

OCTOBER - NOVEMBER 2006

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**019**

VOLUME 3 ISSUE 1

# PERMANENT WAR

Behind Hezbollah's Success • Profiting on Disaster  
Afghanistan: Five Years Later • U.S. Military Breakdown

BACKGROUND PHOTO: Shaara, Lebanon after the conflict with Israel



# FAULT LINES

NEWSMAGAZINE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

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OAKLAND'S OAK TO NINTH:  
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# FAULT LINES

The San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center is a non-commercial, democratic collective of bay area independent media makers and media outlets, and serves as the local organizing unit of the global indymedia network.

## FAULT LINES MISSION STATEMENT

Fault Lines, the newsmagazine of the San Francisco Bay Area Independent Media Center, aims to give all communities the opportunity to actively participate in a collective process of media production and distribution. By operating with transparency, this newsmagazine hopes to achieve the goal of allowing the public, not corporate conglomerations, to set the agenda for news coverage. Our mission is to train and empower marginalized voices. This publication was created to be used as a tool for radical change in our communities by exposing the stories and raising the issues that the media plutocracy seeks to suppress. We are the people, we are the media and we are dissenting from the ground up.

## GET INVOLVED

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

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

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We'd also like to thank everyone who has donated to Fault Lines, those who have subscribed, and the organizations and small businesses that have advertised within these pages. Your support helps make this happen.



Katrina Aftermath photo by Cottergarage

# CAPITALIZING ON DISASTER

## THE ECONOMICS OF WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

BY SAKURA SAUNDERS

Two months after the end of the 34-day Israel-Hezbollah war in Lebanon, Lebanon still struggles to rebound from this humanitarian and economic disaster. Southern Lebanese fields are littered with a million unexploded cluster bombs, killing or wounding nearly three people each day and leaving people afraid to work in the fields. Additionally, Israel's two month air and sea blockade brought Lebanon's economy to a standstill, while infrastructure damage continues to mar its economic growth.

Having financially, militarily, and politically backed Israel during the 34 day war, the US finds itself in the awkward position of having fueled the destruction of a country while attempting to appear its ally. Similar campaigns have been waged in Iraq and Afghanistan, where an inability to secure peace, restore infrastructure, and promote economic growth has led to greater conflict and destabilization. Meanwhile, the corporate ambassadors that the US has employed in rebuilding and occupying these regions have engaged in human rights abuses, corruption scandals, and

flagrant profiteering... producing little but resentment. Even on its home turf in the US, corporations and their political counterparts seem to be the ones benefiting most from the efforts to address Hurricane Katrina's devastation.

Reconstruction policy and implementation has become an integral part of war, and has become another project to advance the interests of power and capital. Forced economic restructuring

its civil war, but this has been primarily bankrolled by France and Saudi Arabia, the later having deposited \$1bn into Lebanese banks at the beginning of the conflict in order to stabilize the economy and protect its vested interests. That all could change soon however, as the US has pledged \$230 million to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), whose mission is to help US businesses invest overseas and support US foreign policy. About half of this money is earmarked for backing Citibank loans to Lebanese banks, to encourage Lebanese citizens to borrow money from the US.

The Lebanese will no doubt need this money as their country has raised barely enough money to cover the physical damage of the war. Previous to the war, Lebanon already had one of the largest debt to GDP ratios, hovering at around 180 percent. Due to this debt, Lebanon faced mounting pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to privatize its water, electricity, and telecommunications sectors as a condition on loans it had received from this international lending institution. Privatization of these key sectors was at the core of assassinated former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri's economic policy and opposition to these policies was the subject of massive demonstrations in May of this year.

Iraq similarly finds itself in debt, as it has been forced to take out loans to rebuild its destroyed infrastructure following years of sanctions and war. In 2005, the World Bank authorized \$500 million in soft loans, Iraq's first loan from the World Bank since 1973, while 2004 marked it's first loan ever from the IMF. Additionally, the Paris Club, an international lending institution, has arranged the cancellation of 80 percent of its \$40 billion claim in debt against Iraq, on the condition that Iraq enter an agreement with the IMF and comply with its conditions.

### Whose Aid?

While it has not yet been made public how the US will spend the bulk of

FROM HALLIBURTON'S INFAMOUS \$100 BAGS OF LAUNDRY TO QUARTER MILLION DOLLAR SCHOOLS WITH COLLAPSED ROOFS IN AFGHANISTAN, CONTRACTORS OVERCHARGED THE GOVERNMENT FOR QUESTIONABLE WORK AND WERE REWARDED HANDSOMELY FOR IT.

and corporate profits combine to produce favorable consequences of war for the world's global elite, while rampant poverty, social violence, unemployment and spiraling debt disproportionately affect the poor and middle class.

