Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA.

Copyright © 2002 new indicator collective

Verbatim copying and distribution of this entire paper or any entire article within is permitted (and encouraged) in any medium, provided this notice is preserved.

This information is free; you can redistribute it and/or modify it under the terms of the GNU General Public License as published by the Free Software Foundation; either version 2 of the License, or (at your option) any later version.

This work is distributed in the hope that it will be useful, but WITHOUT ANY WARRANTY; without even the implied warranty of MERCHANTABILITY or FITNESS FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE. See the GNU General Public License for more details.

For a copy of the GNU General Public License write to the Free Software Foundation, Inc., 675 Mass Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA.

BURN!

continued from page 1

University of California is a very important institution to

our government. Weapons of mass destruction for the use of Washington are developed here. Foreign policy is created here. Research is funded primarily by the military, with corporate

interests right behind. If we are concerned about the state of a government that can go to war unilaterally against the will of the world and has the power to do so, we should not be blinded

into thinking that it is the fault of one George W. Bush. It has much more to do with right here. When seen in this light, it is easy to understand why the university attacks projects

like burn.ucsd.edu and the Ché Café. It is because they exist to challenge this insanity put out under the name of the American people.

Figure 1. Misconduct Incident Notice

Misconduct Incident Notice University of California, San Diego
Confidential student record. Handle per UCSD FPM 160-2
Student Name: Che Cafe ID #: 136 Phone: 858.534.2311
Address: PO Box 948434 San Diego, CA 92037 P.O. Box: E-mail: che@che.ucsd.edu
Summary of Alleged Misconduct:
It is alleged that the Che Cafe, in operation of the computer web server located at burn.ucsd.edu is hosting the web site of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is a U.S. Department of State Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization.
Incident #: 1247 Date: 1/10/2003 Time: 2:28 PM Location: UCSD Campus Computer Network: Burn.ucsd.edu
Summary of Evidence:
Complaint letter, Web page printouts.
UCSD Regulation(s) accused of violating:
22.14.10.14 Computing Abuse: Theft or other abuse of UCSD/University computing facilities or computer time, including but not limited to any violation of the Academic Computing Services (ACS) acceptable use policy, unauthorized entry into a file to use, read, or change the contents or any other purpose, unauthorized transfer of a file, unauthorized use of another individual's identification or password, use of computing facilities to interfere with the work of another student, faculty member, or campus or University official, use of computing facilities to interfere with a campus or University computing system.
Staff Member preparing allegations: Tommy Agre Student Conduct Coordinator, SPJA
Signature: [Signature] Date: 1/23/03
Incident notice and Essential Information document sent to the accused student by: (staff member) via Mail
Within ten academic days from the date of this notice, 1/23/2003, accused student must schedule a meeting with Carmen Vazquez at (858) 534-4378
Date notice sent: 1/23/2003

Figure 2. October 23rd Letter from Nick Aguilar

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO UCSD
BARKLEY - DAVIS - BYVNE - LOS ANGELES - RIVERSIDE - SAN DIEGO - SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA - SANTA CRUZ
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE STUDENT POLICIES & JUDICIAL AFFAIRS STUDENT CENTER BUILDING B 9500 GILMAN DRIVE, DEPT. 0129 LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92093-0129 (858) 534-6225
October 23, 2002
Che Cafe Collective
9500 Gilman Drive
Student Center 0323-C
La Jolla, CA 92093
Re: Your letter dated October 14, 2002 to Nick Aguilar regarding a complaint alleged hosting web sites of foreign terrorist organization on the burn.ucsd.edu web site.
Dear [Redacted]
I appreciate your confirmation, per your above referenced letter, that the Che Cafe collective is not hosting the web sites of the FARC, PKK, or any other U.S. State Department designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations, "FTO". Thank you for that confirmation.
You also ask for further clarification regarding the legal implications on the use of UCSD computer resources in connection with redirecting or hosting activities in support of an FTO. In that regard, we would consider as unacceptable the use of UCSD computer resources for the business of housing, serving, and maintaining files for any FTO web site.
With respect to the points raised in your letter regarding the applicability of the MOU to the complaint that prompted this correspondence regarding this incident, please refer to my letter dated October 7, 2002 for UCSD's authority to act on complaints of alleged violations of Federal laws. Additionally, unless you receive a notice of charges from the UCSD Student Conduct Coordinator, you may assume that UCSD will take no further action on this matter.
Page 1 of 2

Page 2 of 2

Thank you for your timely and cooperative response in this matter.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Nicholas S. Aguilar, Director
Student Policies and Judicial Affairs

cc: Richard C. Atkinson, UC President
Robert C. Dynes, UCSD Chancellor
Joseph W. Watson, Vice Chancellor Student Affairs
Carmen Vazquez, Assistant Vice Chancellor Campus Life
Gary Ratcliff, Director University Centers
Marcia Strong, Assistant Director, Student Organizations and Leadership Office

NSA: ms

Figure 3. October 7th Letter from Nick Aguilar

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO UCSD
BARKLEY - DAVIS - BYVNE - LOS ANGELES - RIVERSIDE - SAN DIEGO - SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA - SANTA CRUZ
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE STUDENT POLICIES & JUDICIAL AFFAIRS STUDENT CENTER BUILDING B 9500 GILMAN DRIVE, DEPT. 0129 LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92093-0129 (858) 534-6225
October 7, 2002
Che Cafe Collective
9500 Gilman Drive
Student Center 0323-C
La Jolla, CA 92093
Re: Your letter dated September 20, 2002 to Gary Ratcliff responding to the email dated Tuesday, September 17, 2002 sent at 17:52:51 and the September 16 letter from University Center Director Ratcliff regarding the FARC web site hosted on burn.ucsd.edu web site.
Dear [Redacted]
The above referenced letter addressed to Gary Ratcliff, University Centers Director, dated September 20, 2002 was referred to me for response. First, it is my understanding that the Che Cafe Collective has discontinued both the hosting and the redirecting activities of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia (FARC) web site by "BURN!" web site (BURN). Thank you for making this correction. However, it is my further understanding that BURN continues to provide hosting services at http://burn.ucsd.edu/~ats/PKK/pkk.html for another foreign terrorist organization known as the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Please discontinue the hosting and the redirecting activities for the PKK and for any and all other foreign terrorist organization on the current U.S. State Department foreign terrorist organizations (FTO) list.
In addition, the University of California, Office of the General Counsel has provided clarification of the University's responsibility with regard to links to an FTO web site using University computer resources. University attorneys advise that hosting or any form of redirection that results in an FTO web site with the "ucsd.edu" domain name is prohibited. Although the situation may change, the attorneys further advise that links to an FTO web site are not prohibited as long as the result is not an FTO web site that incorporates the "ucsd.edu" domain name in its address.
Page 1 of 2

October 7, 2002

Che Cafe Collective

I'm also taking this opportunity to respond to the statements in your above referenced letter regarding the applicability of the Memorandum of Understanding between UCSD and AS/GSA/Co-ops (MOU), Sections II, B and C and Section XXII. In that regard, please be advised that the September 16, 2002 letter was sent in response to a complaint processed outside of the MOU in accordance with applicable UCSD policies per Section I.IE of the MOU. That section states in relevant part, "Nothing in this agreement" shall affect the authority of the University as an owner of the facilities to comply with legal requirements (per Article 4, Section A.4.)... ** **Bolding of text was added for emphasis.** The complaint that prompted the 9/16/02 letter alleged that the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia) is on the U.S. State Department's list of foreign terrorist organizations. The complaint further alleged that this same terrorist organization has a web site that is hosted by the University of California San Diego (on the burn server).

In closing, although the above referenced September 16, 2002 letter was directive in tone, it does not replace the UCSD Student conduct Coordinator's official notice of alleged misconduct. That letter was sent to you as a precautionary alert while the Student Conduct Coordinator completes his assessment of the complaint. You will note that the letter deliberately avoids any implication that you should refrain from sponsoring, operating or hosting the BURN web site itself. The letter's content was limited solely to our legitimate and serious concern raised by the prospect of the illegal use of UCSD computer resources to aid a foreign terrorist organization.

