

new indicator

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“Anti-Terrorism” Act Poised to Steal Your Freedom

One week after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration announced its proposal for an “Anti-Terrorism Act”, asking for vast expansions of police powers to detain, monitor, and spy on suspected “terrorists”. Just over two weeks later, the Senate introduced its own version of the bill, known as the Uniting and Strengthening America Act (USA Act of 2001). This legislation leaves the question of what constitutes terrorism highly open-ended, and features a long list of terrifying impingements on civil liberties, including:

1. Expanded Wiretapping Powers. Law enforcement agencies can be issued “blank” warrants to monitor any electronic or telephone communications linked to a person, instead of a specific phone number or email account. There are almost no restrictions on what kind of content they may monitor, and the provisions of the bill greatly reduce judicial review, so the police and FBI are free to spy on whom-ever they choose however they choose with little fear of having to justify in court the necessity of doing so.

2. Intelligence Sharing. Law enforcement agencies, previously forbidden from sharing their information with any executive branch employee other than those involved in criminal investigations or prosecutions, are now permitted to share wire-tap interceptions with the CIA, NSA, INS, Secret Service, the military, and others. In fact, they are required to report information if it relates to “terrorist activities”,

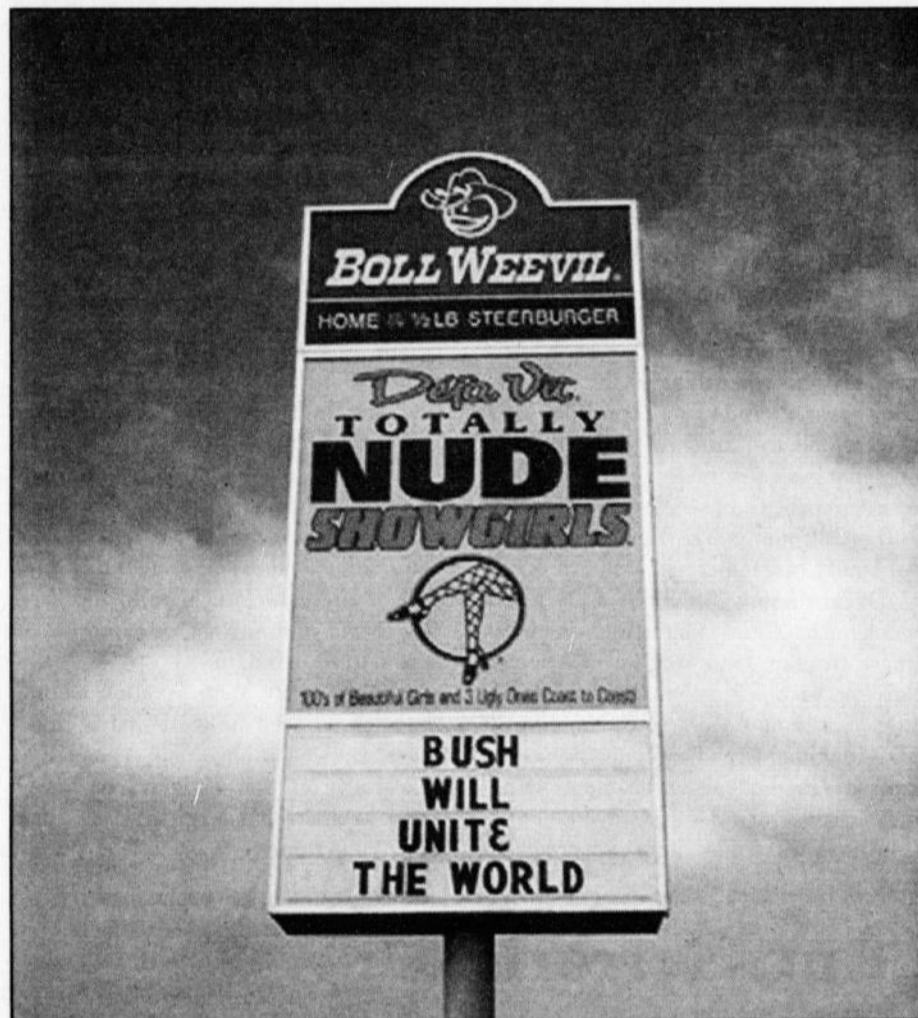
irrespective of the legality of its collection or relevance to an investigation. This reopens the door to widespread spying on Americans by their own government, a phenomenon not experienced on a large scale since the height of the Cold War. The bill even includes a provision for foreign governments whose laws permit spying on Americans to share the information they collect with US Intelligence.

3. Sneak-and-Peek. Law enforcement agencies are given expanded authority to break into homes and offices covertly and collect information without ever having to notify the subject of their searches.

4. Forum Shopping. Warrants issued in one jurisdiction may be used nationwide, severely weakening judicial oversight and making it very difficult for an individual who is being investigated or an Internet Service Provider (ISP) that is being subpoenaed for information to contest the warrant.

5. Indefinite Detainment. Non-citizens may be detained with essentially no court participation on mere suspicion of involvement with terrorist activities. If an alien is considered a threat to national security, law enforcement agencies are required to detain them until they have been removed from American soil. If they are to be deported, and their country of origin refuses to accept them, they may be detained indefinitely.

6. Disclosure of School Records. Educational institutions are required to turn over upon request any records pertaining to



a student who is under investigation by the Justice Department. Financial, psychological, political, and academic histories are all subject to disclosure. Furthermore, a database will be instituted to track and monitor the 600,000 or so foreign students living in the United States.

7. Expanded Federal Crimes. The statutes of limitations on a variety of federal crimes are eliminated or lengthened

retroactively. This means that someone who participated in a protest thirty years ago that the Justice Department somehow construes as “terrorism” can be tried and incarcerated today. A number of “collaboration” crimes — including the catch-all “conspiracy,” used frequently to prosecute political protesters — have penalties extended to match draconian mandatory

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Precision, My Ass

by Maria Tomchick, Eat the State

It was early evening and the villagers were just sitting down to dinner. It was a cold, clear night, but not as quiet as usual, because the village was swollen with refugees who had escaped from the bombing of Jalabad, 30 miles away. As the prayers finished and the food was served, the meal was suddenly interrupted by the sound of two jets flying overhead, followed quickly by the roar of bombs exploding.

Men ran from their houses to check on the damage, but the women and children stayed indoors. Only a few people were injured. The bombs must have fallen by mistake; there was no military target nearby. This place was safe. But the jets turned and made a second pass over the village, and then a third, each time dropping more ordnance onto the homes of Karam, a rural, mountain village in Afghanistan.

Surviving residents and several reporters say that the village was completely destroyed by US bombs. Over 100 people, perhaps as many as 200, were killed — mostly women, children, and old people. Many of the bodies still remain interred in the ruins.

The US government says that Karam was once a training camp for Al Qaeda. In fact, the site was used to train mujahideen during the 1980s and was run by

Sadiq Bacha to train members of the Hezb-i-Islami faction with CIA support.

Some of those men later joined the Taliban, but the base was never used by Al Qaeda. It was closed and abandoned in 1992, before bin Laden moved to Afghanistan. In the 1990s, families moved in and built mud and rock houses on the site. During the winter, nomads also made Karam their temporary home. Obviously, the US military relied on old, outdated, and incorrect information.

This has happened before: take, for example, the October 9th bombing of the Afghan Technical Consultants offices, a UN agency responsible for removing landmines in Afghanistan. The US government claims that ATC was near a military radio tower, but UN officials say the tower was a defunct and abandoned medium and short wave radio station that hadn't been in operation for over a decade. And the ATC had even given its address to higher-ups at the UN to pass on to the US military, so the ATC offices would not be hit.

Four men were killed in the explosion, including two security guards: Najeebullah, a father of five young children, and Safiullah, a father of four. The other two victims were Nasir Ahmad, a newly married medical nurse, and Abdul Saboor. Only two days before, Saboor had volunteered to make the perilous trip from Pakistan into Afghanistan on foot to deliver much-needed cash salaries to UN employ-

ees. Just two hours after he arrived at the ATC offices, his body was blown apart in the explosion, along with the money that was sent with him.

How often has the US military made this kind of mistake? It's impossible to know, since the Taliban have expelled all western reporters and Pakistan has closed its border with Afghanistan, making it hard for reporters to get into the country. Pakistani border guards are beating Afghan refugees with sticks and firing guns at them to keep them from crossing into Pakistan, where their stories of the bombing may further enrage the Pakistani populace.

But the refugees who can afford to pay bribes or are well enough to make the hike over mountainous terrain are finally making it into Pakistan and telling their stories. Here is a small collection of the civilian deaths told to reporters so far. None of these accounts come from Taliban sources; all are from refugees and western or Pakistani reporters.

In Jalalabad, the Sultanpur Mosque was hit by a bomb during prayers, with 17 people caught inside. Neighbors rushed into the rubble to help pull out the injured, but as the rescue effort got under way, another bomb fell, killing at least 120 people.

In the village of Darunta near Jalalabad, a US bomb fell on another mosque.

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A Spoonful of Salt Helps the Media Go Down

If you have recently had the opportunity to surf through the ocean of media coverage concerning "America's New War" you may have noticed that it resembles more of a glorified pond. Those with access to cable television are probably as dismayed as I am about the lack of any tangible difference in the multitude of daily broadcasts. Of course, is it any wonder that CNN and CNN Headline News are reporting the same stories, practically verbatim?

To say there is absolutely no difference in coverage is something of an exaggeration, though. Take Fox News as an example. With all the drama of daytime soap operas, news anchors frequently spout off their own opinions, taking up more air time than the people they interview. And what happens when this isn't the case? On one weeknight following September 11th, at least three live callers argued in favor of bringing back the modern-day equivalent of internment camps - eliciting a pensive nod of affirmation from host Bill O'Reilly (of Hard Copy fame).

Or how about MSNBC? Only a few weeks ago Chris Matthews asked his guest, Senator John McCain of Arizona, why we have not embraced racial profiling, as it would seem to be the cure to all of our ills. Even the republican statesman was momentarily speechless. Hardball indeed.

Anecdotes aside, it is important to

note that, for the primary news agencies, moments of crisis seem to give rise to delusions of grandeur. At times such as these, the media feels that its duties include serving the "national interest," probing public opinion, and priming the population for what will transpire. News agencies have increasingly played the role of the government's "eyes and ears" by presenting the people with hypothetical scenarios to see exactly what we, as a nation, are willing to swallow in terms of policy.

American citizens have many opinions, and countless questions, regarding the atrocities of September 11th. A suddenly confused nation finds itself wondering how this could have happened and why people hate our country so much. The standard answer relayed to us by CNN, Fox, and the others is that anti-American sentiment is the result of envy; they hate our freedom, our world status, our pride. It seems childish to assume that global anti-American protests are the result of some sort of jealous rage rather than a history of atrocious foreign policy decisions (the details of which are too extensive and sordid to go into here).

Unfortunately, news is often reported to us on a "need to know" basis, and if most Americans have only a superficial knowledge of U.S. activities on foreign soil it should come as no surprise. Comedian Paul Rodriguez once said, "war is

God's way of teaching Americans geography." The media that we have come to rely on so heavily is instrumental in assuring that feelings of patriotism and unity not only supercede but, in some cases, fully replace our thirst for facts and information.

The news agencies remind us daily that this is a time to put our ideological differences aside and stand unified behind our leaders. I can think of no other moment in modern American history when it has been more appropriate to bring ideological issues to the forefront. To dismiss objectivity and unify for the sake of emotion is nothing short of disastrous. Thousands of lives have already been lost at the hand of irrationality, and tossing caution to the wind has only perpetuated the suffering.

Still, history has always been written by the conquerors, and today its scribes come in the form of synergized media conglomerates. Unbiased news is a reality, but it can only exist in each one of us. By coming to grips with these ideas and actively seeking out all sides of the story (delving beyond the mainstream press), we can be well on our way towards clear-headedness and logical decision-making. And until broadcasters such as Fox News are required to air a "for entertainment purposes only" disclaimer, it is our responsibility as citizens to do so.

Precision:

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Two people were killed and dozens - perhaps as many as 150 people - were injured. Many of those injured are languishing without medical care in the Sehat-e-Ama hospital in Jalalabad, which lacks resources to treat the wounded.

More civilian deaths are being reported in the villages of Torghar and Farmada, north and west of Jalalabad. At least 28 civilians had died in Farmada, which has an abandoned Al Qaeda training camp nearby. In Argandab, north of Kandahar, 10 civilians have died from the bombing and several houses have been destroyed. The same has happened in Karaga, north of Kabul.