### Massive Debt

Lebanon has undergone massive economic development since the end of

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NOVEMBER 9,  
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## Protesters Confront Feinstein ENEMY COMBATANTS IN DOWNTOWN SF

Staff at Senator Diane Feinstein's downtown San Francisco office refused to even meet with the Act Against Torture group on the morning of September 28th. Dressed in orange jumpsuits, protesters attempted to deliver a near-life-sized Gitmo cage to dramatize and demand an end to the torture and indefinite detention that US

legislators have enabled or failed to prevent over the past five years at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, Abu Ghraib in Iraq, Bagram Airforce Base in Afghanistan, and in secret prisons and other torture sites all over the world.

More info:  
[www.indybay.org/antiwar/](http://www.indybay.org/antiwar/)



Photo: Bill Carpenter



Photo: Clark Sullivan

## DEA Raids 10 Cali Cannabis Shops FEDS VIOLATE STATE LAW TO BUST DISPENSARIES

On October 3, the Bay Area medical marijuana community was rocked by the news that eight Bay Area locations associated with New Remedies Cooperative and Potent Employment Solutions had been raided by federal agents. The targets were allegedly growing, prescribing, and dispensing medical marijuana. That same week, dispensaries in Modesto and Granada Hills were

also raided. "It is regrettable to see the Feds so focused on medical marijuana and wasting so many tax payers' dollars to undo popular law," one anonymous patient commented on *Indybay.org*. "The people of California voted for Prop 215, so the Feds should back off."

More info: [www.indybay.org/drugwar/](http://www.indybay.org/drugwar/)

## Unions Picket Alcatraz Ferries MARITIME WORKERS VS. HORNBLOWER YACHTS

Maritime workers and other trade unionists picketed Alcatraz Cruises at Pier 33 in San Francisco on October 8. They returned the next day to picket the boats which ferried people to Alcatraz for the Indigenous People's Day commemoration. Alcatraz Cruises, part of the anti-union Hornblower Yachts, took over the contract to run the Alcatraz ferry service on September 25 using non-union crews for the first time since the service began in the early 70's. The unions representing the captains, deckhands, mechanics, ticket sellers and

collectors, the Inlandboatmens Union-ILWU (IBU), and the Masters Mates and Pilots (MMP), have been negotiating in good faith with Hornblower owner Terry Macrae for several weeks following months of mostly unsuccessful legal actions. Hornblower insists there will be no union hiring hall or organizing of other Hornblower workers. The company wants all health and welfare and pension contributions go into its substandard plans rather than the union's solid defined benefits plan.

More info: [www.indybay.org/labor/](http://www.indybay.org/labor/)



Photo: Todd Sanchioni



Photo: Chris Schneider

## The Crime of Pushing a Shopping Cart

By Mike Rhodes

The City of Fresno is in the process of adopting an ordinance that would make it a crime to be in the possession of a shopping cart. The ordinance, if passed, will subject any person with a shopping cart that has been removed from a business, to a \$1,000 fine and up to one year in jail. The ordinance is part of an ongoing attack against Fresno's homeless population. These attacks have included the bulldozing of homeless encampments, destruction of homeless persons personal possessions, an ordinance against aggressive panhandling, and the building of fences to prevent the homeless from accessing vacant state-owned land.

More info: [www.indybay.org/centralvalley/](http://www.indybay.org/centralvalley/)

Fresno has the highest rate of concentrated poverty of all major US metropolitan areas (Brookings Institute, 2005)

## Josh Wolf Ordered Back to Prison INDYJOURNALIST LOCKED UP DURING APPEAL

A panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals granted a motion by the Federal Government revoking bail for independent journalist and blogger Josh Wolf on September 19. Wolf had been out of prison on bail since September 1 after spending a month at a Dublin Federal facility. He was found to be in contempt for exercising his First Amendment rights and refusing to provide a federal grand jury with video footage he shot at the SF G8 protest last summer. "My

client's political activity and free speech activity in the Bay Area as a journalist and this subpoena, with its associated threat of jail time for noncompliance, has an incredible chilling effect on his and other journalist's freedom to gather and disseminate information of groups who espouse dissident beliefs," said his attorney Jose Luis Fuentes.

More info:  
[www.indybay.org/indymedia/](http://www.indybay.org/indymedia/)



Josh with filmmaker Kevin Epps just before returning to the Federal Correction Facility in Dublin.