Thank you for your timely and cooperative response in this matter.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Nicholas S. Aguilar, Director
Student Policies and Judicial Affairs

cc: Robert C. Dynes, Chancellor
Joseph W. Watson, Vice Chancellor Student Affairs
Carmen Vazquez, Assistant Vice Chancellor Campus Life
Gary Ratcliff, Director University Centers
Marcia Strong, Assistant Director, Student Organizations and Leadership Office

NSA: ms

Page 2 of 2

we're really really really sorry about printing all this, but it had to be done. it's a full page, we know.

"Welcome to UCSD..."

These words are usually followed by a speech about how while you will gain textbook knowledge and earn a degree here, the most important part of what you will get from your time at UCSD will be the social experience and what you learn from it. One would think that, with all of the lip service that UCSD pays to community and diversity, with all of the advisory committees and student surveys, with entire administrative departments devoted to student life, there would be a strong community and sense of belonging here.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. Despite all of the initiatives, committees, resolutions, surveys, and student dissatisfaction and complaints, the social atmosphere is still one of the most criticized elements of the UCSD experience. The lack of student interest in the UCSD community and the sense of apathy are constant themes in student criticism of UCSD. In 1997, the UCSD Campus Life Survey found that only 15% of students were satisfied with their social experience at UCSD (UCSD Campus Life Survey, 1997).

But really, you already know this. This is no news for UCSD students who live it every day. What is more interesting is to consider why it is this way.

First of all, it has not always been like this. Although you wouldn't know it from the campus tours or the sanitized histories most widely available

to students, UCSD students have a history of being one of the most active student bodies in America; from advocating the end to the Vietnam war, to starting the nations first Communications department, to creating programs of study such as ethnic studies. How many UCSD students have heard of George Winnie, who lit himself on fire and burned to death on the Revelle quad in protest against the Vietnam war? How many know who Herbert Marcuse and Angela Davis are? Marcuse is one of this century's most important leftist intellectuals and was a professor at UCSD; Angela Davis was a student of his and is known internationally as an activist and Black Panther. What about the student rallies year after year to keep Third College's name as Lumumba-Zapata College (named for Patrice Lumumba and Emiliano Zapata)? Third College was later renamed by the history-forgetting administration as Thurgood Marshall College, after the King family refused to let the university use "Martin Luther King" as a name for the college because students had contacted them and explained the administration's refusal to listen to the voices of students. Or how about the two times that students took over Interstate 5 and stopped traffic (the latest being in 1990 in protest of the Gulf War)? Students fought for and continue to fight for student run co-ops despite constant attacks by UCSD administration

and attempts to close them down. UCSD boasts some of the most unique co-ops at any university in the country. Does this sound like apathy to you? If all this is true, why are we so apathetic? Looking at it from another angle, there is much that has happened that would cause students to lose a sense of community and lapse into apathy. Apathy comes from the sense that one cannot affect the world around them or their community. At UCSD, the ability of students to influence their community and have some level of control over their education is highly limited. At the most basic level, the fast-paced quarter system and the need to finish a degree quickly mean that it is almost impossible for students to have free time without their studies suffering. Students are forced to finish their degree in 4-5 years by the high cost of education, bureaucratic rules about financial aid and state-imposed time limits. Only a decade ago, it was possible to take up to 7 or 8 years to finish a degree. With the quarter system, midterms are from 4th week to 6th week and finals during the 10th and 11th week three times a year. Compared to a semester system where students have midterms and finals only twice a year during the 8th and 9th week (for midterms) and 15th and 16th weeks (for finals), this quarter system is stressful and keeps students from pursuing much of anything beyond their studies. Next, think about the geog-

raphy of this campus. When UCSD first started in the mid 1960s, it consisted of what is now Revelle College. Since then, UCSD has expanded, adding on multiple "colleges". These colleges are supposed to provide students with more choice and diversity (favorite buzz words from orientation). In reality, the plan for UCSD was conceived in part by Ronald Reagan when he was governor of California in the 1960's as part of his strategy to quell student protest. The plan for UCSD's development was based on decentralizing everything to ensure that students felt alienated and did not have a central place to congregate, either to organize or to socialize. As UCSD has grown more and more decentralized, this effect has become more and more apparent.

Both the structure of physical space on campus and the structure of student time management contribute to this apathy. Any discussion of apathy at UCSD would be incomplete, however, without an analysis of what power students actually have to influence their community and shape their education. UCSD has many advisory committees, sub-committees, task forces, and other official ways of getting input. Many of these committees have one or more students who have been appointed to sit on them, but this does not even come close to constituting a meaningful student voice in decisions or real student control over our educational experience. The committees are limited to discussion about the specific task that has been assigned to them (a

decision that is never made with student input), so many student concerns are ignored because there is no "proper forum" for them. The committees are also advisory to either the Chancellor or one of his subordinates. This advisory status rarely becomes an issue because the jurisdiction of the committees are so limited that they usually do not go into undesired realms. When, however, one of these committees makes a decision that is against the wishes of the Chancellor (or whoever's committee is it), they are overridden without any recourse.

A good example of this is that in 1993, when the University Centers Board, a student board that controlled the University Center Fee (a self-assessed student fee) and oversaw the operations of the University Centers (paid for by that fee), made decisions that displeased the administration, Joe Watson, Vice Chancellor Student Affairs, "disestablished" the UCB. He created a new board, named it the University Centers Advisory Board, changed the composition of it to add various representatives from the administration and remove various student representatives, and selected members for it himself. Both the AS and GSA were against this and voted almost unanimously for a resolution condemning this act. Unfortunately, as students at UCSD know too well, they have no real say in anything at this university. No matter what the AS and GSA did, the administration just ignored them

humanitarians that it was necessary to bomb Yugoslavia 10 weeks later with the expectation, quickly fulfilled, that the consequence would be a sharp escalation of atrocities. The accompanying torrent of self-congratulation, which has few if any counterparts, heralded a "new era" in human affairs in which the "enlightened states" will selflessly dedicate themselves to the defense of human rights. Putting aside the actual facts about Kosovo, the performance was greatly facilitated by the silence or deceit about the participation of the same powers in comparable or worse atrocities at the very same time.

Returning to Colombia, prominent human rights activists continue to flee abroad under death threats, including now the courageous head of the Church-based human rights group Justice and Peace, Fr. Javier Giraldo, who has played an outstanding role in defending human rights. The AFL-CIO reports that several trade unionists are murdered every week, mostly by paramilitaries supported by the government security forces. Forced displacement in 1998 was 20 percent above 1997, and increased in 1999 in some regions according to Human Rights Watch. Colombia now has the largest displaced population in the world, after

continued on page 11

Colombia: from the front page

(7 times Kosovo under NATO bombs), and tens of thousands killed. A huge flow of arms from the Clinton administration was no longer needed to accomplish these objectives. Turkey can therefore be singled out for praise for its "positive experiences" in showing how "tough counterterrorism measures plus political dialogue with non-terrorist opposition groups" can overcome the plague of violence and atrocities, so we learn from the lead article in the New York Times on the State Department's "latest annual report describing the administration's efforts to combat terrorism."

Nevertheless, despite the great success achieved by some of the most extreme state terror of the 1990s, military operations continue while Kurds are still deprived of elementary rights. On April 1, 10,000 Turkish troops began new ground sweeps in the regions that had been most devastated by the U.S.-Turkish terror campaigns of the preceding years, also launching another offensive into northern Iraq to attack Kurdish guerrilla forces—in a no-fly zone where Kurds are protected by the U.S. airforce from the (temporarily) wrong oppressor. As these new campaigns were

beginning, Secretary of Defense William Cohen addressed the American-Turkish Council, a festive occasion with much laughter and applause, according to the government report. He praised Turkey for taking part in the humanitarian bombing of Yugoslavia, apparently without embarrassment, and announced that Turkey had been invited to join in co-production of the new Joint Strike Aircraft, just as it has been co-producing the F-16s that it used to such good effect in approved varieties of ethnic cleansing and atrocities within its own territory, as a loyal member of NATO.

