

# new indicator

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## Democracy or Occupation?

A comparison of the U.S. conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq

We have been told by the U.S. media that George Bush has led two successful armed conflicts and liberated two oppressed populations from tyrannical rule. In Iraq, the United States military along with their British sidekicks have toppled Saddam Hussein's rule and replaced it with democracy. Unfortunately for the citizens of Iraq, "democracy" seems to be a code word for American Occupation. Despite claims that the United States wants Iraqis to rule themselves, Iraq is still under martial law with the U.S. military making the decisions. There have been numerous attempts to set up a U.S. friendly government but they did not even make the pretext of including the highly popular and organized Shiite Muslims.

Despite the so called end of hostilities in Iraq, in the past week alone two U.S. Soldiers were killed and another nine were wounded. In addition, eighteen Iraqi civilians were killed. There have been regular protests by thousands of Iraqi citizens demanding that the U.S. soldiers leave. The U.S. administration had no plans for how to fill the organizational role of the Iraqi government except

for where it came to the ministry of oil. In the looting that accompanied the sacking of Baghdad, museums including the Iraq National Museum, the Koranic Library and the Iraqi National Archives were burned, priceless historical artifacts were methodically stolen and history was purposefully destroyed under the supervision of the invading American army.

Despite repeated calls from various U.S. archaeological associations to the Pentagon urging the military to protect the huge amount of history stored in the museum, pleas to exercise caution went unheeded. McGuire Gibson of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute told *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, "I have been talking to the military since January 24th, and we supplied them with a list of more than 5,000 archaeological sites, which they've been putting on their maps. They know where those locations are." ([www.electroniciraq.net](http://www.electroniciraq.net))

As bad as Saddam Hussein was, the U.S. is worse.

At least under the dictatorship of Hussein, there was some law and order in Iraq. Now, looting is common, neces-

sary resources such as hospitals, drinkable water and food are not available to all and valuable history has been stolen and destroyed under the eyes of the U.S. Peacekeeping forces. Instead, the military has done an outstanding job of protecting the Ministry of Oil and all of the oil fields.

The U.S. military has not been trained to deal with the post-conflict situation in Iraq. Soldiers are trigger happy and nervous. Repeated warnings that the U.S. military forces needed peacekeeping training were ignored. Instead, soldiers regularly fire on cars passing checkpoints because of miscommunication. In one situation, a whole family was shot to death in their car because they didn't understand American soldiers shouting through a bull horn in English to stop. (Democracy Now)

Well, of course the road will be bumpy but things will get better in Iraq...

Not necessarily. Just like Iraq, the U.S. Government said that the main reason for invading Afghanistan was to bring

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## UC Wide Student-Labor Network Students and Workers Unite

by Renee Maas

Students from each UC campus and some workers and union representatives met on May 3-4, 2003 to create a statewide student-labor organizing network. The conference was made possible by a grant written by the Students for Labor Solidarity at UC Santa Cruz, and was fully funded by UC unions. The rise in student-worker organizing in the UC system is part of a national and international effort to reshape social and economic conditions for the working poor.

The Student-Labor movement first exploded onto the scene in the 1990s with the United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). USAS began fighting for "sweatshop free" conditions in the factories of multi national corporations like Nike, that create collegiate apparel. Over time they have expanded their organizing efforts from global worker solidarity to community and on-campus campaigns. Surprisingly fewer student-worker campaigns have come out of California than the rest of the nation, but those numbers are on the rise in the new millennium. Since 2001 there have been 3 victorious on-campus student-labor solidarity campaigns within the UC system alone, here's how they break down:

### UC San Diego — 2001

Issue: 57 sub-contracted janitors earning \$6.75/hr with no benefits.

Result: In Fall of 2001 the contract with Bergenson's janitorial services was terminated and workers were brought

under the AFSCME 3299 union. Workers now receive \$9-\$12/hr plus benefits.

Student group formed (as a result of campaign): Students for Economic Justice

### UC Los Angeles — 2002

Issue: 80 ASUCLA Student Center Dining Services Workers earning \$6.75 with no benefits and categorized as temporary workers.

Results: In Fall of 2002 the contract with Star Staffing was terminated and workers titles changed from temporary to full-time. Workers went under the AFSCME 3299 union and now earn \$9-\$12/hr depending on experience with benefits.

Student group formed: Student Worker Front

### UC Santa Cruz — 2003

Issue: 350 subcontracted dining services workers earning \$7.50/hr with no benefits.

Results: In September 2003 the Sodexo contract will be terminated and workers will be brought under AFSCME 3299 union. Workers will earn \$10/hr and up depending on experience, with benefits.

Student group formed (as a result of campaign): Students for Labor Solidarity

The coalition between students, workers,

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## Price Center Expansion Fee Referendum Passes

*Undemocratic tactics by UCSD Administration and Pro-referendum Students Unfairly Bias the Results*

Most of us have heard that the Price Center expansion Referendum passed two weeks ago. After five days of voting on student link, 29% of the students at UCSD voted and about 54% of those who voted, voted in favor of the expansion. While the turnout at the election was very good for a UCSD vote, most of the students voting did not have the full story.

Unfortunately, the campaigning by the "Yes" and the "Neutral" sides fell well short of fair and this unfairness kept students misinformed about the issues surrounding this referendum. First of all, students were lied to by the "Neutral" campaign. Students who were "Neutral" were constantly helping with the "yes" campaign, including campaigning, folding flyers, passing out literature and even literally switching to the "yes" campaign mid-week. One of the most verbal "neutral" campaigners, James Lynch, wrote the language for both the "neutral" and "yes" advertising and statements on the ballot. While this may not seem overly unfair initially, it becomes so when one takes into account that the "Neutral" campaign was given funds in excess of \$7,000! The "Yes" and the "No" sides were both given \$3,500. In effect the whole reason for the creation of a "neutral" side was to enable the administration to give more than double the funding to pro-referendum students as the anti-referendum students. Their other reason for existence was from the administrative advisors, Brailsford and Dunlavy who recommended that

a seemingly neutral campaigning group gives the referendum more legitimacy.

In addition to the lack of equal funding, the administration refused in writing to give the "no" campaign equal opportunity for advertising space. In section 18.14.19 of the Student Policies and Procedures, it states that, "when funding for printed election materials is provided by the UCSD administration, equal funding and publication opportunity must be given to those students with opposing arguments and points of view." The administration used spaces that were inaccessible to students to advertise for the referendum, such as the Gilman parking structure. The reasons behind this policy are the administration's greater access to funding and resources than a typical UCSD student. The administration has a great power that can affect the outcome of student elections and referendum unless checks and balances exist. Unfortunately, the rules were not followed and the administration was allowed to overly influence this student referendum.

This becomes even more important when one takes into account that the "yes" campaign was systematically destroying information, banners and other printed materials of the "no" campaign. On at least three separate occasions, more than 20 banners made by the "no" side were destroyed. Each time, "yes" banners were put up in the place where there had

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# EFF review of May 20 report on Total Information Awareness

by Lee Tien  
Electronic Frontier Foundation

On May 20, 2003, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) issued its "Report to Congress regarding the Terrorism Information Awareness Program" (TIA) ([www.eff.org/Privacy/TIA/20030520\\_tia\\_report.php](http://www.eff.org/Privacy/TIA/20030520_tia_report.php)). The Report, mandated by Congress and written to "assess[] the likely impact of the implementation" of TIA on civil liberties and privacy, was an opportunity for DARPA to make a careful review of the components of TIA and require accountability for each of these components. Unfortunately, the Report did not take advantage of this opportunity.