## SHAKING UNCONTROLLABLY KILLING THE NEWS

BY LIAM O'DONOGHUE

**Will they get light sabers, too?** A program known as "Hot Eagle" is apparently nearing its goal of making space travel accessible to Marines. According to *Defense Technology International*, "The concept is to deliver strategic equipment or a small squad of soldiers to any point on the globe—even the most hard-to-reach location—within hours of need." Great. Maybe next time I'm in trouble I should call the Marines, because one of my friends called 911 a few weeks ago when he was robbed and it took the San Francisco cops more than five hours to get to his house, even though it's less than a mile from the police station.

**Party Time:** Last year, Congress designated \$20 million for a "Mission Accomplished" party, but since the US didn't spend the money, they're rolling the cash over into this year's military spending bill. According to *The New York Times*, the original legislation empowered the president to designate "a day of celebration" to commemorate the success of the armed forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, and to "issue a proclamation calling on the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities". Appropriate?! Like what: Oil slick slip n' slide? Hide and go seek Osama? A gigantic Koran-shaped piñata?

**We're People, Not Popcorn!** The US Air Force is developing nonlethal weapons such as high-power microwave devices and it announced recently that wants to test them out on unruly mobs (i.e. political demonstrations) in the US before unleashing them on foreigners. "If we're not willing to use it here against our fellow citizens, then we should not be willing to use it in a wartime situation," said Air Force secretary Michael Wynne. "(Because) if I hit somebody with a nonlethal weapon and they claim that it injured them in a way that was not intended, I think that I would be vilified in the world press." Great idea, Einstein! As long as the protestors you zap don't explode like overcooked frozen burritos, everyone in the media will probably be fine with this plan.

**Spread 'em, Senator:** When I saw the headline "Congress Considering Strip Searching Students" I wasn't surprised. Is this really so shocking? But then I read the story and found out that they're considering a bill that would allow school officials to conduct random, warrantless strip searches of every student, at any time. Don't you think that Congress should be subject to its own laws? Then, if they pass this bill, any high school student would have the right to strip search any Congress member, anytime, anywhere, and with whatever inspection tools they deem necessary.

**Clash at Columbia as  
Minutemen Forced Off Stage**

As a large, vocal protest raged outside Roone Arledge Auditorium at Columbia University, Minuteman founder Jim Gilchrist was heckled and confronted onstage by students, prompting a fistfight between students and the Minutemen. According to an on-scene report, "there [were] at least two minutes of chaos between students, other students and the Minutemen." Gilchrist was prevented from speaking.

Two days later, local xenophobes staged a protest outside the Mexican Consulate, but their numbers were small compared to the scores of counter demonstrators that opposed them. This was part of a series of anti-immigrant rallies that were held at Mexican Consulates across the country. Others were scheduled in Las Vegas, Nevada, Omaha, Nebraska, El Paso Texas, and Des Moines, Iowa.

Six people were arrested during the course of the two-hour event. One was charged with spitting at the anti-immigration protesters, while the others were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and inciting a riot when a minor scuffle took place as the event ended.

[nyc.indymedia.org](http://nyc.indymedia.org)

**Jeb Bush Shown the Closet**

On October 6, Gov. Jeb Bush (FL) was shown the closet by Pittsburgh Port Authority Police as he attempted to escape the boos and jeers of activists en route to a fundraiser for Senator Rick Santorum (PA). Bush was a scheduled speaker at the fundraiser.

The incident with Gov. Bush occurred during an impromptu march organized by several United Steelworkers staffers. As the march proceeded towards the Duquesne Club – the site for the fundraiser – Jeb Bush was spotted and a small group rushed across the street to confront him. The group yelled and chanted and got in his face. Bush was accompanied by one security guard and an aide.

After activists angrily dogged Bush for about a block, Bush's security guard escorted him into a nearby T-station. The group of about 15-20 trailed Bush and company down the

# divide and conquer

HOW OAKLANDERS LOST THE BATTLE FOR A BETTER OAK TO 9TH DEVELOPMENT

BY NICO RAHIM

It's the all too familiar fracture in the American Left: the rich want parks and open space, the poor want decent jobs and housing, both all too often unwilling to compromise one for the other. Granted it's not that black and white, but looking at the various community groups and organizations that have mobilized around the controversial Oak to Ninth project it seems that those archetypes fit.

The main parties at play are the Oak to Ninth Community Benefits Coalition (CBC) and the Oak to Ninth Referendum Committee. In discussions with *Fault Lines*, both groups had belittling words for the other. Andy Nelsen of the Urban Strategies Council and an organizer for CBC said, "I think they [the Oak to Ninth Referendum Committee] are misguided, they are throwing everything at the wall just to see what sticks." He later said, "Our members have no jobs or shitty jobs, public parks and open space will not change that."