In Colombia, however, the military armed and trained by the United States has not crushed domestic resistance, though it continues to produce its regular annual toll of atrocities. Each year, some 300,000 new refugees are driven from their homes, with a death toll of about 3,000 and many horrible massacres. The great majority of atrocities are attributed to the paramilitary forces that are closely linked to the military, as documented in detail once again in February 2000 by Human Rights Watch, and in April 2000 by a UN study which reported that the Colombian security forces that are to be greatly strengthened by the Colombia Plan maintain an intimate relationship with death-

squads, organize paramilitary forces, and either participate in their massacres directly or, by failing to take action, have "undoubtedly enabled the paramilitary groups to achieve their exterminating objectives." The Colombian Commission of Jurists reported in September 1999 that the rate of killings had increased by almost 20 percent over the preceding year, and that the proportion attributable to the paramilitaries had risen from 46 percent in 1995 to almost 80 percent in 1998, continuing through 1999. The Colombian government's Human Rights Ombudsman's Office (Defensoria del Pueblo) reported a 68 percent increase in massacres in the first half of 1999 as compared to the same period of 1998, reaching more than one a day, overwhelmingly attributed to paramilitaries.

We may recall that in the early months of 1999, while massacres were proceeding at over one a day in Colombia, there was also a large increase in atrocities (including many massacres) in East Timor carried out by Indonesian commandoes armed and trained by the U.S. In both cases, the conclusion drawn was exactly as in Turkey: support the killers. There was also one reported massacre in Kosovo, at Racak on January 15, the event that allegedly inspired such horror among Western

humanitarians that it was necessary to bomb Yugoslavia 10 weeks later with the expectation, quickly fulfilled, that the consequence would be a sharp escalation of atrocities. The accompanying torrent of self-congratulation, which has few if any counterparts, heralded a "new era" in human affairs in which the "enlightened states" will selflessly dedicate themselves to the defense of human rights. Putting aside the actual facts about Kosovo, the performance was greatly facilitated by the silence or deceit about the participation of the same powers in comparable or worse atrocities at the very same time.

Returning to Colombia, prominent human rights activists continue to flee abroad under death threats, including now the courageous head of the Church-based human rights group Justice and Peace, Fr. Javier Giraldo, who has played an outstanding role in defending human rights. The AFL-CIO reports that several trade unionists are murdered every week, mostly by paramilitaries supported by the government security forces. Forced displacement in 1998 was 20 percent above 1997, and increased in 1999 in some regions according to Human Rights Watch. Colombia now has the largest displaced population in the world, after

continued on next page

Disentangling the Antiwar Movement from the American Flag

"Patriotism in its simplest, clearest, and most indubitable meaning is nothing but an instrument for the attainment of the government's ambitious and mercenary aims, and a renunciation of human dignity, common sense, and conscience by the governed, and a slavish submission to those who hold power. That is what is really preached wherever patriotism is championed. Patriotism is slavery." Leo Tolstoy

"Peace is the continuation of war by other means." Hannah Arendt

Since September 11, 2001, many antiwar activists in the United States have wrapped their dissent in the American flag. In an increasingly constrictive political climate, they are anxious to find ways to appear more legitimate. For some, carrying the flag celebrates the Bill of Rights, particularly the rights to free speech and public assembly. For others, it recalls foundational events for this country such as the Boston Tea Party and American Revolution that symbolize the struggle against the tyranny of colonial rule. People of conscience raise

the stars and stripes to assert that "peace is patriotic," and that they are the real Americans. The U.S. government, by contrast, claims to be waging war in order to uphold America's core values, or as Bush puts it, precisely because "we are a peace-loving nation."

Who will prevail in this contest to define the true patriots? It is vital to ensure that U.S. opposition is clearly visible alongside the strength and solidarity of antiwar demonstrations around the globe. As activists in the United States, we need to distinguish our views from the actions and aims of "our" government, and build a strong movement. But we can only do that if our arguments against war are in line with our intentions.

The stark fact is that dissenters, no matter how noble, do not get to determine the meaning of patriotism. Although popular conceptions of U.S. history suggest that patriotism is about freedom, democracy, and creating a better world, in reality it has largely been used by the state to thwart the realization of these ideals. Patriotism, in essence, asks citizens to put aside their concerns and disagreements

with the government, and to get behind the sentiment of "my country, right or wrong."

Historically, patriotism was used in the 1920s to back up efforts to deport "undesirables" during the Red scare. Later, during the time of the Second World War, it justified interning Japanese Americans in camps on U.S. soil. In the 1950s, patriotism was used to repress the Left through such vehicles as the House Un-American Activities Committee, and during the Vietnam War period, to silence resistance through slogans such as "love it or leave it." Patriotism has been employed to rationalize military excursions and state-sponsored violence, from the invasion of Grenada and Panama to illegally arming the Nicaraguan Contras.

Patriotism, in the past and present, is predominantly defined by those in power to bolster support for their agendas. Consider the ubiquity of American flags since 9-11. Immediately after the tragedy, millions of Americans expressed their sadness and solidarity with the families of the deceased in a variety of ways, from displaying wreaths and firefighters' helmets

to lighting candles. Shortly thereafter, Bush called for a day of prayer and for Americans to fly their country's flag. While some had turned to the flag prior to Bush's urging, the change was unmistakable after his plea. Alternate expressions of mourning persisted, yet the American flag became the main indication of one's grief. It was soon difficult to find a house, automobile, or public space unadorned with the stars and stripes.

As the Bush administration rapidly manipulated grief into retribution, the meaning of this powerful symbol also shifted.



Today, the same flags flown after September 11 stand for much more than sorrow. The flag has largely become representative of unquestioning allegiance to national security, a faith in government, and a willingness to strike at unknown enemies. This process of redefining patriotism facilitates the state's ability to exercise power for its own ends. For more than a year, the Bush administration has been crafting a spurious dichotomy between patriotism and terrorism. Having initiated an unend-

continued on page 8

Colombia: from previous page

also "forward looking...on economic reform in Colombia and on economic integration in the hemisphere," code words that are readily interpreted.

Meanwhile, shameful socio-economic conditions persist, leaving much of the population in misery in a rich country with concentration of wealth and land-ownership that is high even by Latin American standards. The situation became worse in the 1990s as a result of the "neoliberal reforms" formalized in the 1991 constitution. The constitution reduced still further "the effective participation of civil society" in policy-formation, while, as in Latin America generally, the "neoliberal reforms have also given rise to alarming levels of poverty and inequality; approximately 55 percent of Colombia's population lives below the poverty level" and "this situation has been aggravated by an acute crisis in agriculture, itself a result of the neoliberal program" (Arlene Tickner, Current History, February 1998).

The respected president of the Colombian Permanent Committee for Human Rights, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfredo Vasquez Carrizosa, writes that it is "poverty and insufficient land reform" that "have made Colombia one of the most tragic countries of Latin America," though as elsewhere, "violence has been exacerbated by external factors," primarily the initiatives of the Kennedy administration, which "took great pains to transform our regular armies into coun-

terinsurgency brigades." These initiatives ushered in "what is known in Latin America as the National Security Doctrine," which is not concerned with "defense against an external enemy" but rather "the internal enemy." The new "strategy of the death squads" accords the military "the right to fight and to exterminate social workers, trade unionists, men and women who are not supportive of the establishment, and who are assumed to be communist extremists."

As part of its strategy of converting the Latin American military from "hemispheric defense" to "internal security"—meaning war against the domestic population—Kennedy dispatched a military mission to Colombia in 1962 headed by Special Forces General William Yarborough. He proposed "reforms" to enable the security forces to "as necessary execute paramilitary, sabotage and/or terrorist activities against known communist proponents"—the "communist extremists" to whom Vasquez Carrizosa alludes.