A five-year-old child was killed while sleeping in his family's home outside Kandahar when two bombs fell on a munitions storage area half a mile away. The explosion threw shells and rockets in all directions and one of those shells smashed through the mud-brick wall of his bedroom, slicing open young Taj Muhammed's abdomen and burning his six-year-old sister, Kambibi. Taj suffered for 12 hours at a nearby hospital before he died.

On Oct. 7, the first night of the bombing, US planes targeted the Hotel Continental in Kabul. Taliban commanders have stayed at the hotel, but civilians also stay there on a regular basis. In the first wave of bombing, at least one private residence in Kabul suffered a direct hit and others were damaged. On the same night, bombs were dropped on the houses of Taliban leaders in Kandahar. Two civilian relatives of Mullah Muhammad Omar were killed: his aged stepfather and his 10-year-old son.

On Oct. 8, the second night of the bombing, three missiles were aimed at the airport in Jalalabad, but only one hit the target. The other two went astray and exploded nearby, killing one civilian,

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the new indicator

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n.i. Interviews Two Sides of Koala Debate

the n.i. conducted a face to face interview with koala editor george liddle, and an email interview with saac vice-chair denise pacheco

Interview with Koala Editor George Liddle

new indicator: Why do you print material which offends so many students?

George Liddle: I don't think that we offend so many students. We have a very high student readership at UCSD, the highest of any student-run publication, so I think the idea that we offend students is kind of ridiculous. 33% of the student body apparently decides not to read the paper, and that's fine.

ni: What effect do you think the koala has in terms of creating and fostering a hostile environment towards students of color?

GL: I think the idea that we create a hostile environment is kind of ridiculous. We're just a newspaper. The fact is, we're more of a mirror of what this community is rather than creating the community. The idea that a newspaper would be able to create an environment of hate at UCSD is blatantly ridiculous in my opinion. And as for fostering it, the fact is, that if we mirror the fact that hate exists at UCSD, we're not fostering it, we're just allowing it its time in the light. The fact is, this opinion exists at ucscsd, and there's no reason it shouldn't be exposed and dealt with in rational terms, rather than everyone running around and screaming about what a terrible thing it is that the koala put in some personals that said that somebody didn't like Asians.

ni: Why do you think that people are all of a sudden noticing that the Koala is racist? Is there something different about the last

issue than past issues?

GL: Yeah, I think there really is something different about this issue compared to past issues. In past issues, we were making fun of retarded people, we were making fun of fat chicks in Revelle, we were making fun of Jesus having butt sex with chickens high on crack cocaine. We've made fun of black people recently, white people recently, Mexican people. And those groups of people aren't loud at UCSD. The only change has been in the target has changed. And in the past, Jews and Asians, of course, have been loyal readers of the Koala, and they've been laughing at all the black jokes, the Mexican jokes, the white jokes, the fat chick jokes. They've been laughing all along, that's why they continue to pick up the newspaper, but the minute it starts making fun of them, they lose their sense of humor and become offended, and I think that's a ridiculous standpoint to take. The fact is, that if you can't laugh at yourself, you have no business laughing at anybody else, and if you can't laugh at yourself and you can't laugh at anybody else, you have absolutely no business reading the Koala.

ni: If you could say one thing to the UCSD community about censorship and hate speech, what would it be?

GL: Don't allow it!

ni: Which one?

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Interview with Student Affirmative Action Committee Vice-Chair Denise Pacheco

Denise Pacheco: First I would like to say that my opinions and perspectives are not identical to those of everyone in the community of people of color at UCSD. I am Vice-Chair of SAAC and in these statements I represent them but I hope that people are conscious that every person has their own perspective and feelings on the situation.

new indicator: What is offensive about the material the Koala prints?

DP: The material that I have seen in the last issue of the KOALA is offensive because it reduces images that are powerful in their historical and current context to mere comedy. It fails to recognize that the images and terms used are also used to dehumanize people and strip them of their dignity.

ni: What effect do you think the koala has in terms of creating and fostering a hostile environment towards students of color?

DP: Reproducing images such as the Mammy and the word "Chike" creates a constant reminder that the African American and Jewish communities are fighting to be recognized as individuals and not as stereotypes. It reduces them to racist pictures. This is something that is strongly suggested under the guise of comedy. I think what is most horrific is that images such as these are being used while ignoring their significance in reproducing slavery and notions of white superiority. It is also pretty blatant when the statement

is made "Asians, no one likes you anyway".

ni: Why do you think that people are all of a sudden noticing that the Koala is racist? Is there something different about the last issue than past issues?

DP: I think what is more important than the fact that people haven't said anything before, is that people are uniting in their concern about how different groups are being represented now. It is problematic to immediately label someone or something racist because that implies an open intention to oppress. I think that what is happening with the Koala is a revealing of how uneducated and unaware people are of racist and oppressive images and how painful it is to see them reproduced.

ni: if you could say one thing to the UCSD community about censorship and hate speech, what would it be? How should hate speech be dealt with at UCSD and in society in general?

DP: I don't have all the answers simply because I am involved in a community that is subject to having to deal more with oppressive systems and institutions. This situation brings to light the fact that as long as we as a society allow for history and identity to be seen as formed in a vacuum, hate speech will continue. It's okay for people to produce material in this manner because they realize what impact that has and they aren't challenged to think that critically.

The International Criminal Court:

An Alternative to the "War on Terror"

Despite aggressive military and propaganda campaigns, many people both in America and elsewhere hesitate to endorse the US-British attacks on Afghanistan. Yet, they believe that Osama bin Laden, the Al-Qu'ida network, and the Taliban must be somehow removed from power and brought to "justice". There's no other way to achieve this goal, and so they go along with it, "collateral damage" and all. On the other hand, peace activists often don't seem to know what we should do instead, and as result we're easily dismissed as unrealistic.

One possibility would be to convene an international tribunal that would try bin Laden and his associates, as was done for Nuremberg, Bosnia, and Rwanda. However, with international terrorism on the rise, no independent tribunal would have the necessary jurisdiction. There is an alternative completely ignored by the administration and by all of the mainstream journalists and pundits. This is the International Criminal Court (ICC). Unlike the World Court, which only permits nations to bring charges against one another, the ICC would permit individuals or groups to be prosecuted from "crimes against humanity," including mass murder, genocide, concentration camps, and forced resettlement. The ICC would comprise of eighteen judges, an independent Prosecutor, and a Registrar, all of whom would be elected by representatives of the member-states to the ICC. The ICC would not

be compromised by allegiance to particular nation or other supranational organization, although inquiries can be initiated by any member-state, the UN Security Council, or the Office of the Prosecutor. The UN would provide a check to the ICC and can remove individuals if need be.

There is only one problem with the ICC - it doesn't yet exist. According to the ICC constitution (called "the Rome Statute", or "the Statute"), the ICC will be created when 60 countries have ratified the Statute. To date, 43 countries have done so, including Britain, Germany, and France. The US, however, has not done so and has sent clear signs that it has no intention to do so.

The refusal of the US government to cooperate with the international community has rarely been more clear than in our attitude towards the ICC (with the possible exception of our withdrawal from the World Court in 1986). Firstly, the US signed the Statute at the last possible moment: December 31, 2000, one of Clinton's final acts in office. Secondly, the Bush administration has flatly rejected the possibility of ratification, and has even considered withdrawing its signature from the document. Thirdly, there is the notorious Helms-Delay American Servicepersons Protection Act of 2001. This act contains the following provisions:

- The US may not cooperate with any ICC investigation;
- The US may not provide military aid

to any country which has ratified the Statute;

- American military service-people serving in foreign countries cannot be prosecuted under the ICC;
- American military forces are allowed to invade the Hague in order to free any American or American ally being held there;
- The President may waive any of these restrictions.

Various attempts to pass the ASPA in various guises, usually as amendments to other bills or acts, have so far all failed. Most recently, an effort was made to append it to the newest Defense Department Authorization bill. It now appears that its advocates will attempt to append it to every foreign policy bill which comes before Congress. Since it has been strongly supported by the Bush administration, it might only be a matter of time before it passes unless enough people speak out against it.

The ASPA has many flaws. The greatest flaw is that it isn't even necessary to achieve its supposed goal, the protection of US military service-people. The Statute explicitly states that the ICC has jurisdiction only in those cases where no other recognized legal body can do so, whereas American service-people are subject to the military code of justice regardless of where they are stationed. The true purpose of the ASPA, rather, is to hamstring any action that might conceivably be inter-

preted as a restriction of US power. The unwritten rule, here as elsewhere, is that everyone in the world must play by the rules of international law except for the US, just as our politicians and corporations are above the rule of law in the US. Might makes right, and the news-anchors and columnists justify it afterwards.

Despite this exercise of American arrogance, the world needs the ICC, and the ICC needs US support. The ICC would greatly strengthen the framework of international law, and provide a clear alternative to war. More importantly, in the age of growing international terrorism, the ICC would have the authority to prosecute terrorists in a court of law regardless of the terrorist's nationality. Most importantly, the ICC would show that no one can be considered above the rule of law nor terrorists, not corporations, and not governments.

What is to be done?

- Contact the President and ask him to abandon his support for the ASPA. Urge him not to withdraw the US signature from the Statute, and to ask the Senate to ratify the ICC.
- Contact your Senator and urge him or her to ratify the Statute.
- Make it clear that the only guarantor of peace with justice is international law, and the ICC must be an integral component of that law.

For more information, see the Coalition for the ICC (www.iccnw.org/index.html), the Campaign to End Genocide (www.endgenocide.org), or the Campaign for U.N. Reform (<http://www.cunr.org/ICC%20Q&A.htm>)

Art On Campus

In brochures and on campus tours, UCSD touts our science and math departments as first class entities which rank near the top in national collegial polls. Grand buildings dedicated to engineering, computer science or chemistry proudly are shown to hordes of students and parents who visit the campus every year. But below these facades live symbols of a living, breathing campus which many students never discover. Some lay deep in the heart of the concrete structures which dominate the UCSD landscape, while others exist in plain sight to confront thousands of students everyday. Yet, as an informal poll I conducted exposes, many students are oblivious to the existence of any such manifestation.

I am talking about art on campus. Art on campus. This is not Stuart Art Collection art. Not permissible art sanctioned by the UCSD administration. Art placed upon the physical campus itself. No credits. No letters of approval. No name cards with artist, piece name, year and materials. Just ink, paper, or paint adhered to a surface, anonymously.

Throughout UCSD's campus, pockets of this life flourish, with contributions dating back to the early 1970s. Although not all locations have such a hallowed history, with certain areas painted over once every few months, weeks or even days. But this is the key element to all of the art: ephemerality. Those who work on the walls know their labor in not in a museum to be preserved; it thrives in the ever changing medium of public space where an artwork's lifetime is directly contingent to the whims of the powers that be.

While each and every work to be found at UCSD cannot easily be placed inside one of the following categories, many can, and for the sake of convenience, five styles follow which encompass the great majority of work.

I. Poetry and Prose

This style is exactly what it's title describes, poetry, some good and some bad, some short and some long, coupled with prose, ranging from short bursts of sentiment, to complex stories which are written on different parts of the wall. A high concentration is found in both stairwells of the Humanities and Social Sciences Building on Muir's campus. Here, ramblings from the early 1970s are still visible, although highly faded, set against a short poems from a writers today. Many of the prolific contributors to the walls in HS&S use pseudonyms, and if you are persistent, one can follow the same artist from floor to floor. Topics are wide reaching, encompassing everything from surreal dreamscapes to political satire to very per-

sonal, almost diary like, entries. Confrontation with powerful writing in a public space is extraordinarily different than that from a book. For the viewer, it is a crap shoot regarding content, validity and interest: no glossy covers, critical praise or plot synopsis. A passerby can only start reading to discover the meaning of the words. This is what makes the whole act exciting.

II. Graffiti

As with any cultural paradigm shift, it is impossible to pinpoint the exact beginning of graffiti, but a rough estimate has been set to the late 1960s and early 1970s in New York. The styles with which graffiti began were mere shadows of what would begin to flourish in the 1980s, then the 1990s. Both stairwells, but notably the basement of the west-most well in Mandeville, house the majority of graffiti on campus. The transient nature of art on walls is most apparent in this well, not due to the University bargaining in and removing the paint, but because of the competition for space. Two weeks can pass and with it, the entire nature of the basement walls can change with new paint, new names and new ideas. Graffiti is a continual locus of contention in many fields (legality, art, post-modernity, representation) and an open forum resides in the middle of our campus.