While Kate Tanaka of the Oakland Green Party said Mike Ghielmetti, of the developer, Signature Properties, targeted the CBC as "weakest link," and the easiest group with whom he could cut a deal.

The CBC—consisting of 2,000 residents of the Eastlake, Chinatown, and Lower San Antonio neighborhoods, and organizations such as East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy, Urban Strategies Council, and the Asian Pacific Environmental Network—thought the fight for a better Oak to Ninth was over in late July when they reached an agreement with Signature Properties for a project that includes: 3,100 units of housing, with 465 units for low income families, along with 200,000 square feet of commercial space, and 30 acres of open space on the Oakland Estuary.

Nelsen told *Fault Lines*, "We are quite pleased at the deal we negotiated." The CBC boasts that the 465 low income units are mainly multi-bedroom spaces to accommodate families who are not just moderately low income—up 120 percent of the area median—but are priced for families at 60 percent of the median, more than double what is mandated for redevelopment areas. The developer is obligated to cover the cost of career training in union apprentice programs—a 900-hour minimum—for 300 new workers.

**"There were a number of crucial issues overlooked. The political manipulation of zoning is a crucial issue. Giving away 64 acres of waterfront property for \$18 million is a crucial issue. The fact the city will not collect taxes from the development is a crucial issue...In bringing the ordinance to the ballot the public will be able to directly respond to the crucial facts overlooked by the city council."**

—Kate Tanaka, Oak to 9th Referendum Committee

In late July the Oakland City Council passed an ordinance, 6-0, approving the Oak to Ninth development, with two abstentions objecting to the lack of public schools in the immediate area and the other for lack of public space.

Upon city council approval, members of the Oakland Green Party, Sierra Club, the League of Women Voters, and other neighborhood organizations such as the Coalition of Advocates for Lake Merritt (CALM), formed the Oak to Ninth Referendum Committee, to bring the ordinance to the ballot.

Tanaka told *Fault Lines*, "There were a number of crucial issues overlooked. The political manipulation of zoning is a crucial issue. Giving away 64 acres of waterfront property for \$18 million is a crucial issue. The fact the city will not collect taxes from the development is a crucial issue." Tanaka continued "In bringing the ordinance to the ballot the public will be able to directly respond to the crucial facts overlooked by the city council."

They argue that under the proposal agreed to by the city council, Oakland will take the bill for the entirety of the on-site affordable housing, putting a strain on Oakland's affordable housing budget. Furthermore, all property taxes to be collected from the proposed development will not go into the city's general revenue account but will be allocated to the California Redevelopment Agency, with 25 percent of revenue from the project going back to low income housing in the Central City East Redevelopment Area. In

light of these facts the Referendum Committee believes the Oak to Ninth project could easily be a financial burden to the city of Oakland, not a benefit.

Many on the referendum committee would like to see the city return to Estuary Policy Plan, which was passed by the city council in 1999 and would turn the water-

front area in question to 55 acres of accessible public space. Others fall back on the Port of Oakland's original sales agreement with Signature Properties that would require them to provide 42 acres of parkland.

The Referendum Committee made headlines in the past month by collecting 25,068 signatures in 30 days to bring the Oak to Ninth project to the ballot, only to see Oakland City Attorney John Russo write an opinion invalidating the petition for failing to present the final version of the ordinance passed by the city council.

The truth is the city is probably correct in its decision. There is no documentation that a member of the referendum committee requested a hard copy of the ordinance—to which the city is by law required to keep, and the Referendum Committee has been unable to identify anyone within the city clerk's office who gave them faulty information of taking

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A shot of the proposed Oak to Ninth project and the Oakland skyline from Ninth Avenue. The project is on the Oakland Estuary south of Oak Street, west of I-880, and north of 9th Avenue. Photo: Nick Rahaim.

# WORKERS STIFFED

EMPLOYERS ARE CUTTING OVERHEAD ON THE BACKS OF LABORERS—ESPECIALLY UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

PHOTO: MATT GERECHTY



BY JESSICA ABLAMSKY & IAN ELWOOD

On August 30, the California Senate approved an increase of the states minimum wage to \$8 per hour, to take effect by January 2008. This is great news for statewide low income workers, but for many, particularly non-English speaking and undocumented workers, it may remain difficult to claim the wages that they deserve. According to Matt Goldberg, a lawyer from the Legal Aid Society, such workers, “seem to suffer the largest number and most egregious violations. Those are folks employers believe that they can more easily exploit.”