The Report makes one thing quite clear: TIA is being tested on "real problems" using "real data" pertaining to U.S. persons, apparently from Defense Department (DoD) intelligence files.

Otherwise, the Report doesn't shed much light on the issues that concern EFF. It provides an overview of the various TIA components, including some that we hadn't heard of before. Unfortunately, several of these new programs only make us more worried about TIA: If successful, they'll make surveillance and data-veillance even more powerful.

The Report also provides a few not-very-reassuring clues to the government's thinking about privacy and civil liberties. As far as the government's concerned, existing law protects our privacy. But there's little concern for data accuracy, and there's no mention of TIA's accountability to individuals. Also conspicuously absent is any concrete discussion of privacy or civil liberties issues in the actual use of TIA.

In short, the Report is a major disappointment. The government had an opportunity to open public discourse about TIA; for the most part, it chose to hide behind broad and vague generalities.

## Is there anything new in the Report?

### A new name

Formerly "Total Information Awareness," TIA has been renamed "Terrorism Information Awareness." The renaming is intended to correct the impression "that TIA was a system to be used for developing dossiers on U.S. citizens." TIA's intent, DARPA says, is to "protect citizens by detecting and defeating foreign terrorist threats before an attack." Report, Executive Summary p. 1 (ES-1).

This change seems purely cosmetic, reminiscent of the FBI's renaming its Carnivore tool "DCS-1000." There is no question that TIA, if implemented, will process information about U.S. persons. For instance, TIA technologies will be tested on a "realistic world of synthetic transaction data" that simulates "the behavior of normal people, unusual-but-benign people, and terrorists." Appendix p. 11 (A-11).

More important, EFF's concerns are not limited to the compilation of dossiers. The problems with TIA and similar programs like CAPPS II include both privacy and its close cousin, accountability. These issues exist whenever the government can query and analyze vast amounts of personal information, whether in one giant database or divided among many smaller databases in both government and private hands. Keep in mind that a major goal of at least one of the components of TIA, the

Genisys program, is to "create technology that enables many physically disparate heterogeneous databases to be queried as if it were one logical 'virtually' centralized database." A-11.

### New programs

When TIA was first announced, we knew about these programs: Genoa (which was ending); Genoa II; Genisys; Evidence Extraction and Link Discovery (EELD); Wargaming the Asymmetric Environment (WAE); Translingual Information Detection, Extraction and Summarization (TIDES); Effective, Affordable, Reusable Speech-to-Text (EARS); Human Identification at a Distance (HumanID); Bio-Surveillance; Communicator; and Babylon. Information on all of these programs is available from EFF's TIA pages.

The Report describes TIA as encompassing five overall "threads": secure collaborative problem solving; structured discovery with sources and methods security; link and group understanding; context-aware visualization; and decision making with corporate memory. ES-2.3; A-3-5. The programs fall into three categories: advanced collaborative and decision support programs; language translation programs; and data search, pattern recognition, and privacy protection programs. Report, p. 2-3 (R-2-3).

The new TIA programs are:

- Rapid Analytical Wargaming (RAW), which seeks to provide decision-makers with the ability to better anticipate future political, policy, security, and military/terrorism activity;

- Futures Markets Applied to Prediction (FutureMAP), which seeks to use "policy markets" in which experts trade "outcome futures" to answer questions like "will terrorists attack Israel with bio-weapons next year?";

- Global Autonomous Language Exploitation (GALE), which seeks to teach computers to find critical foreign intelligence information from broadcasts, conversations, newswires and the Internet and then provide it to humans without their specifically requesting it;

- Scalable Social Network Analysis (SSNA), which aims to model networks of connections like social interactions, financial transactions, telephone calls, and organizational memberships;

- Misinformation Detection (MIDet), which seeks to detect intentional misinformation and inconsistencies in publicly available data and to identify false or misleading statements in textual documents;

- Activity, Recognition, and Monitoring (ARM), which seeks to automate the ability to capture, identify and classify human activities in surveillance environments (including crowds) using video, agile sensors, low power radar, infrared, and radio frequency tags; and

- Next-Generation Facial Recognition (NGFR), which seeks to improve face-recognition technology using 3-D imagery and processing techniques, infrared and multispectral imagery, and expression analysis.

The Report's description of these pro-

grams is provided in the appendix to this review. Clearly, it is reasonable to expect that programs will continue to be added, which again highlights the need for close oversight. If TIA is permitted to continue, EFF will not be surprised if DARPA's new "LifeLog" program, for instance, joins the TIA "surveillance product line" in the next year or two.

### How much are we spending on TIA?

The Report states that TIA funding "for FY 2003 through FY 2005 as proposed in the FY 2004 President's Budget submission is \$53,752,000." ES-2.

This number is misleading, because it only counts the line item for TIA—which is separate from the line items for EELD, Genisys, and so on. According to EFF's arithmetic, the budget for all TIA programs described in the Report is about \$140 million in FY 2003 and about \$169 million in FY 2004.

### Lip service paid to privacy and civil liberties concerns even while TIA is experimenting with real data about real U.S. persons

Unsurprisingly, the Report strongly emphasizes privacy issues. Most obviously, the Report highlights the Genisys Privacy Protection Program, a sub-component of the Genisys database or "data repository" technology program.

While DARPA has talked about the need for operational or technical (as opposed to legal) TIA privacy safeguards for some time, and deserves credit for having done so, EFF is disappointed by the superficiality of the Report's discussion. The remainder of this review will identify shortcomings in the Report's approach to privacy.

The best example needs to be highlighted here: while the Report tries to reassure us that TIA is being developed with concern for privacy and civil liberties, it tells us that TIA is being tested on real data about real U.S. persons. "TIA's research and testing activities have depended entirely on (1) information legally obtainable and usable by the Federal Government under existing law, or (2) wholly synthetic, artificial data that has been generated to resemble and model real-world patterns of behavior." R-27 (emphasis in original).

This statement is troubling. It's OK that TIA R&D is using synthetic data (sort of like "The Sims" gone wild). It would be even more interesting to know the full set of "character attributes" used to generate these 10 million imaginary people. And that this synthetic data includes imaginary people "calling other imaginary people, traveling places, and buying things" tells us that TIA really is intended to analyze the full spectrum of transactions in everyday life.

But what about the "information legally obtainable and usable by the Federal Government under existing law"? The Report doesn't say much about how much or what kind of this information is actually being used. We know from TIA Program Directive Number 2 (Data Concerning Information About U.S. Persons) that DARPA is using DoD "intelligence entities" as "test nodes." Directives, p. 4 (D-4). These intelligence entities apparently include the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency,

## the new indicator

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beware; this paper contains dangerous ideas and sharp corners of poor layout.