III. Stencils

A stencil is a piece of material into which is cut a design that will, when placed against a wall and applied with paint, create the design on the wall. Cities employ stencil letters and graphics to create bike lanes, stop sign lettering and other roadway control directly onto the road surface itself. Homemade stencils are incredibly easy to create, so it comes as no surprise to find artists creating these sorts of images on the campus itself, although nowhere near the volume of the previous two styles. But as discussed with prose and graffiti, the majority of images reside in both H&SS and Mandeville stairwells, but a few can be found in the open UCSD air. Although more convenient for the average student to view, stencil created in the open space are quickly taken down by the administration.

IV. Postering

The process of printing paper then applying this paper to a surface with wheat paste or glue is a quick and easy process in which to disseminate information (or disinformation) to large numbers of people. Adhering printed posters to walls has been

several houses and killing a 12-year-old child. Three other houses collapsed from the explosion, and at least four civilians were injured. On the same night, another missile hit a house near the Kabul customs building, killing 10 civilians.

As of Oct. 12, the UN had independently reported at least 20 civilian deaths in Mazar-i-Sharif and 10 civilian deaths in Kandahar.

On Oct. 13, Khushkam Bhat, a residential district between Jalalabad airport and a nearby military area, was accidentally bombed by US planes trying to down a Taliban helicopter. More than 100 houses were flattened.

At least 160 people were pulled from the rubble and taken to hospitals.

On Oct. 16, two bombs fell on two Red



around in some form or another for 500 years, but it was not until WWI that the real power of posters for creating propaganda was felt in the United States. The US government put its full weight behind the war effort, and with it came hundreds of posters encouraging war-beneficial activities. WWII, less than three decades later, saw the reemergence of this manifestation of power over the American people. Access to an inexpensive mean of mass distribution for radical (or non-sense) ideas lead many culture jammers in the 70s, 80s, and 90s, to the idea of postering. With little or no money, a vision through print can be permanently attached to public facilities. The end result can be seen on UCSD's campus, although you must look hard. Many times the most confrontational, sadly, postering is the least represented of the five styles on campus. Mandeville's stairwells are once again the home to the majority of posters, with the occasional sighting on the open campus.

V. Stickers

Last, there is stickering. It can be argued that the idea of writing messages

two homes. A half a mile away, another bomb exploded in a housing complex, killing a 16-year-old girl.

The UN reports that Kandahar has fallen into a state of "pre-Taliban lawlessness," with gangs taking over homes and looting shops.

On Oct. 17, the UN announces that at least 80% of the residents of Kandahar have left the city to escape the bombing and are swamping the surrounding villages, where there are no resources to care for them. Some have moved on to the border and crossed into Pakistan. One refugee said that there are bodies littering the streets of Kandahar and people are dying in the hospitals for lack of drugs. "We

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Dumpsters: Treasure Chests of Abandoned Life and Luxury

Dumpsters contain blessed forsaken items that we can resurrect by dumpster diving. Dumpster diving is the act of getting into a dumpster and retrieving desired items. Dumpster diving is not only a method of survival, but it is also a statement of discontent with the over-privileged, over-consumptive, and often over-wasteful society.

This not only serves as a testimony for my love of dumpster diving, but as encouragement for potential dumpster divers who share my discontent with this consumerist culture. Dumpster diving is the most invigorating, self-gratifying, and addictive hobby a person can take up.

Dumpster diving is socially unacceptable simply because trash becomes a valuable possession. This form of capitalist conditioning is harmful. It destroys any hope of becoming truly free.

Warped assumptions of dumpster diving must be destroyed not only because it is unjustifiable, but also because of the possible emotional scarring of those who have no choice but to dive for life's necessities.

It is a common belief that dumpster diving is unsafe because of germs. Most human beings have an immune system that fight germs, and no one would be foolish enough to take an object out of the dumpster without properly cleansing it. I have been diving since I was seven years old (a total of 15 years) and not once have I become ill from my booty (even when it smelled like booty).

Another assumption is dumpsters smells because they contain trash. San Diego dumpsters do not tend to smell, but if you come across one that does you can avoid the smell by simply tying a bandana over your mouth and nose.

The most distorted belief is that people would not throw out food, clothing, or

anything of value if it were still good. Take yourself into consideration. The last time you did a complete cleaning of your house how many things did you discard due to laziness? Or at work, have you ever thrown anything away that you knew was still good? Many people tend to throw out anything with scratches, rips, or blemishes. These imperfections can be easily ignored or fixed. Even if they cannot be fixed or ignored the material may be manipulated to become a new possession.

Common items often found in dumpsters are food and clothing. These are necessities of life for free. You may also be fortunate enough to find furniture and working microwaves, televisions, and VCRs. These items may be kept or pawned. Thus another way to make work not your highest priority.

The first strategy in dumpster diving is to be prepared. Most people tend to dive at night so they will not be detected. This requires a flashlight. A bandana is a vital part of protection. The deeper you dive among the sea of decomposing matter, the more necessary a bandana may become.

Other items necessary for a successful dive are bags, good friends, and transportation (i.e. feet, skateboard, bike, or car) that is suitable for the quantity. The largest amount of food I ever scavenged was 5 bags of potatoes, 60 tomatoes, 40 yellow squash, 15 avocados, garlic, scallions, turnips, zucchini, cucumbers, plums, oranges, tangerines, quinces, papaya, and a juice box for me. This was enough food to feed Sunday lunch to fifty of my friends, forty of whom were homeless, and last me well into the week.

Next you must then locate the dumpster with the most booty. Office and medical supply stores are a waste of time and effort. Good dumpsters are always located near the most wasteful people. College

students are by far the most wasteful. At the end of a school year you will find desks, complete entertainment systems, and an array of televisions and VCRs. You may also find art supplies, clothing, bikes, and CDs. Other worthwhile places to dive are thrift stores, donut shops, bakeries, grocery stores, shoe or clothing stores, and art supply stores. You should not feel limited to these places.

The last strategy is timing. Timing can be the most important. It is crucial to know when the stores you will dive at discards their trash. Many places will throw out perishable and frozen delicacies during the night. Of course it would be best to get them before they melt or perish. Timing is applicable to any type of dive, not just food.

There are dangers in diving. Stores will irregularly pour bleach or other lethal substances on food. These substances are easy to detect by smell or discoloration of the food. I must reiterate that I have not become sick from my diving crusades for over fifteen years.

There are also other obstacles to overcome, including security guards, fences, barbed wire, and locks. Wearing an apron and false nametag can deter security guards. Scaling fences is easy if you are physically able, and mat of carpet can be placed over barbed wire in order to avoid injury. There are two different ways to approach locks: either not at all or with a bolt cutter.

It is possible to survive off of dumpster diving. You can find your food, clothing, and furniture in a dumpster and squat at a local abandoned building. Many people live with the majority of their food, cloth-



ing, and furniture dived while living in a house or apartment. Still others tend to peruse the dumpsters when it is convenient.

The environment and divers both benefit from dumpster diving. The environment by the diver becoming aware of how much they waste and decrease their own output. The diver also lessens the waste of society by consuming or making use of it. The diver benefits by saving money instead of wasting it on articles they can easily obtain by dumpster diving.

There is a code of conduct when dumpster diving. You must always respect the dumpsters. Leave the area cleaner than what you found it. Although you will always have a tight comradery with your friends that you dive with, and even a romance can erupt while scavenging, it is still a finder keeper's adventure.

The most important aspect of diving is not being ashamed. Be proud in what you are taking part in. Dumpster diving is a noble act. Every time you dive into a dumpster know that you are demonstrating how to be truly free, you are taking part in victimless piracy, and you are a fighter in the redistribution revolution.

Anti-Terrorism:

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Attacks on our freedoms have been successfully countered many times in the past — but doing so has always required consistent organizing and education efforts. With hard work, this bill could be turned around and become a catalyst for organizing against oppression.

The following is a list of websites with extensive resources related to the USA Act:

ACLU Statement on USA Act:
<http://www.aclu.org/safeandfree/>

National Lawyers' Guild's "Know Your Rights"
<http://www.nlg.org/wtc/knowrights3.htm>

Indymedia Coverage of the Sept. 11 Aftermath
<http://www.indymedia.org/peace/>

Federal Legislation Related to Sept. 11 Attack
<http://thomas.loc.gov/home/terrorleg.htm>

FAIR Critique of Media Coverage of USA Act
<http://www.fair.org/activism/wtc-liberties.html>

Adopt a Security Culture!

Bush just signed the new anti-terrorism bill, and the government is looking at even more ways to curtail our civil liberties. Now, more than ever, it is imperative that we adopt a strong security culture for the protection of ourselves and our friends. Even people who have nothing to hide should do what we can to guard our privacy, both to protect those who do engage in more underground acts, and because the government simply has no right to invade our privacy in the first place. Historically, surveillance, harassment, and arrest have been used to intimidate and disable those who are working for a better world, and we can reasonably expect that things will only get more repressive than what we are currently used to. We need to adopt a security culture now to disrupt government repression of both underground and mainstream activists.

Security culture, in the simplest terms, is just keeping your mouth shut. Those who participate in security culture understand what can and cannot be said without compromising the security of the movement. We do not discuss these things with anyone, from trusted friends to police. We make a point of knowing our rights and being familiar with police interrogation tactics, so that we can resist their attempts to make us incriminate ourselves and our friends. It is also important, within a security culture, to educate others about security, and to constantly keep ourselves and others in check. Ideally, a group will

reach a point where security culture is so integrated into the mores of the group that violations of it will be considered unthinkable. It is important not to discuss anyone's (including your own) past, present, or future involvement with any underground group, or past, present, or future participation in illegal actions. The only exceptions to this rule are

1) If you are discussing them, following proper precautions, with other people who are directly involved with an action you are planning.

2) If someone has already been convicted, she may talk about the action for which she was convicted, as long as she does not implicate anyone else. This protects both those who participate in illegal direct action and their friends. If "Sally" participated in an illegal action, then told "Suzy," this would put both Sally and Suzy at risk. It would increase Sally's chances of getting caught, and it would put Suzy in a position of having information which the authorities want. Suzy could be indicted to appear in front of a Grand Jury, and would have to choose between cooperating with the Grand Jury and testifying against Sally, perjuring herself and claiming that she knows nothing, or refusing to cooperate and being jailed indefinitely. Sally is obviously better off being able to honestly say that she knows nothing, and Suzy is better off not having anyone who doesn't need to know about her action knowing about it. Other key



violations of security culture are pretending that you are involved in illegal direct action when you're not, bragging about actions you have done, gossiping about actions others have done, and implying that you are active underground, even without actually saying it.

Security culture is important for mainstream activists as well. As anyone who was present for the Biojustice2001 protests in San Diego last June can attest, surveillance and harassment by the authorities is not limited to people engaged in illegal direct action. The police and FBI tapped the phones of the house which was doubling as the Biojustice office, videotaped people sleeping inside, and were constantly walking dogs and sitting in parked cars outside. In addition to the surveillance, the police spent millions of dollars on harassing organizers and participants. Almost all of the organizers and most of the participants got pulled over at least once, and one activist's car was even impounded. Mainstream activists need

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Precision:

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and injuring a second so severely that he needed to be driven to a hospital in Peshawar, Pakistan, to have shrapnel removed from a deep wound in his neck and his spinal injuries treated. He's not expected to survive. A third 16-year-old boy injured in the same attack was also taken to a hospital in Peshawar; he lost his leg and two fingers, and he says that many more people were injured and may have died in the same incident.

On Oct. 11, a bomb aimed at the Kabul airport went astray and hit Qala-e-Chaman, a village one mile away, destroying

Noam Chomsky Speaks on Terrorism

1. Do you condemn terrorism? How can we decide which act is terrorism and which one is an act of resistance of a desperate nation against a tyrant or an occupying force? In which of the previous categories do you "classify" the recent strike against usa?

I understand the term "terrorism" exactly in the sense defined in official us documents: "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or ideological in nature. This is done through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear."

In accord with this -- entirely appropriate -- definition, the recent attack on the us is certainly an act of terrorism, in fact, a horrifying terrorist crime. There is scarcely any disagreement about this throughout the world, nor should there be.

But alongside the literal meaning of the term, as just quoted from us official documents, there is also a propagandistic usage, which unfortunately is the standard one: the term "terrorism" is used to refer to terrorist acts committed by enemies against us or our allies. Political scientist Michael Stohl is quite correct when he writes that "we must recognize that by convention -- and it must be emphasized only by convention -- great power use and the threat of the use of force is normally described as coercive diplomacy and not as a form of terrorism," though it commonly involves "the threat and often the use of violence for what would be described as terroristic purposes were it not great powers who were pursuing the very same tactic."