Again the broader patterns are worth noting. Shortly after, Lyndon Johnson escalated Kennedy's war against South Vietnam—what is called here "the defense of South Vietnam," just as Russia called its war against Afghanistan "the defense of Afghanistan." In January 1965, U.S. special forces in South Vietnam were issued standing orders "to conduct operations to dislodge VC-controlled officials, to include assassination," and more generally to use such "pacification" techniques as "ambushing, raiding, sabotaging and committing acts of terrorism against known VC personnel,"

the counterparts of the "known Communist proponents" in Colombia.

A Colombian governmental commission concluded that "the criminalization of social protest" is one of the "principal factors which permit and encourage violations of human rights" by the military and police authorities and their paramilitary collaborators. Ten years ago, as U.S.-backed state terror was increasing sharply, the Minister of Defense called for "total war in the political, economic, and social arenas," while another high military official explained that guerrillas were of secondary importance: "the real danger" is "what the insurgents have called the political and psychological war," the war "to control the popular elements" and "to manipulate the masses." The "subversives" hope to influence unions, universities, media, and so on. "Every individual who in one or another manner supports the goals of the enemy must be considered a traitor and treated in that manner," a 1963 military manual prescribed, as the Kennedy initiatives were moving into high gear. Since the official goals of the guerrillas are social democratic, the circle of treachery targeted for terror operations is wide.

In the years that followed, the Kennedy-Yarborough strategy was developed and applied broadly in "our little region over here," as it was described by FDR's Secretary of War Henry Stimson when he was explaining why the U.S. was entitled to control its own regional system while all others were dismantled. Violent repression spread throughout the hemisphere, beginning in the southern cone



and reaching its awesome peak in Central America in the 1980s as the ruler of the hemisphere reacted with extreme violence to efforts by the Church and other "subversives" to confront a terrible legacy of misery and repression. Colombia's advance to first-rank among the criminal states in "our little region" is in part the result of the decline in Central American state terror, which achieved its primary aims as in Turkey ten years later, leaving in its wake a "culture of terror" that "domesticates the expectations of the majority" and undermines aspirations towards "alternatives that differ from those of the powerful," in the words of Salvadoran Jesuits, who learned the lessons from bitter experience; those who survived the U.S. assault, that is. In Colombia, however, the problem of establishing approved forms of democracy and stability remains, and is even becoming

continued on page 9

THE WORLD SAYS NO TO WAR!!!

8 Million+ people protest worldwide against U.S. war in Iraq!!!



London, England
750,000 - 1.5 million



San Francisco, CA: 500,000



Tokyo, Japan: 6,000+

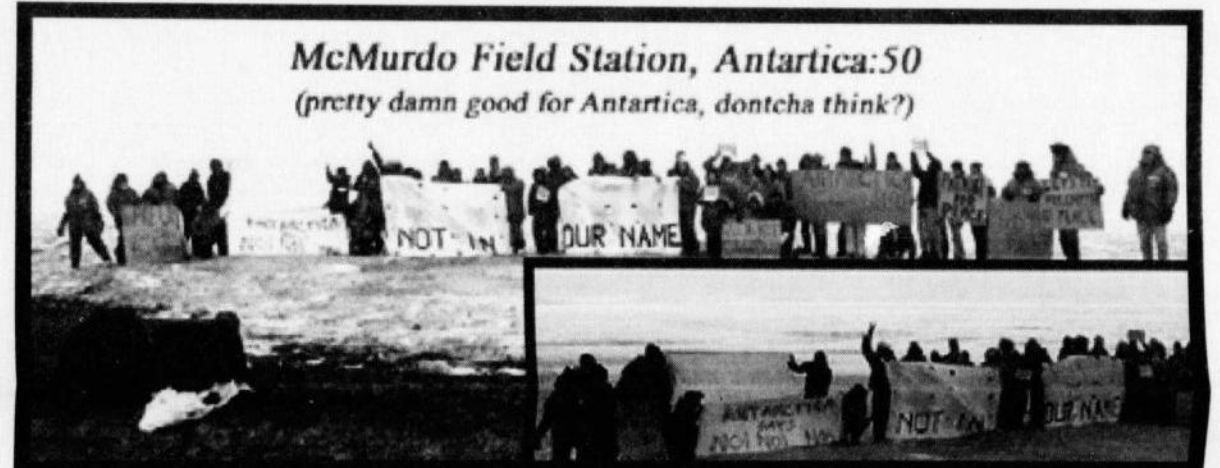


Damascus, Syria:
200,000



New York City:
200,000 - 500,000

Rome: 1 - 2 million. Madrid: 660,000 - 1.5 million. Paris: 100,000 - 500,000. New York City: 200,000 - 500,000. Berlin: 500,000. Seville: 100,000+. Melbourne: 200,000. Athens: 200,000. Oviedo, Spain: 100,000. Montreal: 20,000 +. Dublin: 100,000+. Los Angeles: 30,000 - 60,000. Brussels: 50,000. Lisbon: 100,000. Las Palmas, Spain: 100,000. Cadiz, Spain: 100,000. Amsterdam: 10,000 - 20,000. Toronto: 15,000+. Stockholm: 35,000+. Glasgow: 35,000+. Oslo: 60,000. Seattle: 20,000. Mexico City: 15,000 - 25,000. Stuttgart, Germany: 50,000. Copenhagen: 35,000. Berne, Switzerland: 40,000. Sao Paulo: 30,000. Girona, Spain: 30,000. Vancouver: 30,000. Goteborg, Sweden: 30,000. Budapest: 20,000. Newcastle, Australia: 20,000. Vienna: 20,000. Lyon: 20,000. Irunea, Basque Country: 20,000. Montpellier, France: 15-20,000. Luxemburg: 15-20,000. Buenos Aires: 15,000. Rio de Janeiro: 15,000. Helsinki: 15,000. Canberra, Australia: 10-15,000. Trondheim, Norway: 11,000. Johannesburg: 4,000+. Zagreb, Croatia: 10,000. Auckland: 8-10,000. Bhagdad: 20,000+ Prague: 1000, and more...



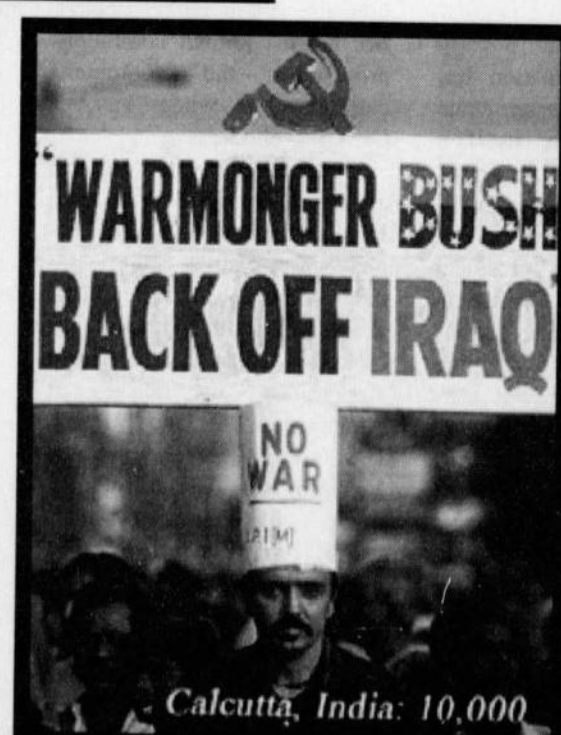
McMurdo Field Station, Antarctica: 50
(pretty damn good for Antarctica, dontcha think?)