# How to Find News on the Web

The mass-media today have vested interests in not reporting on stories that threaten the stability of their parent companies. When Fox (owned by Rupert Murdoch) refuses to air stories about the dangers of bovine growth hormone, made by Monsanto (see [foxbghsuit.com](http://foxbghsuit.com)), and even fires reporters for working on this story, should it come as a surprise that Rupert Murdoch is a major stockholder in Monsanto? Or when the U.S. military is giving away used weapons, including fighter jets, tanks and missiles, to create more demand for newer weapons, should we be surprised that NBC doesn't report on this when GE (parent company to NBC) is also the largest arms supplier in the world? These are just two examples out of hundreds of major stories that are ignored

or suppressed in the major U.S. media. The United States has more material wealth and power than any other country in the world. As citizens of the United States, we have more influence on the world than we think. The political and economic decisions that we make on a day to day basis are amplified in the rest of the world. Yet, most of us do not feel empowered or important, in fact, many feel exactly the opposite. This is because we are not informed. No matter what you believe in, you have a responsibility to educate yourself about what is going on in the world because your decisions have an effect. Getting informed doesn't mean watching the news. The news does not go into any detail on important subjects; how can it with just over 20 minutes of actual programming, including

sports. There is a wealth of information available but the trick is to find it. This guide will give you some useful resources for how to find information that are not available through mainstream sources. As for mainstream sources, while TV is usually not worth the time spent turning up the volume, good information can often be obtained by reading economic journals like the Wall Street Journal or the Economist. Unfortunately, these cost money and definitely are made to serve the interests of the wealthy but they do in depth analysis of important issues.

The best way to get information these days is on the internet. Because of the ease of reaching a larger community, most independent media projects are totally or in part on

line. Even if you don't have your own computer, you can go to a library to search for information. However, one big problem with the internet is that there is just too much information and it is hard to find reliable news. The following is a guide of independent media sources and descriptions of their background. We also include some research hints for those who become more interested in finding information out that isn't being reported even in the independent media.

When getting news online it is very useful to go to multiple sources that cover similar stories. There is no such thing as objective reporting. The best way to make up your own mind is by having as many sources as possible. One good way of determining the usefulness of a story is to see if the

reporter lists sources of more information that are credible. It is wise to be critical of corporate funded think tanks and corporate research as these are usually investments made by businesses with the idea that they will return a profit in terms of PR. As you start to get more familiar with news on the internet you will find that there is a lot more than you can possibly digest. It is a good idea to limit yourself to particular topics that are significant to you. You will find that being informed and having a critical opinion about one thing will lead you to developing a context that other news will become more understandable within. Also, it is good to have two or three solid news sources that you check on a day to day basis.

Below are some good places to start on the internet. This list is not exhaustive but should give a good beginning to those who haven't yet started news hunting on the web.

## Independent News Sources

### Democracy Now

[www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)  
Democracy Now is a radio show hosted by award winning journalists, Amy Goodman and Juan Gonzales. Democracy Now is sponsored by Pacifica Radio and airs on stations nationwide but it can also be heard (and seen) on the web with streaming audio. Democracy Now is two hours of news Monday - Friday. This is a very good basic news source. The two hour show without commercials gives more time for discussion and analysis than most news. This is the best available English language audio/video news source.

### The Independent

[www.independent.co.uk](http://www.independent.co.uk)  
An important non-corporate website featuring articles from England's paper, The Independent. Internationally renowned journalist, Robert Fisk, known for his reporting on U.S. and English imperialism in the Middle East, writes for the Independent.

### Indymedia

[www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org)  
The Independent Media Center is a network of collectively run media outlets for the creation of radical, accurate and passionate tellings of the truth. Founded in 1999 in an effort to cover the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, IMCs have since sprouted up in dozens of regions around the world, from Chiapas to Jerusalem. Providing free media access online, IMC is an invaluable resource.

### Al Jazeera

[www.cursors.org/aljazeera.htm](http://www.cursors.org/aljazeera.htm)  
Al Jazeera is the first independent Arabic channel, and offers alternatives to the Western media's world view. It was launched in 1996, based in Qatar and funded by the Emir of Qatar. It has an audience of 35 million plus and is working on expanding its news to English along with Arabic. Al Jazeera is well known for publishing stories

about the recent War on Iraq that the U.S. and British media ignored. They were targeted by critics in the western media as well as U.S. bombs in Iraq. Their English website has also been attacked and is temporarily down. The website above is an English website about Al Jazeera, the website in parentheses is the url for the English language website that is temporarily down.

### The United Nations News

[www.un.org/News](http://www.un.org/News)  
This is the news page of the United Nations.

### The Guardian

[www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk)  
The Guardian was founded in Manchester in 1821 in angry response to the Battle of Peterloo, an event as shocking in its day as the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa was to a later generation: 11 people were killed and hundreds wounded after the army turned their guns on a peaceful rally in the city. Today it provides a critical view of events in Britain and abroad. The structure of the Guardian is set up to protect the independence of the editor.

## Analysis and Criticism

### Counterpunch

[www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org)  
Counterpunch is a bi-weekly news letter that prints stories often not found elsewhere. The tone of writing is biting and sarcastic. The analysis of current events is excellent.

### North American Congress on Latin America

[www.nacla.org](http://www.nacla.org)  
The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) is an independent non-profit organization founded in 1966. NACLA provides policy makers, analysts, academics, organizers, journalists and religious and community groups with information on major trends in Latin America and its relations with the United States

### The Nation

[www.thenation.com](http://www.thenation.com)  
The Nation is an independent journal that has been criticizing American politics since 1865. It is currently available online.

### Z magazine

[www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org)  
Z Magazine is a monthly independent leftist journal. Its web page contains archives of the magazine as well as being a resource for activists concerned with building a grassroots social movement. Zmag.org has extensive archives of work by Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn and Michael Albert.

## Media Watchdogs

### FAIR

[www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org)  
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting is a media watchdog group that reports on corporate media's bias and conflicts of interest.

### Project Censored

[www.projectcensored.org](http://www.projectcensored.org)  
Project Censored is based at Cal State, Sonoma and has been reporting on purposefully censored or ignored stories since 1994. Each year a panel picks the Top 25 censored stories.

## Online Resource Centers

### infoshop.org

[www.infoshop.org](http://www.infoshop.org)  
Infoshop.org is an online anarchist community resource that includes news, information about anarchism and resources for activists and anti-authoritarians.

### Organization for Autonomous Telecommunications

[www.tao.ca](http://www.tao.ca)  
Tao or the Organization for Autonomous Telecommunications is an online resource. Tao Communications is a regional federation comprised of local autonomous collectives and individuals. They create knowledge through

independent public interest research, and distribute it freely through participatory education.

### Information Clearing House

[www.informationclearinghouse.info](http://www.informationclearinghouse.info)  
The Information Clearing House is a non-profit, independent source of stories that have been censored or ignored by the American media. This is a good website to use for finding many sources of independent media.

### Cryptome

[www.cryptome.org](http://www.cryptome.org)  
Cryptome publishes documents that are prohibited or suppressed by governments worldwide; in particular material on freedom of expression, privacy, cryptology, dual-use technologies, national security, intelligence, and blast protection -- open, secret and classified documents -- but not limited to those.

### National Security Archive

[www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv)  
The National Security Archive collects and publishes declassified government documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

### First Amendment Project

[www.thefirstamendment.org](http://www.thefirstamendment.org)  
The First Amendment website contains all of the information you will need to file your own Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. This is an invaluable tool for discovering what our government is up to on all levels.