This propagandistic use is virtually universal. Everyone "condemns terrorism," in this sense of the term. The Nazis harshly condemned terrorism, and carried out counter-terrorism against the terrorist partisans -- in Greece, for example. The US basically agreed. It organized and conducted similar "counter-terrorism" in Greece and elsewhere in the postwar years. Furthermore, us counterinsurgency programs drew quite explicitly from the Nazi model, which was treated with respect: Wehrmacht officers were consulted and their manuals were used in designing postwar counterinsurgency programs worldwide, typically called "counter-terrorism."

Given these conventions, even the very same people and actions can quickly shift from "terrorists" to "freedom fighters" and back again. That's been happening right next door to Greece in recent years. The klan-uck were officially condemned by the us as "terrorists" in 1998, because of their attacks on Serb police and civilians in an effort to elicit a disproportionate and brutal Serbian response, as they openly declared. As late as January 1999, the British -- the most hawkish element in nato on this matter -- believed that the klan-uck was responsible for more deaths than Serbia, which is hard to believe, but at least tells us something about perceptions at high levels in nato. If one can trust the voluminous documentation provided by the state department, nato, the osce, and other western sources, nothing materially changed on the ground until the withdrawal of the klan monitors and the bombing in late march 1999. But policies did change: the us and UK decided to launch an attack on Serbia, and the "terrorists" instantly became "freedom fighters," after the war, they became "terrorists," "thugs," and "murderers" as they carried out similar actions in Macedonia, a us ally.

Everyone condemns terrorism, but we have to ask what they mean. You can find

the answer to your question about my views in many books and articles that I have written about terrorism in the past several decades, though I use the term in the literal sense, and hence condemn all terrorist actions, not only those that are called "terrorist" for propagandistic reasons.

It should be unnecessary to point out that massive terrorism is a standard device of powerful states, just as Stohl observes. Some cases are not even controversial. Take the us war against Nicaragua, leaving tens of thousands dead and the country in ruins. Nicaragua appealed to the world court, which condemned the us for international terrorism ("the unlawful use of force"), ordering it to desist and pay substantial reparations. The us responded to the court ruling by sharply escalating the war, and vetoing a security council resolution calling on all states to observe international law. The escalation included official orders to attack "soft targets" -- undefended civilian targets, like agricultural collectives and health clinics -- and to avoid the Nicaraguan army. The terrorists were able to carry out these instructions, thanks to the completely control of Nicaraguan air space by the us and the advanced communications equipment provided to them by their supervisors.

It should also be recognized that these terrorist actions were widely approved. One prominent commentator, Michael Kinsley, at the liberal extreme of the mainstream, argued that we should not simply dismiss state department justifications for terrorist attacks on "soft targets": a "sensible policy" must "meet the test of cost-benefit analysis," an analysis of "the amount of blood and misery that will be poured in, and the likelihood that democracy will emerge at the other end" -- "democracy" as the US understands the term, an interpretation illustrated quite clearly in the region. It is taken for granted that US elites have the right to conduct the analysis and pursue the project if it passes their tests. When the terrorist project succeeded, and Nicaragua succumbed, Americans were "united in joy," the New York Times proclaimed, knowing full well how the goal was achieved. As Time magazine put it joyfully, the methods were to "wreck the economy and prosecute a long and deadly proxy war until the exhausted natives overthrow the unwanted government themselves," with a cost to us that is "minimal," leaving the victim "with wrecked bridges, sabotaged power stations, and ruined farms," and thus providing the us candidate with "a winning issue": ending the "impoverishment of the people of Nicaragua." euphoria over the achievement was unconstrained among elites.

But the US terrorist war was not "terrorism," it was "counter-terrorism" by doctrinal standards. And us standards prevail in much of the world, as a result of us power and the cost of defying it.

This is by no means the most extreme example; I mention it because it is uncontroversial, given the world court decision, and because the failed efforts of nicaragua to pursue lawful means, instead of setting off bombs in washington, provide a model for today, not the only one.

2. There are (in the light of the recent terrorist attack) a lot of debate and controversy here in Greece (and I suppose in other countries) that in the wholeness of human history, there had not been a single superpower with ethics. Many analysts, historians, politicians

and intellectuals claim that superpowers, nations, states and all the other human institutes are interested only in becoming bigger, stronger. In other words, power and authority have nothing to do with values, ethics and ideas. They have only to do with more power, more money, much greater force, and much greater authority. Do you believe that? Do you have an historic example of an empire, a state, a superpower that dealt with the rest of the world and the citizens having in mind human values?

I am frankly surprised that there is even a debate. States are not moral agents. They are systems of power, which respond to the internal distribution of power. Human beings, however, are moral agents, and can impose significant constraints on the violence of their own states, particularly in societies that are more free. They may fail to do so; the international behavior of classical Athens was hardly delightful, to mention one case, and we need not speak of the examples of modern history. But they can do so, and often do. Of course, virtually every system of power describes itself as deeply humane and pursuing the highest values, and a primary task of elite intellectuals is to lead the chorus of self-acclaim, as they commonly do. That is another story, which should be just as familiar, right up to the present moment. I have two recent books reviewing how "the herd of independent minds" (Harold Rosenberg's apt description of intellectual elites) fulfilled their function in the past few years, perhaps establishing new records in disgracing the intellectual vocation.

3. It is obvious that American politicians and intelligence officers know many things that we don't about this tragedy. In many cases we will hear half-true facts and straightforward lies. I've read in many articles and book of yours that when a politician tells a lie, in a short time he comes to believe it! (forgive me for not quoting you exactly). A) how can we explain this attitude? B) which do you think that are the biggest lies and half true facts we heard until now for this tragedy?

I have to disagree. I doubt that us intelligence knows much that others cannot discover. That is quite commonly the case, as we learn from a rich record of declassified documents, and the record of history as well. But public officials, and the obedient chorus, are not expected to tell the truth about what they know. Rather, they are supposed to proclaim that we were targeted because of our magnificence: "they hate us because we champion a 'new world order' of capitalism, individualism, secularism and democracy that should be the norm everywhere" (respected liberal intellectual ronald steel, ny times, sept. 14).

Anyone who pays minimal attention to the facts knows that the reasons are quite different, not only among the terrorist networks that the CIA helped to organize, arm, train and nurture for a holy war against the Russians, but even among wealthy, privileged, and pro-American sectors of the population. The same day, the wall street journal published a review of opinions of "moneyed Muslims" in the region: bankers, professionals, businessmen. They expressed dismay and anger about us support for harsh authoritarian states and the barriers that Washington places against independent development and political democracy by

its policies of "propping up oppressive regimes." their primary concern, however, was Washington's twin policies of support for Israel's harsh and brutal military occupation and devastation of the civilian society of iraq, with hundreds of thousands of deaths, while strengthening Saddam Hussein -- who they know very well received strong support from Washington and London through the period of his worst atrocities, including the gassing of the Kurds and beyond. Among the great mass of poor and suffering people, similar sentiments are much more bitter, and they are also hardly pleased to see the wealth of the region flow to the west and to small western-oriented elites and corrupt and brutal rulers backed by western power.

Bin Laden has issued the same charges -- just a few days ago once again, in a long interview on the only independent Arab radio channel, rebroadcast by bbc. He and his associates, however, have other goals: in their words, driving "foreign invaders" out of Muslim lands, replacing the corrupt and repressive regimes by true "Islamic" ones, and defending Muslims fighting for their rights in Chechnya, Bosnia, Kashmir, western china, the Philippines, and elsewhere. All of this they see as a continuation of the holy war against the Russians that they fought with the support of the CIA, Saudi Arabia, and others who they regard as enemies of Islam.

4. We see that, nowadays, the value of human life is getting... Depreciated rapidly. Do you think that this phenomenon will continue to scale? The US government (and the western world in general) does consider human life as a valuable "asset"?

Again, I do not agree. What was the value of human life throughout the whole history of European imperialism? For example, when the US was expanding to its national borders, overcoming "that hapless race of Native Americans, which we are exterminating with such merciless and perfidious cruelty," to quote president John Quincy Adams, long after his own substantial contributions to the enterprise he came to regret, but before further inglorious exploits. What was the value of human life when king Leopold of Belgium killed 10 million Congolese? Or when 1/3 of the population of Germany was killed in one 17th century war, not to speak of more recent examples? In fact we can go back as far as we like. Everyone is, or should be, familiar with the exaltation of genocide in the holiest books of western civilization.

5. Now, as far as this strike against Manhattan and the pentagon is concerned. How do you judge the coverage of the tragedy by the US media? How do you comment on the explanation given by many us media that "the terrorists struck USA because they hate western values (civil liberties, tolerance, welfare, etc).

The second question we can simply dismiss. It is self-serving nonsense, and its purveyors surely know that, at least if they have any familiarity with the current history, including the middle east. Naturally, these are convenient pretenses, which serve to deflect attention from the actual grievances expressed even by the most pro-western elements in the middle east, as is "well-known" (in the words of the wall street journal article I quoted).

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Who are the Zapatistas? What are they fighting for?

Composed largely of indigenous peasants of Mayan descent, the Zapatistas (named for a Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata) have faced a history of exploitation and oppression. Through years of planning and hard work they designed a plan to call attention to the plight of the indigenous people in the south of Mexico and all over the world. Their mantra "for us nothing, for everyone everything" encapsulates a brave new movement that holds the promise of leading us through this century with an alternative to the con-

sumerist profit driven juggernaut that is Capitalism.

The Zapatista rebellion that has taken place over the past seven and a half years in Chiapas, Mexico, has been hailed by many scholars and intellectuals as the first resistance movement of the new "Global Society" that has emerging with the new century. On January 1 1994, 1000 lightly armed members of the self-proclaimed Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) took control of four towns in the Chiapas, Mexico's southeastern most state.

The Zapatistas surprised world observers with their sophistication, as they created roadblocks, called press conferences, and sent out press releases declaring their resistance to the economic policies of the Capitalistic and predatory western countries. The Mexican government responded immediately by sending in tens of thousands of heavily equipped troops, who wasted no time in using their superior forces (U.S. trained and supported) to drive the Zapatistas back into the jungle. Fortunately, due to overwhelming national

and international demonstrations, as well as the increasing instability of the PRI, Mexico's dominant political party, the then President, Salinas de Gortari, announced a cease-fire on January 12, 1994.

The seven years since the birth of this insurrection have featured alternating periods of negotiation and renewed armed conflict, as well as the fall of the PRI's seventy-year rule in Mexico. Mexico's new President has yet to make good on his many pledges to resolve the conflict.

A Rebellious Education

ni international correspondent in oventic, chiapas

This is a very special place. In this small mountain village-only accessible by a paved road within the past six years - their is a secondary school for local boys and girls named Escuela Secundaria Rebelda Autonoma Zapatista (ESRAZ). The students are all local, poor, and indigenous; most are Tzotzil and speak Spanish as a second language.

Before this school was built by local community labor assisted by volunteers from the San Diego, California organization "Schools for Chiapas," there was no secondary school in this area for local youth. Since the school was built however, the government has constructed another secondary school in a local community to try and keep kids from attending ESRAZ. This reaction by the government is one of many actions to discourage and destroy the courageous efforts of the poor Indigenous people of this area and volunteers from abroad. Peter Brown, from the Schools For Chiapas organization, was arrested and banned from returning to Mexico soon after this school was completed for violating a Mexican law that prohibits anyone besides the government from building schools. When the Party of Institutional Revolution (PRI) lost power in 2000 to Vicente Fox of the Party of National Action (PAN), much of the harassment common under the 70-year-old PRI dictatorship came to an end, such as the constant checkpoints on the highways and the banning of Internationals. Fox was eager to prove that he could resolve the problem of Chiapas, as he had promised, "within 15 minutes. A list of thirty-something internationals banned from Mexico-including Peter Brown-were allowed to return. But then, Fox and his party were instrumental a murderous rewrite of the indigenous rights amendment that had been agreed to (but never passed) by the government in the peace accords of 1996. Since the passage of the gutted version, tensions have again mounted, and the 70,000 Mexican soldiers still stationed in Chiapas have begun to return to the old tactics of roadblocks, etc.