Zagreb, Croatia: 10,000



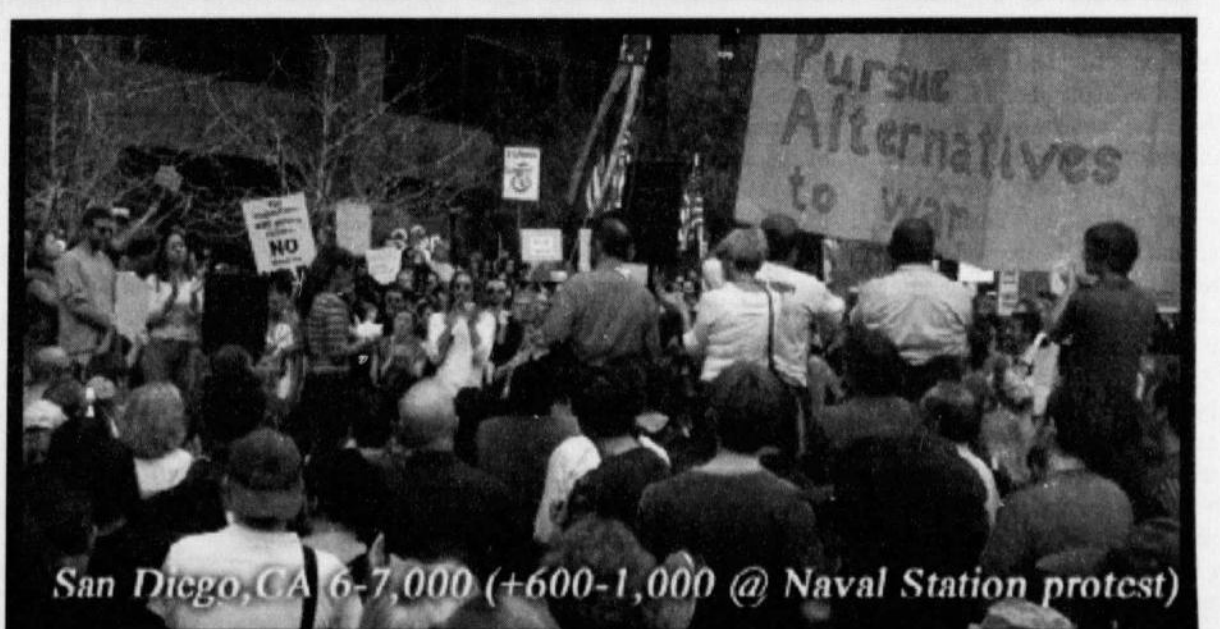
Tel Aviv, Israel: 1,500



Calcutta, India: 10,000



Barcelona, Spain: 500,000 - 1 million



San Diego, CA 6-7,000 (+600-1,000 @ Naval Station protest)

Who's Fighting the Good Fight?

CounterPunch Names Project YANO One of Its "Magnificent Ten"

San Diego, CA - The Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO) was selected by CounterPunch as one of its "Magnificent Ten" groups for 2002. CounterPunch, the bi-weekly muckraking newsletter edited by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, has been published since 1996. Once a year the editors highlight ten organizations nationally that impress them with "their grit and effectiveness" and encourage their readers to support these groups "down in the trenches, fighting the good fight."

Project YANO was the first group profiled in the annual list,

which appeared in the December 16-31, 2002 issue. The profile included the following in its description of the organization: "Project YANO sends veterans into San Diego area schools to speak about the realities of military life and war so that young people will better understand what is behind the recruiter's sales pitch. As an alternative, students are given details on nonmilitary options for job training and college financial aid. Project YANO also urges youths to become community activists and consider working for social change."

"While Project YANO's direct

outreach focuses on youths in San Diego County ... it also provides resources and advice to similar groups organized in communities around the country. Its educational brochures are used by counter-recruitment activists in many communities, and it serves as an information source for both national and international media."

Project YANO activists were pleased and encouraged when they heard the news about CounterPunch. "San Diego has one of the largest military installations in the world, which makes it a greater challenge to sustain a grassroots peace organization

like ours," said Rick Jahnkow, coordinator for Project YANO. "We feel like we're sharing this recognition with numerous other groups in San Diego who have struggled for decades to counter the massive military presence here. Since we were founded in 1984, many people have provided invaluable support and helped build an organizing base for our efforts."

"It's great to be acknowledged for our work," added Glen Motil, a Gulf War Marine Corps veteran and Project YANO volunteer. "Being highlighted in CounterPunch helps us make more people aware of the urgency of educating young people about the realities of military life, especially low-income students who are feeling

greater pressure to enlist instead of pursuing higher education. The Pentagon is cranking up its seductive, misleading recruiting tactics to satisfy the Bush administration's plans for war. Those of us who've been there want youths, their parents, and teachers to know the other side of the story. We want children to become thinking citizens who can effectively question the government's actions rather than blindly allow our society to become more and more militaristic."

Reprinted from counterpunch.org

Project YANO, P.O. Box 230157, Encinitas, CA 92023, 760.634.3604, projyano@aol.com

The Flag:

continued from page 5

ing and ill-defined "war against terror," the U.S. government claims free license to do whatever it wishes. Anything that promotes "security" for America—such as eroding civil liberties, dramatically increasing the military budget, or insisting on a war on Iraq—is now seen as justifiable.

In the name of patriotism, the Bush administration devised the overtly racist policy of registering citizens whose national heritage is Middle Eastern. The aptly named USA PATRIOT Act limits movement across borders, forces registration of foreign-born citizens, vastly expands investigative powers even where no crime is alleged, and labels dissenters as potential "terrorists." To question or oppose these policies is deemed unpatriotic, and disagreement is consequently silenced. What politician, after all, would have willingly chosen to vote against a piece of legislation with this acronym and risk being seen as un-American? And now, a second PATRIOT Act is in the works to further undo the freedoms that the government is purportedly marshaling its troops to protect.

Not only does the attempt to articulate dissent in the language of patriotism take on meanings that are out of our control, it also rings of parochialism in an increasingly interdependent and global world. Such language establishes a false distinction between "us" and "them." To return to September 11, victims from the twin towers included citizens of nearly every country. Almost more than any single event in recent memory, it should have been understood as a global trauma, binding numerous peoples and cultures in a shared grief. Yet once the American flags went up in large numbers, 9-11 became re-scripted as a national tragedy by those in power. "Good" America was now compelled to fight a shadowy "evil," thus laying the groundwork for future conflict and wars.

If appeals to patriotism are

actually counter to the aims of even the most modest antiwar position, the other half of the equation in "peace is patriotic" proves to be just as inadequate. To merely object to a war against Iraq suggests that there has been peace all along, even though the United States and Britain have been bombing Iraq repeatedly since the 1991 Gulf War. More than a million Iraqi children have already died at the hands of the U.S.-driven UN economic embargo against Iraq, according to the World Health Organization. Such "peacetime" practices demand a movement concerned with more than just preventing a U.S. invasion and subsequent military occupation. As antiwar demonstrators in Munich recently declared, "Your war kills off what your peace leaves standing."

The Bush administration speaks of peace too, but as the ultimate justification for war, much in the same way that it contemplates using nuclear weapons in Iraq to free the world from the dangers of weapons of mass destruction. Whether in the form of overt military action or less direct interventions, U.S. foreign policy practices a peace that is really war, but by other methods. The goal today appears to be nothing less than increasing America's dominance on a global scale in order for a tiny elite to have disproportionate political and economic influence.

In the end, the attempt to mainstream dissent through claims of "patriotism" or "peace" unwittingly ties our nascent antiwar movement to the policies and institutions that create war. These two words are inextricably bound to the actions of the state, whether we agree with them or not. At a time when the United States has become thoroughly unilateralist, it is disconcerting that many antiwar activists would still focus on appeals to the U.S. government, which has made it perfectly clear that it will not be constrained by the United Nations, much less world opinion. Why would this same government be any more responsive to its own citizens?

As part of this unilateralism, Bush has demanded a regime change in Iraq and is postur-

ing against North Korea. Many activists, in turn, have called for a "regime change at home." While both the Iraqi and U.S. regimes are impediments to a free and safer world, a change of leadership in these two specific cases will not alter the conditions that give rise to systemic violence in both societies. Nor are these problems exclusive to Iraq and the United States. In dictatorships or nation-states, when the few attempt to govern the many, coercion—either through warfare or subtler methods—is the only recourse to sustain centralized power. Statecraft of any kind is not the answer. We need a reconstruction of society that places power in accountable, directly democratic institutions instead.