## Important Mainstream News Sources

**The New York Times**  
[www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)

**The Economist**  
[www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)

**The Wall Street Journal**  
[www.wsj.com](http://www.wsj.com)

**BBC** — [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk)  
**News Corp** — [www.newscorp.com](http://www.newscorp.com)  
**Reuters** — [www.reuters.com](http://www.reuters.com)

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# Why War?

Instead, the U.S. media is constantly asking: "Who do we fight next in this war on terrorism?" Will it be Syria (not enough oil), or North Korea (let Japan do it), how about Iran... One must ask themselves, what is the reason that the U.S. really wants to wage this war on the middle east. Many say it is for democracy, others say it is for oil. In fact, the policy makers themselves have already said why. In 1990 when the USSR broke up and ceased to be a world super power, America found itself the single most powerful country in the world. It called this power "preeminence". This "preeminence" was something that needed to be guarded and hence the plans to control the middle east.

PNAC, or the Project for the New American Century was founded in 1997 by a group of conservatives including Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney, James Woolsey, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Bill Kristol, James Bolton, Zalmay M. Khalilzad, William Bennett, Dan Quayle, and Jeb Bush. In 1998, PNAC urged President Clinton to invade Iraq. While he refused, he did continue the frequent bombing of Iraqi civilians and infrastructure. Their plans did

not end with Iraq, rather Iraq was seen as an important step in securing American "preeminence" in the middle east.

The policies written about by PNAC sought to establish a "benevolent [American] global hegemony." In 2000, PNAC submitted a report about "Rebuilding Americas Military" (even though the Military had, at the time over 40% of the national budget). The PNAC report was open about their desire to move the U.S. toward imperialist militarism. In order to move towards a policy "conducive to American interests and ideals...The challenge of this coming century is to preserve and enhance this 'American peace'." In order to create and enforce this "pax Americana" PNAC says that we will need to "fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major-theater wars."

In serving as world "con- stable," no other forces will be permitted to get in the way. Such actions "demand American political leadership rather than that of the United Nations." No country will be permitted to compete with the U.S. when it comes to weaponry or influence; therefore, more U.S. military bases will be established in the various regions of the globe.

(The post-Saddam Iraq will serve as one of those advance military bases.) It is estimated that the U.S. now has nearly 150 military bases and deployments in different countries around the world. (informationclearinghouse.info)

In one of their major reports, written in 2000, PNAC noted that "the process of transformation, even if it brings revolutionary change, is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor."

After 9/11 and following conflict in Afghanistan, the Bush Administration in September of 2002 published its "National Security Strategy of the United States of America." The official policy of the U.S. government, is virtually identical to the policy proposals in the various white papers of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) and others like it over the past decade.

Chief among them is the policy of "pre-emptive" war. Whenever the U.S. thinks a country may be amassing too much power and/or could provide some sort of competition in the "benevolent hegemony" region, it can be attacked, without provocation. A later corollary would open up the country's atomic policy: nuclear weapons no longer need be considered defensive, but could

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previously been "no" banners. Also, banners in Warren and Muir colleges were defaced by removing the "NO" from "Vote No" and crossing out the web page, replacing it with: "www.ucsdexpansion.org."

Members of the "Yes" campaign threatened students who were passing out "no" literature. One member who is also the vice-chair of UCAB, Justin Williams, threatened a female student on the "No" campaign, whispering menacingly, "you better watch out." "Yes" campaign members attempted to physically remove campaign material from library walk and verbally harassed two members of the "No" campaign. They also slandered the "no" campaign with literature calling historical information, "lies," and "deceit." In an effort to respond to these smear tactics, the "No" campaign put up a website to document their sources of information. This site can still be found at www.studentcontrol.org, even though the accusations from the "Yes" website were taken down immediately after the election.

One of the most important failings in this referendum was the lack of Elections Bylaws. In an attempt to block a grassroots student movement to include

the issue of independence from the vote, the Graduate Student Association, along with undergraduate members of the referendum task force, threw out the Associated Students' proposed bylaws just two weeks before the elections. This led to a state of confusion where the AS never formally agreed on any bylaws, the GSA held that it was an administration run referendum and the administration claimed that it was an AS referendum. This confusion was increased when the AS, who was in charge of running the referendum, voted to endorse the referendum, creating a conflict of interest. The lack of bylaws gave the "yes" campaign (self titled the "Referendum Strike Force") the go-ahead to indiscriminately destroy and deface the "No" campaign's literature. The AS un-elect President, Jeremy Gallagher was presented with this problem before the voting started and had the chance to do something about it, but did not. Students from the co-ops suggested postponing the election until 9th week in order to get proper elections bylaws but Gallagher was unwilling to listen to this request. The GSA's lack of participation is also disturbing given their charge of representing UCSD graduate students. The fact that they were unwilling to participate in creating any

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## TIA:

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the Defense Intelligence Agency and DoD's Counterintelligence Field Activity, A-2.

More to the point, the directive says: "During experiments, DARPA, contract and contract support personnel analyze real data with various tools to examine real problems. . . . As a result of these experiments, interesting results from an intelligence perspective may be generated. Judgments regarding the value of such results and any subsequent production of intelligence is the purview of the operational users and analysts, not DARPA." D-5. We see here, all too clearly, that DARPA has already washed its hands as to the potential effects of using TIA on data about real people.

**The Report's discussion of privacy is too limited**

*A red herring: giant databases*

A clear message of the Report is that TIA is not intended to create a giant government database. R-27 ("the TIA Program is not attempting to create or access a centralized database that will store information gathered from various publicly or privately held databases").

But this message is no comfort. As noted above, part of TIA aims to make physically disparate heterogeneous databases seem like a giant "virtual" database. If so, does it really

matter that there is no "real" centralized database? People are already concerned about the loss of "practical obscurity" as searchable public records databases go online and as search engines make it easier to find information about them across many websites.

*Fe. TIA programs are actually evaluated*

The Report admits that "ultimate implementation of some of the component programs of TIA may raise significant and novel privacy and civil liberties policy issues." R-27. But it does little to address these issues. Instead, the Report addresses privacy issues that might arise during DARPA's development of TIA. And even here, the Report raises more questions than it answers: TIA is being tested on "real data" about real people.

When the Report does talk about specific TIA programs, it takes shortcuts. Of the 18 TIA programs, the Report identifies only eight that raise privacy concerns: Genisys, EELD, SSNA, MinDet, Bio-ALIRT, HumanID, ARM, and NGFR. But almost in the same breath, the Report sets aside Bio-ALIRT and the three "human identification" tools because "they are not the programs that have given rise to the greatest level of concern (or that gave rise to this report)." R-31.

This is a pretty blatant dodge. For example, ARM and NGFR weren't even funded in FY 2003; there's hardly been time

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# Instant-Mix Imperial Democracy (Buy One, Get One Free)

by Arundhati Roy

*Note: This talk was given on May 13, 2003, at The Riverside Church in New York City. The event was sponsored by the Center for Economic and Social Rights, and the talk was published on Sunday, May 18, 2003, by CommonDreams.org. The talk has been edited for length.*

When the United States invaded Iraq, a New York Times/CBS News survey estimated that 42 percent of the American public believed that Saddam Hussein was directly responsible for the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. And an ABC News poll said that 55 percent of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein directly supported Al Qaida. None of this opinion is based on evidence (because there isn't any). All of it is based on insinuation, auto-suggestion, and outright lies circulated by the U.S. corporate media, otherwise known as the "Free Press," that hollow pillar of which contemporary American democracy rests.