Volunteers organized by Schools For Chiapas traveled from Mexico City to Chiapas in caravans in 1996 and subsequent years to build ESRAZ. The school is in constant expansion to receive more students. The Schools for Chiapas organization usually organizes one caravan in the summer and one in the winter to bring eager volunteers to Chiapas. ESRAZ is in an "Aguascalientes," the second of four Aguascalientes in Chiapas. These are liberated zones where locals and internationals live, organize, learn, and teach a life of Zapatismo. The name Aguascalientes comes from the town of Aguascalientes, Mexico where Pancho Villa, then president Alberto Carranza,

representatives of all states of Mexico, and representatives of Emiliano Zapata's army of the south met to organize a new government in 1914, four years after overthrowing the corrupt dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz with the help of the millions of other Mexicans.

The Aguascalientes II is a part of the community of Oventic. There are cabins for teachers and volunteers, an auditorium, a clinic, a natural medicine store, a co-operative store-café, and a small church. Aguascalientes II is on a mountainside surrounded by the corn fields and rustic wooden and mud brick homes of the people of Oventic. From the Aguascalientes II there is a beautiful view of the surrounding mountains. These rugged, steep-sided mountains are the area of high elevation in Chiapas. A swift mountain river flows through the community of Oventic.

Besides teaching about the ongoing struggle of the Zapatistas, students here are taught mathematics, biology, Spanish, social sciences, music, and history. Students live in dormitories on the school grounds. Most of the students return to their families' houses every other weekend. The students all take turns being cooks for each other and cleaning the bathrooms. There is a cafeteria, kitchen, computer/media lab, library, small store, basketball court, and classrooms.

Even though the school has many useful resources for students, there is still plenty of room for improvement. A new two-story building for classrooms is under construction. The students must cook their food on fires because there is not enough money to buy gas for the stoves. This is not only extra work for students that must miss a day of class on their day to cook, it is also contributing to deforestation and air pollution in an area undergoing ecological degradation. The staples in the students' diets are black beans and tostadas, with the occasional rice, cabbage, or whatever else is available. There is not any spices to flavor the beans besides salt. Some days, such as today, a Friday, there are no classes because there is not enough food to feed the students, and the students go home early.

This Aguascalientes and the ESRAZ school relies on the continuing support of local communities as well as the international support of volunteers and donations. To find out how you can help out contact Schools For Chiapas at SchoolsForChiapas.org. In addition to the biannual caravans, there are opportunities to study Spanish and Tzotzil in the "Escuelas de Idiomas" at a weekly rate including lodging and tuition. Get Involved!



Student Organization Q&A: The Zapatista Awareness Group!

What are your goals as a Student Organization at UCSD?

We wanted for people to come to the realization that there is an alternative way of looking at the present state of the world. Through our organization we hope to illustrate an example of a group who does not subscribe to the dominant imperialist/capitalist view of the world.

How do you plan to realize your goals?

We want to get information to the University's population in order to encourage involvement and solidarity with the Zapatista movement. We want to use information about the Zapatista movement to draw students out of their traditional apathy and give them a means to get involved.

What does it mean to be a Zapatista?

Anyone can be a Zapatista; not just indigenous Americans. If you believe in working to fulfill the peoples most basic needs regardless of race, nationality, or gender, you are on your way to becoming a Zapatista. The people come first. The Zapatista movement wants to humanize the oppressed and indigenous peoples around the world. They are fighting for rights and autonomy for indigenous peoples. When they say they need food, housing and education for indigenous people in Chiapas, they are also saying that all poor and oppressed people around the world need these things.

One important example of the move-

ment's inclusiveness is women. Women have played an important part in the Zapatista movement. Women hold power on a real and equal level with men. There are women commanders in the resistance forces. This illustrates how forward thinking the Zapatistas are. Even in the context of machista culture, they have redefined the relationships between men and women. Not only are they fighting for the great ideal of democracy and freedom but they are living it.

When do you meet and where?

We meet Thursdays at 5:30pm at the Ché Café.

How many and what sorts of events do you put on?

We are working on putting on one Zapatista awareness benefit show/event per quarter. For this quarter we are going to have a free event with food, speakers, bands and discussion on November 30th.

How old is ZAG?

ZAG was started in 1999, making it two years old.

How should interested students get in contact with you?

Please send us email at: zapatista@libertad.ucsd.edu

Chomsky:

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As for the media, we have to ask how they dealt with the basic questions that arise in the case of crimes, small or horrendous: who was responsible? What should the response be? Why did it happen? There has been virtually no discussion of any of these questions. The request of the Arab league, China, even nato that the us present credible evidence is dismissed as an absurdity, and in the case of the Taliban, further evidence of their criminality. The us will produce a white paper, which perhaps will be accepted by its allies, though the evidence is hardly likely to be more persuasive than it was after earlier terrorist bombings attributed to these terrorist networks -- probably correctly, but judgments are not evidence. As for what should be done, there is virtually no discussion of the lawful course that was pursued by Nicaragua, among others: when our leaders call for violence, we must applaud their courage and integrity. As for why, apart from a few exceptions like the wall street journal, several times, there is very little in the mainstream.

6. What do you think is: a) best case scenario. B) worst case scenario. C) the most probable scenario.

The proper reaction is to pursue the lawful course: Nicaragua is hardly the only precedent -- and bear in mind that the terrorist attack it suffered was far more destructive even than the September 11 crimes. To take another case, what was the right way for Britain to deal with IRA bombs in London? One choice would have been to send the RAF to bomb the source of their finances, places like Boston, where I live. Putting aside feasibility, that would have been criminal idiocy. Another possibility was to consider realistically the background concerns and grievances, and to try to remedy them, while at the same time following the rule of law to punish criminals. Or take the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City. There were immediate calls for bombing the middle east, and it probably would have been done if even a remote hint of a link had been found. When the perpetrator was found to be someone with links to the ultra-right militias, there was no call to obliterate Texas, Montana, Idaho and other places where the militias are located. Rather, the perpetrator was found, brought to court and sentenced, and to the extent that the reaction was sensible, there were efforts to understand the grievances that lie behind such crimes and to address the problems. Just about every crime -- whether a robbery in the streets or colossal atrocities -- has reasons, and commonly we find that some of them are serious and should be addressed. At least, that is the course we follow if we have any concern for right and justice, and hope to reduce the likelihood of further atrocities rather than increase it. The same principles hold quite generally. Specifically, they hold in

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know we will lead a miserable life in Pakistan, in tents," he said. "We have come here just to save our children." The civilian death toll is in the hundreds, probably thousands, and sure to rise with two new developments. US Air Force pilots have been given the go ahead to fire "at will" - at anything they desire, without pre authorization from strategists peering at satellite and surveillance photos. In fact, there are now regions of the coun-

People's HISTORY

August 2, 1931

Albert Einstein urges scientists to refuse war work.



Fig. Averill / Liberation News Service

this case.

The worst case scenario would be to carry out a massive assault that would kill many innocent people -- in Afghanistan, not Taliban but their victims. Apart from the crime itself, that would answer bin Laden's prayers, as foreign leaders, specialists on the region, and probably us intelligence agencies are advising Washington: it would serve to rally many angry and desperate people to his horrendous cause, and to escalate the cycle of violence, with outcomes that could be catastrophic. Even if bin Laden is killed, such an assault would be likely to have that effect: he would become a martyr, and his voice would resound all over the Arabic-speaking world, on the thousands of cassettes that are already circulating.

7. What do you believe that was the most heinous terrorist act in history?

It is impossible to answer. It depends which crimes we decide to call "terrorism," and what time scale we select.

8. What do you think motivated the terrorists to commit such a crime? The "enemy" was in the twin towers in Manhattan, in the pentagon or somewhere else? Where was the real enemy?

As I've said, we have every reason to take them at their word. And their word is very clear, as their deeds have been, for 20 years, when the radical Islamic forces that were organized by the CIA, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and others, carried out their first attack against their creators, assassinating president Sadat of Egypt, one of the most enthusiastic of these.

9. Who do you believe that did it? Was he Osama bin Laden?

try that have been designated "kill boxes," patrolled night and day by low-flying aircraft with the mission to shoot anything that moves within the area. There has been no mention of how Afghan civilians will know where such "kill boxes" are and how to avoid them.

In addition, US planes are now dropping cluster bombs. Cluster bombs are like landmines on steroids; they fall, release hundreds of small "bomblets," which disperse and explode, slicing through people, cars, trucks, and even certain types of buildings. Notably, about 8-12% of the brightly-colored bomblets don't explode

I presume that the source is the terrorist networks that are loosely associated with bin Laden, but we have no credible evidence about bin Laden's direct involvement; that includes, I presume, US intelligence, which monitors these organizations closely and understand them intimately from their origins in US-initiated operations in Afghanistan. These are decentralized, apparently non-hierarchical structures, extremely hard to penetrate, which is why they could carry out such a shocking atrocity without the world's intelligence systems knowing a thing about it.

10. Do you believe that this occurrence will change the policy (domestic and foreign) of the us government?

That is a matter for action, not prediction. What happens elsewhere, including Greece, can make a considerable difference.

11. What do you fear most that will occur because of the terrorist attack?

The worst fears are the "worst case scenario" mentioned, which is by no means inevitable, or even highly probable, I suspect.

12. You agree to the estimation that "in 9/11/2001 the world changed?"

Undoubtedly. The history of modern Europe and its North American offshoot is one of carrying out shocking crimes against others -- or mutual slaughter, as in the American civil war or Europe's wars. This is the first time that the guns have been pointed in the opposite direction, at least on any significant scale. The Congo

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on impact, leaving behind attractive but deadly toys for children to play with later. Thousands of Afghan children were killed or maimed by similar bombs and attractive booby traps dropped by the Soviets in the 1980's.

As if that weren't horrible enough, the UN says that many of the US's air-dropped food packets have landed on minefields; this will lure starving refugees to gruesome deaths. After two decades of war, Afghanistan still has 10 million landmines buried in the ground.

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Koala:

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GL: Both! Well, censorship, I'm sorry. Censorship. The fact is, censorship doesn't adequately deal with the problem of hate speech. If people are out there giving speeches that are hateful, what you need to do is listen to what they're saying and address it rationally. When you start trying to across the board cut it out, all you're doing is slapping a band-aid on it. And no one has ever been helped by saying "oh, you can't say that." They still have the feelings, and the fact is, when they don't have an outlet to express those feelings, those people are going to become increasingly frustrated and more inclined to act on those feelings as opposed to just being satisfied with putting that out there. The thing you have to keep in mind is there's a very important distinction between offensive material and material which offends people. If the criteria that you use is "does this material offend people?" nothing could ever be printed anywhere. Because there's no way you can guarantee any newspaper would not offend somebody. It's just, that's a natural way. Somebody will be offended by anything that you write. So we have to then deal with the fact that maybe it's offensive material. Well, if we can find a single Asian that was not offended by the supposedly anti-Asian comments in the personals, what that means is, that comment was not inherently offensive. So then, it's not offensive material, it's just material which offends people. And I don't think that's a problem.

ni: How should hate speech be dealt with at UCSD and in society in general?

GL: That's a really tough question. Nobody, obviously, has a very bright solution to that. I think I made it pretty clear what I think the wrong solution to that problem is, but as far as the right solution, I think that the right path to getting on that solution is trying to integrate UCSD into one community. By taking people that are supposedly intolerant, say, people who wrote these personals, or people who promote hateful agendas, there's no reason to exclude those people from your community. There are entire social structures at UCSD that are built around people of ethnic backgrounds coming together. There are Armenian based fraternities, Jewish based fraternities, there are student organizations for students of almost every ethnic background, and if these people would stop splintering themselves off and integrate into the community, they would make the community theirs rather than having to form their own communities. And I think that getting out there and dealing with people in a social situation, being forced to say, "Hey we're not gonna have a fraternity that's filled with Jewish people so that we can only party with other Jewish people and have a good time with other Jewish people." The fact is, if these people got out into the UCSD community at large, and integrated themselves, they would be able to see that these people are no different than anybody else, and that's the way it is. One thing I'll tell you I noticed, is when I was a freshman at UCSD, I was a freshman at Revelle, I would go into Plaza Cafeteria, and there would be entire tables where there wasn't anything but Asians, there wasn't anything but Indian people, Persian people, whatever. These tables were not integrated, these people are segregating themselves away from the mainstream UCSD society and community, and that's sick! They're contributing to their own

Beyond the Undifferentiated Mass

Diversity in Islam for Absolute Beginners

by Paul Bowman

Sunni

Roughly 1 in 5 of the world's population is muslim - that's over a billion people. Yet for all the talk about a global society with the telecommunication revolution bringing knowledge to the masses, what most westerners from christian backgrounds know about Islam can be written on the back of a small postage stamp. So here then is a crash course.

Fundamentalism?