To say that "peace is patriotic" ultimately buries demands for genuine freedom for all beneath a misplaced desire for legitimacy. If we want to invoke the liberatory dimensions of U.S. history, however limited by their own times, then let's look to the New England tradition of town meetings, experiments in worker self-management, the community self-help programs of the Black Panthers, and the movements to contest and redefine notions of sexuality and gender, among others. Let's forget about appearing patriotic. Rather, let's insist on the ability of all people and communities to self-determine and control their own destinies in a global society premised on cooperation and mutual aid. As the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta once proclaimed, "Everything depends on what people are capable of wanting."

We hope that this essay will spark a constructive dialogue among antiwar activists, and challenge our allies' ideas regarding patriotism and social change. In today's political climate, those of us who are willing to speak out against the rising tide of militarism need each other more than ever. Let's work together to demand a world where direct democracy, freedom, and diversity prevail. Free Society Collective, Central Vermont 14 February 2003

PDF version of this essay is available at www.freesocietycollective.org

More than oil:

continued from page 2

it comes to Iraq, both ended up in the same place: generating excuses for inaction. President Bush, by contrast, does not speak of merely containing or disarming Iraq. He intends to liberate Iraq by force... the Bush strategy enshrines 'regime change' - the insistence that when it comes to dealing with tyrannical regimes like Iraq, Iran, and yes North Korea, the US should seek transformation, not coexistence, as a primary aim of US foreign policy. As such it commits itself to the task of maintaining and enforcing a decent world order. Just as it was with the Bush teams predecessors, Iraq will be the first major test of this administration's strategy. It will not be the last.

Of course there are serious divisions in the US ruling class about the policy of the "Liberators". The tops of the US military are not convinced. Rumsfeld was put in charge to whip them into line. Their old policy of only intervening where immediate US interests were at stake and then only with overwhelming force is utterly inadequate for the present ambitions of US capitalism to remake the world. Go anywhere, stay anywhere, stay permanently, build permanent bases in hostile areas, attack any country just on the whim of the US government, break all laws and international treaties and traditions, assassinate whoever they wish in any part of the world. The new military has to be up for this. But the present US military tops are very very nervous about this new policy for which they will have to provide the muscle. The degree of discontent in the military tops is such that a recently available document describes how Bush has warned the US military tops against "treasonous actions" such as leaking their views etc. This is quite staggering in how it shows the divisions. There are also some sections of the US capitalist class who are not convinced of this policy as witnessed by a recent full page ad against the war in the Wall Street Journal which was signed by some

major business figures.

There are also the developing divisions between US capitalism and its main rivals internationally. At the recent DAVOS forum of major world capitalists and politicians the US government representatives such as Powell were severely attacked and criticized. One commentator spoke of the level of anti US feeling being unprecedented. There was talk of US arrogance and its policy now being to do what it likes wherever it likes no matter what any other power thinks.

These divisions are important and can develop to become decisive at a later stage. But they will not at this time and under their own power halt this offensive of US capitalism, the coming war and the drive of US capital for total domination and to take back all the gains won in the past 100 years. This offensive is on track and will go forward in the immediate term. It is only when it becomes bogged down as mass opposition to it develops that these divisions can become decisive. This can take some time and it will probably entail some major catastrophes before the Bush plan to remake the rest of the world in the form of US capitalism's slaves is halted. New September 11ths are very likely, nuclear war between India and Pakistan is not ruled out, the use of nuclear weapons by the US itself is not totally excluded.

At the moment the working class on a world scale has a leadership that is totally cowed by capitalism. It can see no alternative to the present system. The various petit bourgeois groups that in the past led mass opposition to capitalism in the form of guerrilla wars have almost without exception gone over to capitalism. This offensive led by the Bush Whitehouse will go forward for some time and another september 11th could give it increased impetus.

Of course this is not the whole story. The anti war movement that has developed before the war has even begun is unprecedented, enormous and inspiring. The level of understanding that

continued on next page

KADEK:

from the front page

Turkey is intent on seizing South Kurdistan. The Turkish state has only set upon seizing South Kurdistan in a bid to defeat the Kurdish fight of freedom since the beginning of 2003.

War moves against the Kurdish struggle for freedom are the issue in mutual relations between the countries within the region as well. Turkey is attempting to build alliances with Iran and Syria. Such alliances are built between Turkey, Iran, Syria by either secret or open agreements. As a result, Syria and Iran have increased the pressure on KADEK. Iran is attacking the guerrilla positions of KADEK. Turkey is determined to eliminate the Kurdish fight of freedom with the assistance of Iran and Syria by not acting in accordance with the peace attempts of KADEK. The peace initiative that was started by our President four years ago has given the chance to resolve the Kurdish question. A unilateral ceasefire was declared on 1 September 1998 by our President, in practice beginning on 2 August 1999 when guerrilla forces were moved beyond Turkey's borders. Two groups of PKK members were sent to Turkey as a sign of good faith. Strategically and tactically practices were completed by the foundation congress of KADEK on 4 April 2002. More importantly, Kurdish people organized for an era of democratic politics. Peace projects have been prepared and presented to international organisations. Both the PKK and KADEK have worked in a peaceful, democratic method without violation. KADEK President Abdullah Ocalan served a peaceful solution during this period in spite of the psychological, political, military pressures imposed upon



Kurds protesting war on Iraq in London on February 15th

him.

The Turkish Republic insisted on refusal and removal of the Kurdish issue, although the peace process was continued by KADEK President Abdullah Ocalan and followed by the Kurdish people. Military operations went on, many guerrillas died as the result of these operations during the last four years. Many people died through unresolved murders. People were again subject to custodies, arrests and torture due to political activities. PKK and KADEK's attempts to reach consensus were not met. Although Turkey enacted the Copenhagen criteria, (including education in the mother tongue, the removal of the death penalty) on 2-3 August 2002, there is nothing changed in practice. On one hand death penalty was removed but on the other hand the severe isolation conditions are imposed as a new type of death penalty. The most striking example is the situation of the KADEK President. Furthermore, laws enacted for the rights of education in the mother tongue are not practiced at all. To put it bluntly, the Turkish Republic is insisting on its denial, elimina-

More than oil:

from previous page

this is not a war about protecting the US but a war for other reasons is widespread in the US and almost universal elsewhere. This opposition will develop and gain strength as the horror of the assault on Iraq becomes more clear.

Here in the US the post Vietnam era when no US government could commit large numbers of US troops to long foreign wars has been ended for some time. September 11th gave it another shove into the grave. However the consciousness that developed around Vietnam, specifically the understanding that governments cannot be trusted, the understanding that US capitalism fights war for its own ends, this is still widespread. Along with this there is increased consciousness of the brutal exploitative and corrupt nature of capitalism due to the over confidence and arrogance and blatant corruption of that system after the collapse of

Stalinism and more recently with the bursting of the high tech bubble and the exposures of the Enrons, Worldcoms etc. This consciousness is not far beneath the surface and the possibility of it surfacing very rapidly must be kept in mind. The anti war movement would be wrong to exclude the possibility that it could tap into this mood sufficiently internationally and in the US to make things so difficult for Bush and his "liberators" that they would be prevented from going to attack Iraq. There is also the fact, which while it may not be decisive in the immediate term but will be decisive in the medium and long term and that is that the elemental power of the working class remains intact and in fact is even being increased as capital spreads and new working class forces are being added to the old. The increased working class in countries like China will make their voices heard. At the same time the working class internationally and especially in the more industrialised capitalist countries will not allow

tion policy instead of resolving the problem.

The peace initiative of the Kurdish Freedom Movement has not been sufficiently supported by the international community. As party mainly responsible for Abdullah Ocalan's illegal kidnapping, the USA and close ally Britain, did not use their influence on Turkey in order to force it to resolve the Kurdish problem. On the contrary, they encouraged Turkey to go on with its denial, elimination policy; most recently they categorised KADEK as a terrorist organisation unfairly and all to serve their strategic interests in the Middle East. The European Union countries have not played their role for resolving the problem, although they played their role in solving similar problems in other parts of the world. In April 2002, the EU also described the PKK as a terrorist organization.