Apart from the invented links between Iraq and Al Qaida, we had the manufactured frenzy about Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction. George Bush the Lesser went to the extent of saying it would be "suicidal"

for the U.S. not to attack Iraq. We once again witnessed the paranoia that a starved, bombed, besieged country was about to annihilate almighty America. (Iraq was only the latest in a succession of countries - earlier there was Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, Grenada, and Panama.) But this time it wasn't just your ordinary brand of friendly neighborhood frenzy. It was Frenzy with a Purpose. It ushered in an old doctrine in a new bottle: the Doctrine of Pre-emptive Strike, a.k.a. The United States Can Do Whatever The Hell It Wants, And That's Official.

The war against Iraq has been fought and won and no Weapons of Mass Destruction have been found. Not even a little one. Perhaps they'll have to be planted before they're discovered. And then, the more troublesome amongst us will need an explanation for why Saddam Hussein didn't use them when his country was being invaded.

Of course, there'll be no answers...

In stark contrast to the venality displayed by their governments, on the 15th of February, weeks before the invasion, in the most spectacular display of public morality the world has ever seen, more than 10 million people marched against the war on 5 continents. Many of you, I'm sure, were among them.

technologies is a "very difficult problem" and that it's just beginning these tests. R-17.

Second, the Report emphasizes privacy protection technologies, like automated audit trails, selective revelation, and anonymization. R-34. But the probable effectiveness of these technologies is not discussed. No information is given about the current state of these techniques or how well they will in a large and complex system.

Third, the Report relies heavily on the mantra that existing law protects privacy. For instance, each operational component of DoD that hosts TIA tools or technologies is supposed to "prepare a substantive legal review that . . . analyzes the legal issues raised by the underlying program to which the TIA tools will be applied." R-34. Maybe these reviews will be more enlightening than the Report itself.

**The report ignores problems in existing privacy law**

The Report tells us that TIA must "operate within the confines of existing law." R-32; R-28 ("This report does not recommend any changes in statutory law"). There are three problems here. First, there's no reason to think that existing law adequately protects personal privacy or civil liberties. For example, Watergate-era laws like the Privacy Act are widely regarded today as under-enforced and riddled with loopholes; the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance

They - we - were disregarded with utter disdain. When asked to react to the anti-war demonstrations, President Bush said, "It's like deciding, well, I'm going to decide policy based upon a focus group. The role of a leader is to decide policy based upon the security, in this case the security of the people." Democracy, the modern world's holy cow, is in crisis. And the crisis is a profound one. Every kind of outrage is being committed in the name of democracy. It has become little more than a hollow word, a pretty shell, emptied of all content or meaning. It can be whatever you want it to be. Democracy is the Free World's whore, willing to dress up, dress down, willing to satisfy a whole range of taste, available to be used and abused at will.

Until quite recently, right up to the 1980's, democracy did seem as though it might actually succeed in delivering a degree of real social justice.

But modern democracies have been around for long enough for neo-liberal capitalists to learn how to subvert them. They have mastered the technique of infiltrating the instruments of democracy - the "independent" judiciary, the "free" press, the parliament - and molding them to their purpose. The project of corporate globalization has cracked the code. Free elections,

Act's reliance on secret courts and proceedings is of highly questionable constitutionality; and the Fourth Amendment's constitutional protections have been greatly weakened by the Supreme Court's restricted concept of "reasonable expectation of privacy."

Second, the gaps in existing privacy law are widening because of new technologies that expose more of our lives to others and eliminate "reasonable" privacy expectations. The rise of the Internet and e-mail means that warrantless surveillance can gather information about people's reading and viewing habits—something that was unlikely to happen before the Internet.

Third, "existing" privacy law changes. Since 9/11, the passage of the USA-PATRIOT Act, the Homeland Security Act, and the Aviation Security Act have caused tectonic shifts in the privacy landscape, and not for the better. Tellingly, the Report actually lists the USA-PATRIOT Act and the Homeland Security Act as laws that "might either constrain or (as a logistical matter) completely block deployment of TIA search tools." R-18.

And sometimes, when new technologies might make surveillance harder for the government, new laws or regulations lighten the government's burden. The use of encryption has been held back by government regulation of encryption export; when the FBI told Congress that digital telephony might hinder its ability to wiretap phone, the Com-

a free press, and an independent judiciary mean little when the free market has reduced them to commodities on sale to the highest bidder.

Democracy has become Empire's euphemism for neo-liberal capitalism.

In the United States, the arrangement is more complex. Clear Channel Worldwide Incorporated is the largest radio station owner in the country. It runs more than 1,200 channels, which together account for 9 percent of the market. Its CEO contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Bush's election campaign. When hundreds of thousands of American citizens took to the streets to protest against the war on Iraq, Clear Channel organized pro-war patriotic "Rallies for America" across the country. It used its radio stations to advertise the events and then sent correspondents to cover them as though they were breaking news. The era of manufacturing consent has given way to the era of manufacturing news. Soon media newsrooms will drop the pretense, and start hiring theatre directors instead of journalists.

As America's show business gets more and more violent and war-like, and America's wars get more and more like show business, some interesting cross-overs are taking place. The

designer who built the 250,000 dollar set in Qatar from which General Tommy Franks stage-managed news coverage of Operation Shock and Awe also built sets for Disney, MGM, and "Good Morning America."

It is a cruel irony that the U.S., which has the most ardent, vociferous defenders of the idea of Free Speech, and (until recently) the most elaborate legislation to protect it, has so circumscribed the space in which that freedom can be expressed. In a strange, convoluted way, the sound and fury that accompanies the legal and conceptual defense of Free Speech in America serves to mask the process of the rapid erosion of the possibilities of actually exercising that freedom.

The news and entertainment industry in the U.S. is for the most part controlled by a few major corporations - AOL-Time Warner, Disney, Viacom, News Corporation. Each of these corporations owns and controls TV stations, film studios, record companies, and publishing ventures. Effectively, the exits are sealed.

America's media empire is controlled by a tiny coterie of people. Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission Michael Powell, the son of Sec-

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## Democracy:

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Democracy to its peoples. Even though the media has dropped Afghanistan like an old rag, yesterday's news is still important. We should look at Afghanistan for an example of how the U.S. manages a country that it has brought "democracy" to.

Afghanistan is still reeling from the U.S. invasion and tales of human rights abuses are filtering through the tight security that the U.S. is trying to keep around all information in Afghanistan. Citizens in Afghanistan are complaining that the Taliban is back and it is even more repressive than before. The U.S. is even putting members of the Taliban back into power where alternatives exist.

In addition to this, there is new, conclusive evidence that U.S. forces have been involved in the slaughter of 3000 plus unarmed prisoners in Afghanistan. *Afghan Massacre: Convoy of Death* is a recent documentary about the U.S.'s treatment of prisoners in Afghanistan. It tells the story of thousands who surrendered to the US military's Afghan allies after the siege of Kunduz. According to eyewitnesses, some three thousand of the prisoners were forced into sealed containers and loaded onto trucks for transport to Sheberghan prison. Eyewitnesses say when the prisoners began shouting for air, U.S.-allied Afghan soldiers fired directly into the truck, killing many of them. The rest suffered through

an appalling road trip lasting up to four days, so thirsty they clawed at the skin of their fellow prisoners as they licked perspiration and even drank blood from open wounds.