Islam, like christianity is an expansionist religion rather than the traditionalist beliefs of a closed community. Conscious of itself as a new initiative, it seeks to preach to and convert pagan and unbeliever. However, whereas christianity found itself growing within a pre-existing state system (the Roman empire) and made concessions to a separate political power, Islam, starting as a means of filling a political vacuum, was the creative force of a new state.

As such the tension (and eventual division) between church and state that marks christianity does not occur within Islam. Hence the "fundamentalist" label is misleading. In the modern western tradition the tension between church and state has come to be expressed as a belief in a "novus ordo seclorum" where life is separated into two spheres - a secular public sphere of politics and a private sphere within which the individual can divide his or her time to the worship of god or mammon as they see fit.

The term "fundamentalism" originated in the US from a political movement of anti-progressive christians who wished to abolish the secular independence of the state from christian beliefs. It is misleading to apply the label of "fundamentalist" in this sense, to Muslims as it is a formal part of their belief that no such division between matters social, political and religious should exist. That doesn't mean that there aren't differences as to how this formal unity between religion and politics should be put into practice, but the label fundamentalist only obscures the issue.

Religious or Cultural conservatism?

An important feature of the spread of Islam is the way it has accommodated itself to the pre-existing cultures it has come into contact with. Where pre-existing cultural practices are not explicitly in opposition to codified Islamic practices, they have been adopted into the newly islamised culture. With the passage of time many of these pre-islamic cultural practices have retroactively been labelled as sanctioned by islam by conservative forces in society.

Consequently it is often the case that what is claimed to be Islamic practice is more often the pre-existing cultural and social traditions of a given ethnic society. Many of the declaredly Islamic traditions of the Pashtuns of Northern Pakistan and Afghanistan, for example, have much more to do with Pashtun cultural norms than Islamic law.

A Unified Ideology?

Like any ideology that emphasizes unity as a primary aim, Islam has in practice suffered any number of splits. There is no room for a full history in a piece like this but we must realize that what exists today is the result of long dialectic histories of orthodoxy, heresy, struggle, repression and reform.

The Sunni branch of Islam is the dominant one to which 90% of Muslims belong. Although the split between the two branches that would become Sunni and Shia was originally a matter of who should succeed Muhammed, they later evolved more substantial political and philosophical differences. As Muhammed failed to produce a son by any of his many marriages, the muslim community was left with no clear successor after his death.

The main body decided that the leadership (the Caliphate) should pass to whoever from within Muhammed's clan the muslim establishment best felt represented continuity. The Shias, in contrast, supported the claim of Ali, the husband of the prophet's favourite daughter. They insisted that the legitimacy of the Caliphate came only from god, not the religious establishment.

In time as those who had known the prophet and remembered his sayings and acts began to die off, this oral tradition of guidance supplementary to the Koran (the sunnah) was written down into several books, six of which became recognised as authoritative sources of guidance - the Hadith. For Sunnism then, society's laws must be determined through reference to the Koran and the Sunnah. For Shi'ites, however, the true path can only be found through the divinely appointed intermediaries - the true Caliphs or Imams.

Kharawaj - too radical by far

As well as Sunni and Shia there was originally a third force, since eradicated, whose negative influence has profoundly shaped Sunni political philosophy. These were the Kharawaji, radicals who held that any sufficiently worthy muslim could hold the position of Imam, whether a descendant of Muhammed or a member of his Quraysh tribe or not. They also held that people were responsible for the good or evil of their acts personally, and that anyone who did evil was no longer a muslim, regardless of what they or anybody else decreed. The effects of this political philosophy was to challenge all authority and encourage all, especially the poor and dispossessed, to see the struggle against injustice as being divinely sanctioned.

Since the time of the Kharawaj, the history of the rise and fall of various dynasties of Caliphs and different empires has led the Sunni tradition to view orthodoxy as something that needs to be tempered with a pragmatism of tolerating differences between Muslims and not being over hasty in determining who, of the people who identify as Muslims, is or is not a muslim. This catholicity along with an emphasis on the established majority opinion as the source of religious authority has helped to mitigate some of the destabilising effects of radicalism while allowing economic prosperity to be paralleled by a flowering of cultural, scientific and philosophical diversity and enquiry. However, even within the Sunni mainstream, revivalist and puritan sects have arisen both in the past and in more modern times.

Sufi

It's not my Jihad if I can't dance to it

As well as the various sects of Sunnis and Shias as Islam developed, some came to be more interested in the personal spiritual aspect of religion. The struggle to achieve some kind of direct personal union

with the divine. This tradition shows the influence of contacts with eastern traditions of the search for enlightenment whether Hindu, Buddhist

or Daoist. The Sufi traditions, often seen as borderline heretical by the centres of authoritarian Islamic power, have historically prospered in remote and mountainous regions. Especially towards the east where similar mystical traditions have been strong.

The introspective struggle of the Sufis is, according to them, a form of Jihad (devout struggle), one against the false, earthly self - the Nafs. These strivings have produced some of Islam's most loved poetry, but is also most famously associated with ascetic disciplines such as physical exertions including music and wild dancing to induce visions and spiritual breakthroughs - something which has always made them unpopular with those who believe that music, dancing and celebration in general is the work of the devil.

Shia or Shi'ite

The original underdogs, the Shi'ites today make up only 10% of the muslim world, they are a minority in nearly all muslim countries, except for Iran, where they are the state religion. They have at times been linked to a desire by non-arab Muslims (e.g. Persians) to reject the tendencies for arab domination over islam that are sometimes expressed in the established sunni tradition with its power centres in arab lands. The Shia originated from a split amongst Muhammed's followers after his death with no male heir. The "traditionalist" Sunnis decided to appoint a leader (the Caliph). The "legitimist" Shias thought that Ali, the husband of Muhammed's favorite daughter, was the legitimate heir and Muhammed's privileged role, not only as earthly leader but spiritual too (the Imamate) was passed down this line. They are divided into:

Ithna 'Ashariyah (Twelvers) or Imamis

Who believe that there were twelve legitimate Imams after Muhammed and son-in-law Ali. They believe the twelfth Imam disappeared in 873 and is thought to be alive and hiding and will not reappear until judgement day. The Imamis became the dominant Shi'ite form in the east, particularly in Persia where it became the official state religion in the 16th century. The Iranian revolution of 1979 was taken over by the Shia clergy and their followers who believed in the Imamate of Khomeini. The fact that Shi'ism is an oppressed minority in virtually all other states in the muslim world helped to isolate the Iranian Islamic Republic and limit their ability to export their 'revolution'.

Isma'ilite

After the sixth Imam there was a dispute over whether the legitimate successor was his elder son Isma'il or his younger son Musa al-Kazim. The majority supporting the young son went on to be the mainstream leading to the Twelvers. Of those who stuck with Isma'il they split into those who decided he was the last Imam (the Sab'iyah or Seveners) and those who believed the Imamate carried on in that line. Of these latter, various splits later left groups which still follow people today they consider to be the legitimate successor to Muhammed - the Aga Khan is one such (via, obscurely, Hassan e Sabah of Assassins fame). Other schisms led groups out of Islam proper, such as the Druze (of Lebanon fame) and the Baha'i.

We now move on to the two modern

sects who have most influence on the story we are today interested in Afghanistan and related networks throughout the world.

Wahhabi

The only good innovator is a dead one

The peninsula of Arabia has since before Muhammed's time held two contrasting societies together. On the Red Sea coast trade routes from the south from Africa carrying gold, ivory, slaves and valuable crops meet routes from the east carrying spices and silks. Rich merchant settlements in Mecca and Medina have profited from the riches brought by these trade routes, travellers and pilgrims to holy relics such as the mysterious black rock of the Kaaba in Mecca. In the arabian interior harsh deserts and barren uplands have dictated a meagre semi-nomadic herding existence to the tribal peoples that inhabit the region. A nomadic herding economy, with its main animal wealth being so easily carried off, lends itself to continual strife between tribes based around livestock rustling and struggles over access to grazing land and limited watering holes.

This existence has formed a population where impoverishment sits together with a high degree of mobility and martial experience. Throughout history those people who have been able to unite the warring tribes against an external enemy have been able to mobilise a highly effective military force for conquest of the outside world. This was Muhammed's achievement, in getting the merchants of the trading cities of Mecca and Medina to pay taxes (zakat) to buy off the raiding tribes and lead them in a campaign of conquest across the middle east and North Africa. Although a great and wealthy empire eventually resulted, by the beginning of the 20th century conditions in the Arabian interior remained pretty much as impoverished and undeveloped as they had in Muhammed's time.

On January 15 1902 a tribesman from the interior in his twenties, accompanied by 15 hand-picked men, scaled the walls of the city of Riyadh in the dead of night. Taking the garrison of the regional governor of the Ottoman empire completely by surprise, this daring band of Bedouin warriors, overwhelmed the garrison and their leader, who the world would come to know simply as Ibn Saud, was proclaimed ruler by the townsfolk. Ibn Saud went on to unite the tribal leaders of the interior and lead them in the conquest of the rich cities and holy centres of Medina and Mecca. He did so not only in the name of the House of Saud, but in the name of a new puritan brand of Sunni Islam - Wahhabism.

Wahhabism is named after the religious reformer Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab who teamed up with the founder of the house of Saud for a plan of conquest back in the 18th century. This double act had managed to cause the ruling Ottoman empire serious grief beforehand and had been almost wiped out several times previously. Now with Ibn Saud the old plan would finally be put into action again. By 1911 Saud was putting into plan an ambitious scheme to forge the disparate and eternally warring Bedouin tribes of the interior into a united and ideologically committed force.

With the tribesmen having no common national identity beyond their tribe, the zeal of Wahhabism would act as the unifying glue that held the new state together in place of nationalism. In 1912 he founded the first Ikhwan (Brethren) colony with Bedouin from all tribes in new model settlements where they would undergo education and indoctrination by Wahhabi clerics along with military training. In time this

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would forge an unstoppable new military force that would sweep across Arabia and conquer the holy cities. By 1921 this process was complete. However Saudi now faced the usual problem of those who mobilise new radical forces to conquer political power - how to demobilise them before they started to destroy the very bases of political power itself.

The problems had already become apparent when the Ikhwān had taken Mecca. On hearing some unfortunate who had decided a welcoming blast on a trumpet should great the conquerors, the Wahhabis, for whom music is anti-Islamic, rioted and mass destruction and slaughter ensued. Convinced that any innovation since Muhammad's time was anathema, they tore down minarets (developed, like much mosque architecture since Muhammad's time) and, believing that any worship of relics, saints, or tombs of holy men was an affront to the doctrine that only God can be worshipped, they went round smashing up many such pilgrimage sites, much to the distress of those who made their living of the pilgrims that came to visit them. The Wahhabi religious police (mutawa) led a reign of terror in the cities, crashing into people's homes and, if so much as sniffing the scent of tobacco, would thrash the unfortunates senseless.

More importantly for Ibn Saud, the Ikhwān wanted to continue military expansion, attacking the areas to the north occupied by the British and French since the end of WW1 and the collapse of the Ottoman empire. Saud wanted to avoid war with the British, both to keep what he had gained and also because he was rapidly running out of money for the payments to the tribal chiefs he needed to keep them in his grand coalition. The possibility of selling an exploration concession to western explorers interested in looking for oil in Saudi Arabia was too interesting to pass up.

By 1927 the Ikhwān were denouncing Ibn Saud for selling out the cause and eventually rose in rebellion against him. The ensuing struggle was bloody, one ultra-zealous band nearly managing to destroy the tomb of the Prophet himself, but the radicals were eventually put down. Their leaders fled to Kuwait, only to be handed back over to Saud by the cager to please British. Thus ended the first phase of the Wahhabi's jihad.

Although the Ikhwān's military campaign was halted, the Wahhabis continued to export their religious revolution. The most successful first stop was across the Red Sea in Egypt, where they supported the formation of Hassan al Banna's Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwān Al-Muslimun). The Brotherhood was formed to combat Egypt's secular constitution of 1923. After the defeat of Egypt and other Arabs trying to stop the creation of Israel in 1948, they rose against the government and were part of the revolution that brought the secular pan-arab nationalist Nasser to power. Nasser's programme was for an anti-imperialist struggle against the western powers (he nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956) combined with 'socialist' industrial development and modernisation.

This latter part was heatedly opposed by the Brotherhood and the ensuing failed assassination attempt brought about their suppression by Nasser and the undying opposition between militant Islamism and pan-arab nationalism ever since. Nasser's "socialist" rhetoric and friendliness towards the Soviet union, panicked the western powers, particularly the US who were holding the ring for western imperialism since the British bowed out of the region after the 1956 Suez fiasco. The US involvement

with the militant Islamists as a bulwark against Soviet influence in the Middle East from this period.