At the moment the peace process is facing the danger of failure. The severe isolation conditions on KADEK President Abdullah Ocalan, and the war carried out through taking advantage of the intervention in Iraq, will completely destroy the

themselves to be stripped of all they have gained in the past century and more without a serious struggle.

The world balance of forces will not allow US capitalism to achieve what it has set out to achieve in relation to total domination of the world. However the force that can prevent this happening, the working class, has organizations and leaderships which are steeped in compromise and betrayal and without any belief that the working class can act independently and build a new world. The whip of the counter revolution of US capitalism's offensive will most likely make further gains before it is stopped. But as it makes these gains it will force new conclusions on the working class internationally. These will include that the working class must organize internationally, that it must build organizations and develop policies which face up to the reality that capitalism on a world scale will destroy all existing living standards and destroy life on earth as we know it and these organizations and

polices must also provide an alternative to capitalism. Part of this process will be the development of experienced cohesive fighting strata of the working class who will learn the lessons from the past, face up to the realities of the present and prepare the movement for its future tasks which are to end capitalism with its private ownership, profit addiction and destruction, and build a new world based on collective ownership and the needs of all people. And finally to return to liberator. The present Bush is a "liberator" according to these two right wing correspondents Kaplan and Kristol. Even the Wall Street Journal has to resort to euphemisms now and then. In an article some time ago this paper criticised one of its contributors for using the word capitalism. It explained that use of the word capitalism would open the door to discussions about systems and inevitably alternative systems would be dragged in and with these marxist ideas would follow. It explained that instead of using the word capi-

Colombia:

continued from page 5

themselves for battle," which will lead to military escalation and undermining of the fragile but ongoing peace negotiations.

According to New York Times reporter Larry Rohter, "ordinary Colombians" are "angered" by the government's peace negotiations, which ceded control to FARC of a large region that they already controlled, and the "embittered residents" of the region also oppose the guerrillas. No evidence is cited. The leading Colombian military analyst Alfredo Rangel sees matters differently. He "makes a point of reminding interviewers that the FARC has significant support in the regions where it operates," Alma Guillemprieto reports. Rangel cites "FARC's ability to launch surprise attacks" in different parts of the country, a fact that is "politically significant" because "in each case, a single warning by the civilian population would be enough to alert the army, and it doesn't happen."

On the same day that Rohter reported the anger of "ordinary Colombians," the Financial Times reported an "innovative forum" in the FARC-controlled region, one of many held there to allow "members of the public to participate in the current peace talks." They come from all parts of Colombia, speaking before TV cameras and meeting with senior FARC leaders. Included are union and business leaders, farmers, and others. A trade union leader from Colombia's second largest city, Cali, "gave heart to those who believe that talking will end the country's long-running conflict," addressing both the government and FARC leaders. He directed his remarks specifically to "Senor Marulanda," the long-

continued on page 11

talism the word democracy must be used. The US is not a capitalist country it explained it is a democracy.

Here too with "liberator" we see the resort to euphemism. Bush is a liberator. What they are really saying is that Bush will not be restrained by any existing traditions, borders, laws, arguments, he is liberated from these and he is going to use US power to change the world to what US capitalism wants it to be. He is "liberated" from the past and the present balance of forces which the the liberals and the realists see as fixed he is going to change. He is going to change the world. Part of his liberator status is also that he intends to "liberate" capital from all restraint and allow it to stride about the world killing, starving, destroying and exploiting as it goes.

Of course the "liberation" of US and world capital means the enslavement of the working people of the world and the

continued on page 11

Vietnam:

continued from back page

sive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

For those who ask the question, "Aren't you a civil rights leader?" and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. In 1957, when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: "To save the soul of America." We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself until the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles it still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:

*O, yes, I say it plain,
America never was America to me,
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!*

Now it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. [America] can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that "America will be" are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land.

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now.

They must see Americans as strange liberators. The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1954—in 1945 rather—after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell

victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China—for whom the Vietnamese have no great love—but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all of this was presided over by United States influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the

precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only noncommunist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of a new violence?

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation:

The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours. I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do immediately to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

Number one: End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.

Number two: Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

Three: Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

Four: Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and any future Vietnamese government.

Five: Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement. [sustained applause]

Part of our ongoing [applause

continues], part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country if necessary. Meanwhile [applause], meanwhile, we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices and our lives if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative method of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service, we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. [sustained applause] Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. [applause] These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest.

Now there is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality [applause], and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing "clergy and laymen concerned" committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy. [sustained applause] So such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala.

It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." [applause] Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life's roadside, but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. [applause]

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, "This is not just." It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, "This is not just." The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice,

continued on next page

Vietnam:

from previous page

and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. [sustained applause]

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism. [applause] War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not engage in a negative anticommunism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy [applause], realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice, which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light.

Colombia:

continued from page 9

time FARC peasant leader "who minutes earlier had entered to a rousing ovation," telling him that "unemployment is not a problem caused by the violence," but "by the national government and the businessmen of this country." Business leaders also spoke, but "were heckled by the large body of trade union representatives who had also come to speak." Against a background of "union cheers," a FARC spokesperson "put forward one of the clearest visions yet of his organization's economic program," calling for freezing of privatization, subsidizing energy and agriculture as is done in the rich countries, and stimulation of the economy by protecting local enterprises. The government representative, who "emphasized export-led growth and private participation," nevertheless described the FARC statement as "raw material for the negotiations," though FARC, "bolstered by evident popular discontent with 'neoliberal' government policies," argues that those who "have monopolised

power" must yield in the negotiations. "Of course, no one can say what "ordinary Colombians" (or "ordinary Americans") think, even under peaceful conditions, let alone when extreme violence and terror prevail, and much of the population seeks to survive under conditions of misery and repression. The Colombia Plan is officially justified in terms of the "drug war," a claim taken seriously by few competent analysts. The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reports that "all branches of government" in Colombia are involved in "drug-related corruption." In November 1998, U.S. Customs and DEA inspectors found 415 kg of cocaine and 6 kg of heroin in a Colombian Air Force plane that had landed in Florida, leading to the arrest of several Air Force officers and enlisted personnel. Other observers have also reported the heavy involvement of the military in narco-trafficking, and the U.S. military has also been drawn in. The wife of Colonel James Hiett pleaded guilty to conspiracy to smuggle heroin from Colombia

We in the West must support these revolutions.

It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has a revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores, and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low [Audience:] (Yes); the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain."

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. This oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental

and weak response. I'm not speaking of that force which is just emotional bosh. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: "Let us love one another (Yes), for love is God. (Yes) And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love... If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us." Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day.

We are now faced with the fact, my friends, that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. We still have a choice today: non-violent coexistence or violent coannihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors.

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message—of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

to New York, and shortly after it was reported that Colonel Hiett, who is in charge of U.S. troops "that trained Colombian security forces in counternarcotics operations," is "expected to plead guilty" to charges of complicity.

The paramilitaries openly proclaim their reliance on the drug business. However, the U.S. and Latin American press report, "the US-financed attack stays clear of the areas controlled by paramilitary forces," though "the leader of the paramilitaries [Carlos Castano] acknowledged last week in a television interview that the drug trade provided 70 percent of the group's funding." The targets of the Colombia Plan are guerrilla forces based on the peasantry and calling for internal social change, which would interfere with integration of Colombia into the global system on the terms that the U.S. demands; that is, dominated by elites linked to U.S. power interests that are accorded free access to Colombia's valuable resources, including oil.

In standard U.S. terminology, the FARC forces are "narco-

Welcome:

continued from page 4

and waited for them to graduate, and eventually this history faded from the memory of students.

Even without institutional memory of specific events, however, students still have an intuitive understanding that we have no real control over our education and no real voice in the University. This is where our apathy comes from. It comes from the understanding that, when all is said and done, at UCSD, we are not members of the community, we are not part of the decision making process, and we are not part of any institution that has the power to change our situation. We are numbers on a billing statement. We are registration fees, student activity fees, and facility fees.