Witnesses say that when the trucks arrived and soldiers opened the containers, most of the people inside were dead. They also say US Special Forces re-directed the containers carrying the living and dead into the desert and stood by as survivors were shot and buried. Now, up to three thousand bodies lie buried in a mass grave.

The film has sent shockwaves around the world. It has been broadcast on national television in Britain, Germany, Italy and Australia. It has been screened by the European parliament. It has outraged human rights groups and international human rights lawyers. They are calling for investigation into whether U.S. Special Forces are guilty of war crimes.

But most Americans have never heard of the film. That's because not one corporate media outlet in the U.S. will touch it. It has never before been broadcast in this country. (to download: informationclearinghouse.info/article3532.htm).

Human rights organizations are condemning America's involvement in Afghanistan. The U.S. special forces have refused to allow international press access and have continued to threaten, intimidate and beat reporters. Women's rights have declined to worse than they were under the Taliban. Unexploded bomblets from illegal cluster

bombs that the U.S. dropped still litter the country.

Human Rights Watch has written about the post-U.S. invasion of Afghanistan that there are "increasingly harsh restrictions on women and girls" by the new Afghan government, "who has received military and financial assistance from the United States."

"The United States blocked proposals by Afghan leaders, including President Hamid Karzai, and the United Nations, for an expanded ISAF to patrol the countryside and act as a deterrent to renewed fighting and human rights abuses by warlords and their subordinates. The solution offered by the U.S., to have warlords provide security outside of Kabul while the international community trains a future Afghan army, has proven to be a failure." (www.hrw.org/backgrounder/asia/afghanistan/bonn1yr-bck.htm)

These are significant problems and it leads one to ask the question: Is the U.S. serious in its attempts to bring democracy to the peoples of Afghanistan and Iraq? If it is not blatantly lying, is the U.S. even capable of providing the basic organizational necessities to a war torn country? These are not merely questions to ponder in the abstract. There are many who are living the responses to these questions right now. Maybe before we start talking about the next country to destabilize or "bring democracy to", we should attempt to make good on our promises to help Afghanistan and Iraq.

Roy:

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retary of State Colin Powell, has proposed even further deregulation of the communication industry, which will lead to even greater consolidation.

So here it is - the World's Greatest Democracy, led by a man who was not legally elected. America's Supreme Court gifted him his job. What price have American people paid for this spurious presidency?

In the three years of George Bush the Lesser's term, the American economy has lost more than two million jobs. Outlandish military expenses, corporate welfare, and tax giveaways to the rich have created a financial crisis for the U.S. educational system. According to a survey by the National Council of State Legislatures, U.S. states cut 49 billion dollars in public services, health, welfare benefits, and education in 2002. They plan to cut another 25.7 billion dollars this year. That makes a total of 75 billion dollars. Bush's initial budget request to Congress to finance the war in Iraq was 80 billion dollars.

So who's paying for the war? America's poor. Its students, its unemployed, its single mothers, its hospital and home-care patients, its teachers, and health workers.

And who's actually fighting the war?

Once again, America's poor. The soldiers who are baking in Iraq's desert sun are not the children of the rich. Only one of all the representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate has a child fighting in Iraq. America's "volunteer" army in fact depends on a poverty draft of poor whites, Blacks, Latinos, and Asians looking for a way to earn a living and get an education. Federal statistics show that African Americans make up 21 percent of the total armed forces and 29 percent of the U.S. army. They count for only 12 percent of the general population. It's ironic, isn't it - the disproportionately high representation of African Americans in the army and prison? Perhaps we should take a positive view, and look at this as affirmative action at its most effective. Nearly 4 million Americans (2 percent of the population) have lost the right to vote because of felony convictions. Of that number, 1.4 million are African Americans, which means that 13 percent of all voting-age Black people have been disenfranchised.

For African Americans there's also affirmative action in death. A study by the economist Amartya Sen shows that African Americans as a group have a lower life expectancy than people born in China, in the Indian State of Kerala (where I come from), Sri Lanka, or Costa Rica. Bangladeshi men have a better chance of making it to the age of forty than African American men from here in Harlem.

This year, on what would have

been Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 74th birthday, President Bush denounced the University of Michigan's affirmative action program favouring Blacks and Latinos. He called it "divisive," "unfair," and "unconstitutional." The successful effort to keep Blacks off the voting rolls in the State of Florida in order that George Bush be elected was of course neither unfair nor unconstitutional. I don't suppose affirmative action for White Boys From Yale ever is.

So we know who's paying for the war. We know who's fighting it. But who will benefit from it? Who is homing in on the reconstruction contracts estimated to be worth up to one hundred billion dollars? Could it be America's poor and unemployed and sick? Could it be America's single mothers? Or America's Black and Latino minorities?

Arising across this subterfuge, dwarfing it by the sheer magnitude of its malevolence, is America's anti-terrorism legislation. The U.S.A. Patriot Act, passed in October 2001, has become the blueprint for similar anti-terrorism bills in countries across the world. It was passed in the House of Representatives by a majority vote of 337 to 79 according to the New York Times. "Many lawmakers said it had been impossible to truly debate or even read the legislation."

The Patriot Act ushers in an era of systemic automated surveillance. It gives the government the authority to monitor phones and computers and spy on people in ways that would have seemed completely unacceptable a few years ago. It gives the FBI the power to seize all of the circulation, purchasing, and other records of library users and bookstore customers on the suspicion that they are part of a terrorist network. It blurs the boundaries between speech and criminal activity creating the space to construe acts of civil disobedience as violating the law.

Apart from paying the actual economic costs of war, American people are paying for these wars of "liberation" with their own freedoms, the price of "New Democracy" in other countries is the death of real democracy at home.

The U.S. government has already displayed in no uncertain terms the range and extent of its capability for paranoid aggression. In human psychology, paranoid aggression is usually an indicator of nervous insecurity. It could be argued that it's no different in the case of the psychology of nations. Empire is paranoid because it has a soft underbelly.

Its "homeland" may be defended by border patrols and nuclear weapons, but its economy is strung out across the globe. Its economic outposts are exposed and vulnerable. Already the Internet is buzzing with elaborate lists of American and British government products

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Network:

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faculty, staff, politicians and the local community have been the force that have pushed all of these campaigns to victory in a relatively short period of time. Although workers had been attempting to organize for years, the formation of a coalition catalyzed the timeline of each campaign. From the time of the formation of their respective coalitions the UCSD campaign won in four months and the UCSC campaign won in only six weeks. Although all of these student-labor solidarity efforts were occurring across the UC system students were not connected on any formal level until the Santa Cruz con-

ference, entitled, the UC Organizing Institute (UCOI). Students agreed to meet regularly by regions to share resources and strategies and to have a UCOI conference each year.

Students across the UC are at different stages of organizing, some like UCR and UCI are just beginning to form coalitions and others like UCSD and UCLA are working on new campaigns and on developing new and maintaining old relationships with campus workers. At UCLA students hold classes on citizenship and English as a second language, and are currently working on a new campaign involving parking workers. At UCSD, MEChA's workers committee is doing building visits with janitors, and will also be holding work-

shops. Students for Economic Justice (SEJ) is doing research on a campus living wage and on what gains can be made with Price Center Food Court workers that earn \$6.75/hour and have no benefits or job security. Off campus SEJ helped win the Justice for Janitors contract campaign and is helping to pass a living wage ordinance for the city of San Diego. According to the campaign win pattern in the UC's, 2004 should bring its fair share of victories across California, if students continue to play a pivotal role.