Deobandis

Back to Basics

The Taleban, although a modern puritan Sunni sect, are not Wahhabis. They are part of a separate school that has its origin in the 19th century in India under British Imperial rule. After the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, which the British blamed primarily on Muslims, Muslims found themselves excluded from all institutions, including schools, of imperial society. Being excluded from official schooling meant exclusion from any role in the civil service which ran the country. In other ways too the mutiny forced a rethink on Indian muslim society.

In many ways the rising had been the last attempt to go back to the pre-colonial social order of India under the Mughal empire. The traditional leaders and ruling class had demonstrated incompetence or even refused to back the soldier-led mutiny at all. If Indian society was to escape from British clutches it would have to find a new way forward, rather than simply looking back.

Amongst Muslims two main directions emerged. The first, intent on adopting some of the western methods, created new secularised schools where a similar education to the civil service schools could be provided to young Muslims, so they would eventually be able to re-enter the administration of the country. The second approach was to create a revivalist Islamic education that would return the power of their faith to young Muslims and make them strong to reject the corrupting force of westernisation in preparation for throwing out the British oppressor. This second school took its name from the Indian town of Deoband where its leading religious juridical council (ulemma) was based.

Like the Wahhabis, the Deobandis' faith is a severe puritan one which bans music, dancing, worship of saints or holy relics and sees an external, physical Jihad (Jihad bis Saif) as a central pillar of the faith. They took part in the struggle for independence from the British and for the partition of India to create Pakistan. The Deobandis are one of the main Sunni communities in Pakistan and have been constantly in struggle both against the Shi'ite minority in Pakistan and the other main Sunni community the Brelvis.

These latter are more influenced by Sufi traditions that have long persisted in the harsh mountains of the Hindu Kush that dominate Kashmir and Afghanistan as well as in the mountainous Caucasus regions including Chechnya. Although the Sufi Muslims of Chechnya and Afghanistan have certainly shown that the "inner" jihad for enlightenment (Jihad bin Nafs) is no contradiction to the external jihad of the AK47, in Pakistan the "Jihadis" that have fought the Indians in Kashmir and the Russians in Afghanistan, are almost exclusively drawn from the Deobandis. It was their religious schools (madrassas) set up on the frontier that took in the orphans of the Afghan war, that no one else would feed, and turned them into Taliban soldiers. Since the end of the war in 1989 hostility between Deobandis and Brelvis and both against Shi'ites, has resulted in a rising number of bomb and riot attacks on rival mosques and assassinations in Pakistan.

The Afghan War 1979 - 1989

The current situation is above all the result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent US proxy war fought there. This was fought both through Afghan factions and an international net-

work of ideologically committed Islamists ready to fight the Soviet forces in the name of Islam. The US State Department, wary of Iran's Shi'ite Islamic revolution, were more than happy to find their Saudi allies were able to mobilise, through Wahhabi networks, militant Islamists who were as hostile to Iran as they were to the Russians. This would allow them, to fund the creation of a fighting force that would be strong enough to take on the Russians, yet were not in any danger of spreading the Iranian model, especially given the seeming loyalty many of the young radicals showed to the royal families of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. In this way the US and Britain helped build up a veritable International Brigade of Islamist fighters, funded by the proceeds of Gulf oil, sheltered and trained by the Pakistani intelligence services of General Zia ul Haq's regime and Western special forces. It was this network that brought together Wahhabis and Deobandis to create an international Jihadi movement of which Al Qaeda and its brother organisations like Egyptian Jihad (formed from the Muslim Brotherhood mentioned above). So what motivates this network?

The Al Qa'eda Programme

Al Qa'eda's activities may be illegal, immoral and indefensible but they are neither motiveless nor mindless. They have a programme and this is it:

1. Troops Out Now - that is, US troops out of Saudi Arabia
2. End Israeli oppression of Palestinians
3. End sanctions against Iraq
4. End western support for corrupt regimes in muslim/arab countries - control of oil wealth
5. Anti-Communism and Statism)

The fifth demand is not stated but it is the foundation of the campaign against the Russians in Afghanistan that gave the movement its birth. The defence of private property is part of the sayings of the Prophet and the subsequent Caliphs. Anti-Communism is a matter of doctrine for orthodox Islamists. Secondly, the creation of a state to enforce Islamic law - Sharia - is the defining demand of modern Islamism and has, as we saw at the very beginning, always been central to Islam as a whole.

It follows then, that despite the seeming radicalism of the demand to stop western powers propping up corrupt despotic regimes in the muslim world (or more particularly, the Arab world, because for all its Islamic internationalism this particular network remains very much in the tradition of arab-centric sunni thought), this network has no agenda for the destruction of capitalism and the extraction of profit. Indeed of all the demands number 4 is most suspect. Osama bin Laden is friendly with his family's traditional patrons, the Saudi royal family, right up until they invited the US forces into Saudi during the Gulf war. These demands are framed as a religious struggle to "free the holy places of Islam", pretty much the same slogan that Ibn Saud used to rally the original Wahhabi Ikhwān fighters for the conquest of Arabia. However, much as bin Laden would no doubt like to refer back to such historical precedents, we must not let the surface similarities blind us to the significant differences. The original Ikhwān, coming from a world which had, not only religiously but technologically remained almost unchanged since the time of Muhammad, were fighting against modern technology and industry. Ibn Saud's allowing telephones into the

country was one of the grievances for their revolt.

Bin Laden, by contrast has his own satellite phones, a modern education in civil engineering and no aversion to setting up modern factories, construction businesses or making millions on the international financial markets. Of course these modern means are all justified by the ends of Jihad. But whichever way you look at it, bin Laden is a member of the local industrialist bourgeoisie chafing at the bit to build up commodity production in the Middle East, not knock it down.

For all the pre-modern language of his movement, the content is for more technological and industrial development, not less. The military airbases and command posts that the US troops moved into in 1990 were built by bin Laden for the Saudis to use to build an independent military force against the threat of Saddam's Iraq (for much as the current Al Qa'eda demands include the dropping of sanctions against Iraq, we must remember that bin Laden was warning against Hussain's aggressive intentions from the late 80s onwards). Bin Laden wishes to see an independently powerful Islamic Middle East, and if that requires technological and economic development then he is all for it. Beyond Al Qa'eda and Osama bin Laden's clothing of a industrialising developmental agenda in pre-modern clothing, we need to look at the social recruiting base and background of the foot-soldiers of today's militant movements. In the time of Ibn Saud they were desert nomads from an essentially pre-capitalist existence. No more.

Material Foundations

Most of the Islamic societies across North Africa and the Middle East were subjected to European colonialism or Ottoman rule at some stage from the 19th to the 20th centuries. Socially these regions, although containing some of histories great urban centres of civilisation, remained primarily subsistence economies for the majority of the inhabitants, whether settled farmers or nomadic herders. While colonial rule started the process of forcing the population off the land, this social transformation really got into gear under the rule of the post-colonial regimes after WW1 and, even more so after WW2. The new post colonial regimes modelled themselves on their erstwhile colonizers, introducing a secular state and institutions, and often promoting western dress and culture. But many of the trappings of the new states, whether transport infrastructure, motor cars, telephones, etc. had to be bought from overseas. In the Gulf states this could all be paid for by oil wealth without any need for the development of local industry or production. In the oil-less states the balance of payments pressure produced a need to go into commodity production in return, in order to pay for the imported material. But starting from a level of industrial development unable to compete with the west, the only industry ready for conversion to commodity production was agriculture. Combined with strong tariff barriers protecting western food crop production, the "balance of payments" cash crop has played the major role in throwing the peasantry off the land.

This mass of newly landless peasants, drifting towards the shanty towns surrounding the urban centres, looking for wage work, is the sleeping giant of politics in the Islamic world. Any rising by this new proletariat would be an earthquake strong enough to shake the foundations of all the established powers, mostly despotic as they are, in the region. It is amongst this multitude that the Islamists have worked hard to establish a base.

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They have done so by setting up a religious based welfare system. Most of the post colonial states are too concerned about paying their debts to western banks and the IMF to spend any of their meagre tax revenues on social welfare. Further the standard IMF "structural adjustment" terms prohibit any such social spending, even were any of the regimes farsighted enough to consider them. Islam has a redistributive "social democratic" taxation system built into its foundations as zakat, one of the five obligations of the religion. Islamists are able to lean on the beneficiaries of trade with the west, or oil rights, for money. In return they promise to keep a lid on popular revolt, particularly any socialistic or class war elements.

The current regimes, mostly being founded by people who themselves dangled with socialistic or national liberation politics in their struggle to depose colonial power, are all to aware of the destabilising potential of such politics, not to mention the interests of the local capitalists. So they are happy for the Islamists to hold ideological sway over the urban proletariat, so long as their anger is diverted to handy external scapegoats, such as Israel or America. This welfare system though is dependant upon attending the mosque and being integrated into the whole Islamist system of ideological formation. The system provides not only material aid, but also meeting places, places to hear news from co-religionists from afar and abroad. In a sense the Islamist mission amongst the urban poor corresponds to the institutions that workers across the world have built for themselves (friendly societies, meeting houses, public speaking and international correspondence, etc.), except that in this instance these institutions and spaces are not the autonomous products of workers activity. Rather they are funded by the bosses and the rich and controlled by a power that mediates between the two, usually antagonist classes and the state.

This state of affairs is not due to some innate failing of political consciousness amongst the urban proletariat, rather it is a product of the economic environment of mass unemployment and regime of accumulation that has not yet reached the stage of accumulating through relative surplus value, but remains founded on the absolute exploitation of those in work. The mass of the urban proletariat in many Islamic countries does not have enough spare cash to set up their own autonomous spaces and aid projects, compared to the resources the Islamists can access, especially for comparatively expensive services like modern health care.

But the creation of autonomous spaces in the Islamic world is what is desperately needed by local workers and radicals. It is in this area that international solidarity can play the most important role in the future. Solidarity can help build up the spaces for the proletariat of North Africa and the Middle East to find a liberatory path between the devil of rotten despotic regimes and the deep blue sea of militant Islamic capitalism.

Author Paul Bowman is an internationalist, anti-fascist, anarchist and libertarian communist active for over 15 years in Yorkshire, Northern England. This article is from *Against War and Terrorism*, a pamphlet written by anarchists from four continents. Available online at: <http://struggle.ws/issues/war/pamOCT01.html>

Brief History of the Middle East

The history of what we know as the "Middle East" (North Africa and West Asia), especially in this century, is a history of exploitation and interference by the West.

Late 1800's - 1920: The whole region except Afghanistan (which has not been conquered since Alexander the Great) is under European colonial control.

1948: Creation of Israel. European Jews displace Palestinians. There are currently 5 million Palestinian refugees who cannot return home.

1949: CIA helps overthrow the elected government of Syria.

1953: Democratically elected government of Iran nationalizes their oil resources (instead of letting the British continue to control them), and the CIA helps overthrow them and instate the Shah.

1956: Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal, and is invaded by England, France, and Israel.

1958: U.S. troops in Lebanon to "preserve order" Early 1960s: U.S. unsuccessfully tries to assassinate Abdul Karim Qasim, the leader of Iraq.

1963: U.S. gives Iraqi Ba'ath party names of communists to murder.

1967: Six Day War. Israel takes West Bank and parts of Syria and Lebanon, which it holds to this day. U.S. blocks U.N. Security Council attempt to get Israel to withdraw from these territories.

1973-5: U.S. supports Kurdish rebels in Iraq, then denies them refuge when Iran closes the border and Iraq slaughters massive amounts of Kurds.

1978-9: U.S. tries to prevent Iranian Revolution and keep the Shah in power.

1979-89: U.S.S.R. invasion of Afghanistan. CIA trains and arms Osama Bin Laden and other mujahideen, spending approximately \$500 million a year.

1980-88: Iran/Iraq war. U.S supports Iraq, opposing Security Council attempts to condemn invasion of Iran, providing training, funding, logistical support and arms to Saddam Hussein, and shooting down an Iranian commercial airplane with 290 passengers aboard.

1982: U.S. supports Israeli invasion of Lebanon, providing weapons despite a law stating that U.S. arms can only be used by Israel in self defense. More than 10,000 civilians die.

1983: U.S. "peacekeepers" intervene on one side of a civil war in Lebanon.

1988: Saddam Hussein kill thousands more Kurds and uses chemical weapons against them, and U.S. strengthens economic ties to Iraq.