So what now? Should we all sit in our rooms in front of a computer screen attached to UCSD's state of the art computing services and play video games with our neighbors only 10 feet away in another room? What can we do? And why should we even try?

If students really want to

have a college experience beyond classes we need to have something to care about. This means having something that we have a real say in, something we have real control over.

What could that be? The logical choice would be our student governments, right? The students who decide where the money from our self-assessed student fees goes should have real control over that, right? Legally, yes. Students have the right to decide what gets done with self-assessed student fees. It's only logical that if we vote to raise or impose a fee, we should then have control of our money. Currently AS, GSA, and UCAB are advisory. Other universities (including UCLA and UC Berkeley) have autonomous student governments that have full legal control over their assets and fees. We can do the same.

Currently the AS is exploring independence. You can let your voice be heard. Tell AS and UCAB that independence of fees is important to you and that they should pursue it. They need the student's support to gain independence. You can write AS an email at:

<http://asuucsd.ucsd.edu/feedback.php>

More than oil:

continued from page 9

destruction of life on earth as we know it. There will be many struggles as Bush and his "liberator" capitalists try to achieve this goal. In the course of these it will be possible for anti capitalist revolutionaries to assist in the building of a new workers movement worldwide which will be able to build a new world. To liberate it from the vicious rule of capital which is destroying the lives of the people of the world and destroying the planet at the same time.

guerrillas," a useful concept as a cover for counterinsurgency, but one that has been sharply criticized on factual grounds. It is agreed—and FARC leaders say—that they rely for funding on coca production, which they tax, as they tax other businesses. But "The guerrillas are something different from the traffickers," says Klaus Nyholm, who runs the UN Drug Control Program," which has agents throughout the drug producing regions. He describes the local FARC fronts as "quite autonomous." In some areas "they are not involved at all" in coca production and in others "they actively tell the farmers not to grow [coca]." Andean drug specialist Ricardo Vargas describes the role of the guerrillas as "primarily focused on taxation of illicit crops." They have called for "a development plan for the peasants" that would "allow eradication of coca on the basis of alternative crops." "That's all we want," their leader Marulanda has publicly announced, as have other spokespersons.

This article will be continued next issue.

**JOIN
JOIN
JOIN
JOIN
JOIN
THE
N.I.**

if you like writing, illustrating, editing, or layout, and if you'd like to help put together a generally radical, scattered, and occasionally entertaining newspaper, you should join the new indicator

ni@libertad.ucsd.edu

A Moment of Silence, Before I Start this Poem

by Emmanuel Ortiz 9/11/2002

Before I start this poem, I'd like to ask you to join me in a moment of silence in honor of those who died in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon last September 11th.

I would also like to ask you to offer up a moment of silence for all of those who have been harassed, imprisoned, disappeared, tortured, raped, or killed in retaliation for those strikes, for the victims in both Afghanistan and the U.S.

And if I could just add one more thing...

A full day of silence for the tens of thousands of Palestinians who have died at the hands of U.S.-backed Israeli forces over decades of occupation. Six months of silence for the million and-a-half Iraqi people, mostly children, who have died of malnourishment or starvation as a result of an 11-year U.S. embargo against the country.

Before I begin this poem: two months of silence for the Blacks under Apartheid in South Africa, where homeland security made them aliens in their own country. Nine months of silence for the dead in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where death rained down and peeled back every layer of concrete, steel, earth and skin and the survivors went on as if alive. A year of silence for the millions of dead in Vietnam - a people, not a war - for those who know a thing or two about the scent of burning fuel, their relatives' bones buried in it, their babies born of it. A year of silence for the dead in Cambodia and Laos, victims of a secret war ... sssshhhhh ... Say nothing ... we don't want them to learn that they are dead. Two months of silence for the decades of dead in Colombia, whose names, like the corpses they once represented, have piled up and slipped off our tongues.

Before I begin this poem,

An hour of silence for El Salvador ... An afternoon of silence for Nicaragua ... Two days of silence for the Guetmaltecos ... None of whom ever knew a moment of peace in their living years. 45 seconds of silence for the 45 dead at Acteal, Chiapas 25 years of silence for the hundred million Africans who found their graves far deeper in the ocean than any building could poke into the sky. There will be no DNA testing or dental records to identify their remains. And for those who were strung and swung from the heights of sycamore trees in the south, the north, the east, and the west... 100 years of silence...

For the hundreds of millions of indigenous peoples from this half of right here, Whose land and lives were stolen,

In postcard-perfect plots like Pine Ridge, Wounded Knee, Sand Creek, Fallen Timbers, or the Trail of Tears. Names now reduced to innocuous magnetic poetry on the refrigerator of our consciousness ...

So you want a moment of silence?

And we are all left speechless Our tongues snatched from our mouths Our eyes stapled shut A moment of silence And the poets have all been laid to rest The drums disintegrating into dust

Before I begin this poem, You want a moment of silence

You mourn now as if the world will never be the same And the rest of us hope to hell it won't be. Not like it always has been

Because this is not a 9-1-1 poem This is a 9/10 poem, It is a 9/9 poem, A 9/8 poem, A 9/7 poem This is a 1492 poem.

This is a poem about what causes poems like this to be written And if this is a 9/11 poem, then

This is a September 11th poem for Chile, 1971 This is a September 12th poem for Steven Biko in South Africa, 1977 This is a September 13th poem for the brothers at Attica Prison, New York, 1971. This is a September 14th poem for Somalia, 1992. This is a poem for every date that falls to the ground in ashes This is a poem for the 110 stories that were never told The 110 stories that history chose not to write in textbooks The 110 stories that CNN, BBC, The New York Times, and Newsweek ignored This is a poem for interrupting this program.

And still you want a moment of silence for your dead? We could give you lifetimes of empty:

The unmarked graves The lost languages The uprooted trees and histories The dead stares on the faces of nameless children Before I start this poem We could be silent forever Or just long enough to hunger, For the dust to bury us

And you would still ask us For more of our silence.

If you want a moment of silence

Then stop the oil pumps Turn off the engines and the televisions Sink the cruise ships Crash the stock markets Unplug the marquee lights, Delete the instant messages, Derail the trains, the light rail transit

If you want a moment of silence, put a brick through the window of Taco Bell, And pay the workers for wages lost

Tear down the liquor stores, The townhouses, the White Houses, the jailhouses, the Penthouses and the Playboys. If you want a moment of silence,

Then take it

On Super Bowl Sunday, The Fourth of July During Dayton's 13 hour sale Or the next time your white guilt fills the room where my beautiful people have gathered

You want a moment of silence Then take it Now,

Before this poem begins.

Here, in the echo of my voice, In the pause between gooseteps of the second hand In the space between bodies in embrace, Here is your silence.

Take it.

But take it all Don't cut in line. Let your silence begin at the beginning of crime. But we, Tonight we will keep right on singing For our dead.

Emmanuel Ortiz works with the Minnesota Alliance for the Indigenous Zapatistas (MAIZ) and Estación Libre. He is a staff member of the Resource Center of the Americas, the nonprofit publisher of *americas.org*

"Beyond Vietnam"

Address delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to the Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, at Riverside Church April 4th 1967, New York City

This speech has been edited for length. See www.africanamericans.com/MLKjrBeyondVietnam.htm for the original, unedited version.

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I am in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. The recent statements of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart, and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty. But we must move on.

Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movement, and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance. For we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path. At the heart of their concerns, this query has often loomed large and loud: "Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King? Why are you joining the voices of dissent?" "Peace and civil rights don't mix," they say. "Aren't you hurting the cause of your people?" they ask. And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment, or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live. In the light

of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church — the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate — leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision.

There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I and others have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor, both black and white, through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war. And I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic, destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years, especially the last three summers. As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they asked, and rightly so, "What about Vietnam?" They asked if our own nation wasn't using mas-

continued inside on page 10