For more info on how to get involved in this state-wide movement email us at sejuccd@riseup.net or come to an SEJ meeting: Tuesday 7pm at the Women's Center.

Price:

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election bylaws marginalized the high amount of Graduate Student discontent with the referendum.

While it is sad that the referendum passed because of undemocratic tactics by the administration and their student lackeys, it is not too late for the students at UCSD to get informed and take control of their student centers. Because

of the information that the "No" campaign put out and the pressure they levied by organizing a huge No-Vote turnout (well over 2000 students voted against the referendum), the administration was scrambling to start long overdue improvements on the Student Center, UCAB is considering for the first time in its ten year existence to have elections for some of its representatives and the student governments are finally seriously considering independence. All of these things are the direct

response to students like you organizing efforts and putting pressure on the administration to listen to our voices. It is even more important after the passage of the administration's referendum that we make it clear that the money raised is student's money. It is also important not to let all of these movements drop by the wayside. The information that the New Indicator printed in the Fee Referendum issue and online at www.studentcontrol.org is still relevant.

TIA:

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see with "no-fly" and other watchlists.

Civil liberties and TIA

The Report defines civil liberties as "relat[ing] primarily to the protection of the individual's constitutional rights to, among others, freedom of expression, freedom of the press and assembly, freedom of religion, interstate travel, equal protection, and due process of law." R-27. But it says nothing meaningful about how implementing TIA might affect these civil liberties, even though some impacts are pretty obvious.

We noted above, for instance, that the Report recognized that TIA's human identification tools raised privacy issues. But they raise obvious civil liberties issues as well. ARM (Activity Recognition Monitoring) is intended to improve the ability to interpret crowd behavior. In conjunction with NGFR (Next-Generation Face Recognition) and HumanID, the ability to monitor political demonstrations, religious assemblies, and gatherings of all kinds will be enhanced. We don't even have to add in the other tools—the potential for chilling effects on protected expressive activity is clear.

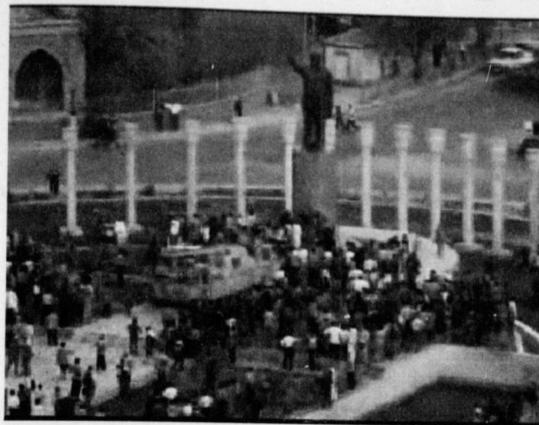
Even without TIA, we've had hints of the problems. One example: an FBI database, the Violent Gang and Terrorist

Organization File (VGTOF), is expanding. In 1995 VGTOF was mainly used to track violent urban street gangs; today, it includes categories like "anarchists," "militia," "white supremacist," "black extremist," "animal rights extremist," "environmental extremist," "radical Islamic extremist," and "European origin extremist." And of course, data accuracy is a problem here. The Denver police department had for years been keeping secret files on political activists such as the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker peace-activist group, and the pro-gun lobby. Last summer, when a man listed in the Denver files as a gun-rights group member got into a fender-bender, a police officer checking VGTOF found him described as "a member of a terrorist organization" and part of a "militia." According to a Denver police memo, the officer reported the stop to the FBI as a "terrorist contact." The Denver police and the FBI decline to comment on how the man ended up in VGTOF.

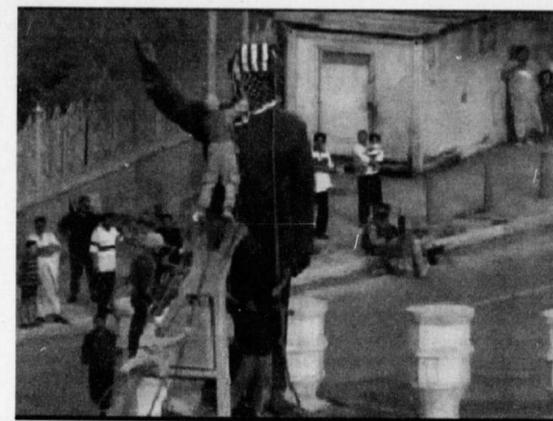
We have no good information about how many mistakes are in these databases; we should be especially concerned by their reliance on inherently fuzzy concepts like "extremist." And yet only recently the Justice Department exempted the FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC) database, which provides over 80,000 law enforcement agencies with access to data on wanted persons, missing persons, gang members, stolen cars, boats, and other information, from the Pri-

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WE ALMOST FORGOT IT WAS A LIE!



FINALLY! FREEDOM COMES TO IRAQ!!! EVERYONE IS FREE TO TRAMPLE ON THE HATED STATUE OF SADDAM! EVERYONE HELP PULL IT DOWN!



IT WAS SO TRIUMPHANT! SO GLORIOUS! WAIT! WHERE THE FUCK DID THAT FLAG COME FROM!?! HOW DID THE FLAG FROM THE 9/11 PENTAGON GET TO BAGHDAD WITH SOME MARINES!?!?



photos from: www.informationclearinghouse.info/article2838.htm

LOOK HOW THE PEOPLE OF BAGHDAD ARE CROWDING THE STREETS TO CELEBRATE THEIR FREEDOM!

LOOK HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE AROUND THE STATUE! THERE'S LIKE - 200! IN A CITY OF OVER 5 MILLION!

AND A TANK WAS PULLING DOWN THE STATUE!! I DIDN'T SEE THAT ON TV!!!

HOW MANY OF THOSE PEOPLE ARE JOURNALISTS???

WE SHOULD BE SO PROUD THAT 139 AMERICANS WENT TO IRAQ TO DIE SO THAT ALL OF THESE HAPPY CITIZENS COULD TEAR DOWN THIS STATUE!!!

THIS IS CERTAINLY THE FREEDOM THEY WERE LOOKING FOR! WITH HELP FROM TANKS AND MARINES!

DONALD RUMSFELD CALLED THIS "BREATHAKING"!!!!

I AM PROUD OF MY PRESIDENT!

Roy:

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and companies that should be boycotted. Apart from the usual targets - Coke, Pepsi, McDonalds - government agencies like USAID, the British DFID, British and American banks, Arthur Andersen, Merrill Lynch, and American Express could find themselves under siege. These lists are being honed and refined by activists across the world. They could become a practical guide that directs the amorphous but growing fury in the world. Suddenly, the "inevitability" of the project of Corporate Globalization is beginning to seem more than a little evitable.

It would be naïve to imagine that we can directly confront Empire. Our strategy must be to isolate Empire's working parts and disable them one by one. No target is too small. No victory too insignificant. We could reverse the idea of the economic sanctions imposed on poor countries by Empire and its Allies. We could impose a regime of Peoples' Sanctions on every corporate house that has been awarded with a contract in postwar Iraq, just as activists in this country and around

the world targeted institutions of apartheid. Each one of them should be named, exposed, and boycotted. Forced out of business. That could be our response to the Shock and Awe campaign. It would be a great beginning.