1990-1: Iraq invades Kuwait, and the U.S. leads a war against Iraq, targeting civilian infrastructure. U.S. is bombing Iraq to this day, and 500,000 children have died since the war "ended" in 1991. U.S. has imposed devastating economic sanctions on Iraq, causing hundreds of thousands to die and getting cheap oil through the "oil for food" program.

1996: CIA helps bring Taliban to power in Afghanistan, imposing fundamentalist Islamic law on the country.

1998: U.S. destroys Sudanese pharmaceutical factory, claiming it was a chemical weapons plant. They later admitted that there was no evidence for this claim.

2001: Unidentified terrorists destroy World Trade Center in New York and damage Pentagon in Washington, D.C. killing thousands. U.S. decides that the best response to this is to violate international law and bomb civilians in Afghanistan.

Koala:

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racism. Like my own roommate started a HAPA club, which is half Asians. What could half Asians possibly have in common with each other? The answer is nothing!! They have one grandparent, two grandparents who came from the same region of the world, that doesn't have any bearing on the personality, the characteristics, the likes or dislikes of the grandchildren, and I think that what needs to happen is there needs to be work on getting everybody and bringing them in together. I see no reason to make an extra effort to diversify UCSD. I see no reason to bring in extra black people, extra Mexican people, dropping the SAT out so we can achieve these goals, because all that's gonna do is create new tables in the cafeteria, and now we've got an Asian, we've got a Persian, we've got a white table, and maybe a Jewish table, then we can add on to that the Mexican table, the Latiino Amerriican table, y'know (fake accent), or maybe they can break up all into their individual countries. Maybe we can have enough Latino people here that the Argentinians can have their own table and they can be separate from the Chileans and everybody else. It's a ridiculous situation, and that's what's contributing to hatred at UCSD.

ni: Alright, thanks

GL: Can I add something?

ni: Go for it

GL: The thing I really want to emphasize is the distinction between material that offends people and offensive material. Those are two entirely separate ideas and too many people feel that they're synonymous. They're not. Another thing I want to point out just for laughs is the hypocrisy of the people that are criticizing the Koala right now. One person actually had a quote in the Guardian saying "there's too much tolerance of intolerance at UCSD." What the hell does that mean?! What is that? It's just doublespeak. The whole idea is to just kind of confuse you and maybe you'll end up just nodding your head. Too much tolerance of intolerance? Does that mean he's against tolerance? What is he trying to say? It's bullshit! And then the Guardian runs an editorial about the Koala about us surrounding hate speech and disguising it under the form of humor, and then right next to it, right next to this, is a cartoon where they show a father offering his son a 45 caliber weapon so that he can blow the brains out of the school bully. As long as we're talking about taking hate speech and surrounding it in humorous context, how can the Guardian possibly criticize the Koala for, at the most, creating an environment of hate and promoting hate speech, when what they're doing is advocating capital crimes! And the murder of schoolchildren! What kind of bullshit is that? What kind of people are we relying on to do our editorial thinking on, when they can't even keep their sh--stuff straight on the same page of their own newspaper. It's just ridiculous.

Chomsky:

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did not attack Belgium, or India England, or Algeria France, or Mexico or the Philippines the United States. The atrocities of September 11 were unique, not -- regretably -- in scale, but in the target.

13. Which do you believe that will happen to countries (such as Greece) and the Balkans in general? We read many times that bin Laden has many links with klan and ethnic Albanians guerillas. Do you think that Greece (and by extension the Olympic games 2004) is in danger of terrorist attacks, guerilla warfare and generally consequences that will force the Greek government to postpone or call off the Olympic games?

That is unpredictable, but it is likely to be affected by the course that the us and its allies pursue right now. If they answer bin Laden's prayers, then the likelihood of further atrocities is increased.

14. Is Islam dangerous to the western civilization or the western way of life consists a threat to mankind?

The question is too broad and vague for me to answer. It should be clear, however, that the US does not regard Islam as an enemy, or conversely. The world's most populous Muslim state, Indonesia, has been a US favorite since the army

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U.S. Bombing of Afghanistan is Illegal

1. Use of military force is in general illegal.

(UN Charter, Article 2)

The general purpose of the UN Charter is to ensure peaceful means of resolving conflicts. Article 2 explicitly rules out the "threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." The only exceptions are self-defense, and explicit authorization by the U.N. Security Council if they find it is necessary in order to maintain international peace and security.

2. The right of self-defense does not apply in this case.

(UN Charter, Article 51)

Article 51 allows action in the case of self-defense, but that only applies, as determined by the currently accepted standard (Caroline Case, 1837; US), in the case of an actual or immanent attack, where there is an instant, overwhelming necessity, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation. Actions in self-defense are only authorized until the U.N. Security Council has time to respond. They in fact responded the next day with a resolution that did not authorize armed attack by the U.S.

3. The U.N. Security Council has not authorized the use of force.

(U.N. Security Council Resolutions of September 12th and September 28th, U.N. Charter Article 39, 47, 48)

In any case where there is a threat to international peace and security, only the Security Council has the right to make a determination that there is a threat, what actions are to be taken, and by whom. They have indeed made such a determination, but their response so far has been to pass a series of anti-terrorism resolutions that have called for, among other things, the sharing of intelligence information and the freezing of terrorist's financial assets, but have not called for the use of force.

4. The U.S. attack cannot be justified by the claim that Afghanistan is harboring terrorists.

(Draft Articles on State Responsibility)

A state cannot be held responsible for the actions of individuals or groups residing within it unless it is shown that it had direct control over them, or that it ordered the actions of the group or individual. Merely knowing that they are there and not taking actions against them, so-called "harboring," is not enough to make the state responsible for the actions taken by the group. The only possible violation of the state would be failure to try or extradite those who have been formally indicted.

5. The U.S. attack cannot be justified by claiming the September 11th attacks were an act of war.

(Common Article 3, 1949 Geneva Conventions)

An attack by a group or individual not affiliated with a government is technically a criminal act, not an act of war; and war cannot be declared against such a group or individual. The term "war" in international law only applies to states. War cannot be declared by or against a non-state actor. Therefore, the actions of September 11th do not justify an armed response, and the suspects must be pursued according to the laws for indicting and extraditing international criminals.

6. The U.S. failed to provide evidence, seek an indictment, or make a request for extradition.

The above actions are required by international laws governing the pursuit of individuals accused of crimes. The U.S. merely demanded that Bin Laden be turned over, unconditionally. Bin Laden has been formally indicted for previous crimes, and requests have been made to Afghanistan for extradition, but not for the attacks of September 11th.

7. The U.S. attack cannot be justified by the failure of the Taliban to extradite Bin Laden.

(International Court of Justice)

The country where a suspect resides has the option of either trying the person themselves, or extraditing them. If they fail to do either, they are in violation of international law. In such cases, certain legitimate "countermeasures" may be taken against the country; however, they must be proportional to the violation (of the country, not the suspect -- in this case refusing a request for extradition) and have as a goal getting the country to comply. Sanctions are considered legitimate countermeasures, and have been employed by the U.N. to encourage the extradition of accused terrorists; armed force is explicitly excluded. Removing the government of a country that refuses to comply is not a legitimate goal of such a countermeasure or of any type of action.

However, the Taliban have actually offered to try Bin Laden themselves, in which case, as long as it is a fair and acceptable trial according to international standards, extradition is not required and the U.S. would have no recourse to countermeasures.

8. The U.S. failed to exhaust attempts to negotiate a peaceful solution. (UN Charter, Article 33)

According to the UN Charter, in any international dispute, all attempts must be made to resolve the dispute through negotiation, including seeking the aid of medi-

ation. Instead, Bush issued an ultimatum to the Taliban to turn over Bin Laden or face armed attack, refused to negotiate, and then attacked after only two weeks despite the Taliban's statements that it was willing to negotiate.

9. The U.S. failed to appeal the matter to the Security Council.

(UN Charter, Article 37)

If attempts at negotiation fail, the next required step is to appeal to the UN Security Council. If force is then to be used, it is the Security Council which must make that determination. In no case is unilateral action by a country allowed, except in the case of self-defense against armed attack.

10. The U.S. bombing amounts to an excessive use of force in a way that has caused civilian deaths and now threatens a major humanitarian disaster.

(International Court of Justice "Advisory Opinion on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, 1996; First 1977 Protocol to the Geneva Convention, Relating to the Victims of International Armed Conflicts. Article 48)

In cases of armed conflict, the Geneva Convention requires a country to distinguish military and civilian targets, and to avoid "excessive" use of force. The U.S. bombing strategy, like that used in Iraq, is designed to cripple the infrastructure of the country. In Iraq this strategy has resulted in the deaths of over a million civilians, most of the women and children. (Report of International Red Cross) At the present time, U.N. relief organizations are predicting a major humanitarian disaster as a result of the bombing in Afghanistan. They estimate that 4 to 7 million people are currently at risk of death for lack of food and medical supplies, and have called for an immediate halt to the bombing. (Mary Robinson, UN Commissioner for Human Rights, October 12, 2001)

11. The U.S. goal of overthrowing the Taliban is illegal.

Actions aimed specifically at causing civilian distress in order to pressure the government or to encourage the overthrow of the government is considered a war crime. The U.S. has clearly stated its intention to remove the Taliban from power and to encourage their overthrow by the Northern Alliance.

12. Political assassination or the assassination of criminals (extra-judicial killing) are war crimes according to the Geneva Convention.

The U.S. has admitted to the attempted assassination of Mullah Omar, the religious leader of the Taliban, and has stated that they want Bin Laden "dead or alive".

What is Veganism?

To understand veganism you must first understand vegetarianism. Most people know that it is a lifestyle in which no animal flesh is consumed; no beef, no poultry, no seafood, none! It is not a particularly hard thing to do given the now abundant variety of meat-free products.

Many great idealists believe that veganism is the next step in the pursuit of a cruelty-free lifestyle; no consumption of animal by-products or any smaller animals, less thought of as belonging to the animal kingdom. To a lot of vegetarians, especially new ones, it seems hard to justify that level of commitment. No more milk, cheese, eggs, etc., or any of the goodies containing these products.

Not to say that vegan food doesn't taste good; far from it. Becoming vegan just takes some effort and seems like a daunting prospect at first because you need to actually know what you eat. People become vegans for a variety of different reasons, ranging from the way animals are treated to the concerns for the environment to simple health conscientiousness.

The reason that most often comes to mind is the harsh treatment and eventual death of the animals. If you ever drive by a ranch, you can sense what it must be like to be in that position. The animals are crowded into tiny cages in unsanitary conditions and subjected to inhumane treatment before their eventual deaths. It isn't enough that they are unnecessarily killed for our own pleasure, but that they have to spend their days living in such horrid conditions seems barbaric.

Second on the list is the environmental factor. Being a bunch of hippy liberals means attempting to do as much as possible in fight for the survival of the earth. The resources used for the raising of animals for consumption could feed many more people if used for crops. Becoming primary consumers could solve many hunger problems while creating oxygen instead of depleting it. Livestock is one of the worst things for the land, forcing people who raise them to forever search for new fields. This often takes them to where it is abundant and cheap, the rainforest.

Enough on that, and on to the selfish reason. Not only does vegan food taste rather stupendous, it is extremely healthy too. Although fables have been propagated, if done right, a vegan diet contains all the necessary nutrients.

Personally, I need a stronger reason than, "Well, it seems like the good thing to do," so it will some time and research before I become vegan. So much dedication is needed; yet, experiencing the self satisfaction in just becoming vegetarian makes it feasible for me to see my eventual cross-over into veganism.

so make sure that you know what you are doing before you use it. Steganography, the art of hiding data in picture files, is another way of hiding computer data.

This article is a very basic introduction to what security culture is and why it is important. For more information, please see <http://animalliberation.net/security> and <http://security.tao.ca>.

Security:

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to participate in security culture as well, both to protect underground activists and to minimize the amount of information that police get about us, which will minimize what they can do to intimidate us into stopping. For mainstream activists, security culture consists more of engaging

in the privacy precautions outlined below than hiding involvement in underground groups.

There are some important privacy precautions that we can take to keep information secure. One is to be aware of where we are when talking. The Internet, phone, mail, and activists' homes and cars are all bad places to communicate, because they are frequently monitored. Another is to make it difficult or impossible for the

authorities to get information off our computers. Strong computer encryption software is available at <http://pgp.com>. You can use this software to encrypt emails you send and data on your hard disk. Be aware, however, that if you send almost all unencrypted emails, encrypted emails that you send will stand out. Also keep in mind that it is possible to compromise the security of those who you are communicating with if you use pgp incorrectly,