Another urgent challenge is to expose the corporate media for the boardroom bulletin that it really is. We need to create a universe of alternative information. We need to support independent media like Democracy Now!, Alternative Radio, and South End Press.

The battle to reclaim democracy is going to be a difficult one. Our freedoms were not granted to us by any governments. They were wrested from them by us. And once we surrender them, the battle to retrieve them is called a revolution. It is a battle that must range across continents and countries. It must not acknowledge national boundaries but, if it is to succeed, it has to begin here. In America. The only institution more powerful than the U.S. government is American civil society. The rest of us are subjects of slave nations. We are by no means powerless, but you have the power of proximity. You have access to the Imperial Palace and the Emperor's chambers. Empire's conquests are being carried out in your

name, and you have the right to refuse. You could refuse to fight. Refuse to move those missiles from the warehouse to the dock. Refuse to wave that flag. Refuse the victory parade.

You have a rich tradition of resistance. You need only read Howard Zinn's A People's History of the United States to remind yourself of this. Hundreds of thousands of you have survived the relentless propaganda you have been subjected to, and are actively fighting your own government. In the ultra-patriotic climate that prevails in the United States, that's as brave as any Iraqi or Afghan or Palestinian fighting for his or her homeland.

If you join the battle, not in your hundreds of thousands, but in your millions, you will be greeted joyously by the rest of the world. And you will see how beautiful it is to be gentle instead of brutal, safe instead of scared. Befriended instead of isolated. Loved instead of hated.

I hate to disagree with your president. Yours is by no means a great nation. But you could be a great people.

History is giving you the chance.

Seize the time.

TIA:

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infamous in California Bankers Association v. Shultz. Even without TIA, there has been talk of requiring ISPs to retain records of their subscriber's Internet use.

Conclusion

EFF's criticisms may seem unfairly harsh. Congress certainly did not expect DARPA to produce a rigorous dissertation on privacy and civil liberties. Nevertheless, we are disappointed by the lack of concrete discussion. In our experience, researchers usually think a great deal about how their work might be used, and often have a better idea of their work's implications than do outsiders. EFF hoped, perhaps vainly, that some of that concrete thinking about TIA's implications would be revealed in the Report. Instead, the Report is largely content to speak in broad and vague terms about what TIA may accomplish and how the privacy and civil liberties concerns might be addressed if everything works.

Why?:

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be used offensively in support of political/economic ends; so-called "mini-nukes" could be employed in these regional wars.

The Bush administration is looking for its next target. They have already threatened Syria, Iran, North Korea, Cuba and others. The world is fed up. The justifications for the war on Iraq have not panned out. There were no weapons of mass destruction. Mostly the Bush administration has succeeded in spurring other nations to work together to oppose the United States. China and Russia have already started talks about opposing America's Imperial goals. France, Germany and Belgium have started talks about starting a European peace keeping force. The sentiment towards the United States in the middle east is one of anger which is laying the groundwork for more terrorism. The main effects of the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have been to turn the world into an arena of conflict with ever increasingly sophisticated weapons, capable of destroying humanity.

## We're talking about weapons of mass destruction here!

Every day Saddam remains in power with chemical weapons, biological weapons, and the development of nuclear weapons is a day of danger for the United States.

**Sen. Joseph Lieberman,  
Democrat - CT  
September 4, 2002**

Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction.

**Dick Cheney  
August 26, 2002**

Right now, Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons.

**George W. Bush  
September 12, 2002**

If he declares he has none, then we will know that Saddam Hussein is once again misleading the world.

**Ari Fleischer  
December 2, 2002**

We know for a fact that there are weapons there.

**Ari Fleischer  
January 9, 2003**

Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent.

**George W. Bush  
January 28, 2003**

We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction, is determined to make more.

**Colin Powell  
February 5, 2003**

We have sources that tell us that Saddam Hussein recently authorized Iraqi field commanders to use chemical weapons—the very weapons the dictator tells us he does not have.

**George Bush  
February 8, 2003**

So has the strategic decision been made to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction by the leadership in Baghdad? I think our judgment has to be clearly not.

**Colin Powell  
March 8, 2003**

Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised.

**George Bush  
March 17, 2003**

Well, there is no question that we have evidence and information that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, biological and chemical particularly... all this will be made clear in the course of the operation, for whatever duration it takes.

**Ari Fleischer  
March 21, 2003**

There is no doubt that the regime of Saddam Hussein possesses weapons of mass destruction. As this operation continues, those weapons will be identified, found, along with the people who have produced them and who guard them.

**Gen. Tommy Franks  
March 22, 2003**

I have no doubt we're going to find big stores of weapons of mass destruction.

**Kenneth Adelman, Defense Policy Board  
March 23, 2003**

One of our top objectives is to find and destroy the WMD. There are a number of sites.

**Pentagon Spokeswoman  
Victoria Clark  
March 22, 2003**

We know where they are. They are in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad.

**Donald Rumsfeld  
March 30, 2003**

Obviously the administration intends to publicize all the weapons of mass destruction U.S. forces find—and there will be plenty.

**Neocon scholar Robert Kagan  
April 9, 2003**

I think you have always heard, and you continue to hear from officials, a measure of high confidence that, indeed, the weapons of mass destruction will be found.

**Ari Fleischer  
April 10, 2003**

We are learning more as we interrogate or have discussions with Iraqi scientists and people within the Iraqi structure, that perhaps he destroyed some, perhaps he dispersed some. And so we will find them.

**George Bush  
April 24, 2003**

There are people who in large measure have information that we need... so that we can track down the weapons of mass destruction in that country. Donald Rumsfeld April 25, 2003

We'll find them. It'll be a matter of time to do so.

**George Bush  
May 3, 2003**

I am confident that we will find evidence that makes it clear he had weapons of mass destruction.

**Colin Powell  
May 4, 2003**

I never believed that we'd just tumble over weapons of mass destruction in that country.

**Donald Rumsfeld  
May 4, 2003**

I'm not surprised if we begin to uncover the weapons program of Saddam Hussein—because he had a weapons program.

**George W. Bush  
May 6, 2003**

U.S. officials never expected that "we were going to open garages and find" weapons of mass destruction.

**Condoleeza Rice  
May 12, 2003**

I just don't know whether it was all destroyed years ago—I mean, there's no question that there were chemical weapons years ago—whether they were destroyed right before the war, (or) whether they're still hidden.

**Maj. Gen. David Petraeus  
Commander 101st Airborne  
May 13, 2003**

Before the war, there's no doubt in my mind that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, biological and chemical. I expected them to be found. I still expect them to be found.

**Gen. Michael Hagee  
Commandant of the Marine Corps  
May 21, 2003**

Given time, given the number of prisoners now that we're interrogating, I'm confident that we're going to find weapons of mass destruction.

**Gen. Richard Myers  
Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff  
May 26, 2003**

They may have had time to destroy them, and I don't know the answer.

**Donald Rumsfeld  
May 27, 2003**

**For bureaucratic reasons, we settled on one issue, weapons of mass destruction (as justification for invading Iraq) because it was the one reason everyone could agree on.**

**Paul Wolfowitz  
May 28, 2003**