Workers in San Francisco (and statewide) are entitled to receive the current minimum wage, regardless of their citizenship status. According to city law, all workers in San Francisco—whether or not they are legally authorized to work in the United States—are protected. Many employers, however, have not been playing by the rules. “There is a real crisis—that is happening in our communities—,” said Alex Tom, Campaign Coordinator for the Asian Progressive Association. “Right now a lot of folks in our community are not getting their minimum wage.”

The San Francisco Minimum Wage Ordinance (MWO) was passed by voters in 2003. Currently, the minimum wage in San Francisco is \$8.82. However, a law is meaningless if it is not enforced. The Minimum Wage Ordinance, though well intentioned, did not provide an adequate funding mechanism for enforcing the minimum wage it established. As a result, many low-wage workers, especially those in the immigrant community, are still not receiving the city’s minimum wage.

During the City’s budget negotiations this year, a plan to fund the Minimum Wage Implementation and Enforcement Ordinance through a \$39 fee on businesses was scrapped. Instead, in

deference to concerns from the business community that this fee would be an unnecessary penalty on businesses that do follow the law, the Mayor’s office agreed to fund new staff and the outreach program from the General Fund. The Enforcement Ordinance as passed does little more than establish that the Office of Labor Standards Enforcement (OLSE) will set up an education and outreach program. Although the money is a victory for low-wage workers and the immigrant community, the issue is complex, and without an independent source of funding, the city’s enforcement of minimum wage violations remains tied to the whims of politicians.

## Navigating a Byzantine Legal System

Lilly Wu is a Chinese immigrant who has served food in Chinatown for four years. She has seen many Chinese immigrants working long hours for obscenely low pay. At the first hearing, Wu told Supervisors that some people in Chinatown are working up to ten hours a day, six days per week, for a monthly salary as low as \$800. That is less than \$3.50 an hour. “A lot of them don’t speak English, and they’re 40 or 50 years old, and it’s very hard for them to find work,” said Wu.

Clearly there is little motivation for business owners to follow the law. At best, employers get cheap labor. At worst, the owner is ordered to cough up money for the wages that they should have paid in the first place. “Is there incentive to follow the law? Probably not. It’s harder for the workers to press for their rights than it is for the employers,” said David Scholl, a Legal Assistant at La Raza Centro Legal, a non profit that works with the immigrant community.

When a worker does not get paid the minimum wage in San Francisco, they can either file a lawsuit in civil court, or file a wage claim at the OLSE. The

wage claim process was set up so that people could receive back wages in a timely manner. However, it can take anywhere from six months to two years to resolve a case. The unreasonable length of time that it takes to resolve a case discourages workers from starting the wage claims process. According to Richard Waller, OLSE’s Supervising Compliance Officer, the problem stems from staff shortage. Waller said simply, “I need help.” Cases are backing up, getting more complex, and the OLSE is already seeing repeat offenders.

## Insufficient Funding and the Burden of Proof

This year’s budget allocates money from the General Fund for the OLSE to hire four new staff members and set up an outreach program. However, the decision to fund new staff and fund minimum wage enforcement from the General Fund places the OLSE in the position of continually begging for the money to do their job.

Workers who are caught in between a legal system that cannot protect their rights and employers who are out to maximize profits at their expense have very few places to turn. Much of the work that should be performed by the government is being taken on by non-profits. Organizations such as the Chinese Progressive Alliance, La Raza Centro Legal, Instituto Laboral de la Raza, and the Legal Aid Society, specialize in advocacy for various sectors of the working population.

The general consensus among these groups is that the OLSE does a good job of enforcement, once the wage claims are in the system.

But one of the reasons workers go unpaid so often is that usually the burden of proof falls on them. For example, before a claim can be investigated by the

# INDYMEDIA NEWSWIRE

(11)

escalator, where they were greeted by several port authority police. The police eventually spirited Bush into what appeared to be a utility closet. They tazed (using the stun gun setting) one person in the torso and another in the hand. There were no arrests.

[pittsburgh.indymedia.org](http://pittsburgh.indymedia.org)

## Hungarian Prime Minister Busted



Despite the presence of over 80,000 protestors in Budapest demanding his resignation, Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany of Hungary survived a confidence vote on October 6.

Protesters have gathered outside parliament, pressing for the removal of Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany, since September 17, when he was heard admitting on a leaked recording that his Hungarian Socialist Party was forging reports on Hungary’s economic status in hopes of being re-elected April.

“There is not much choice,” said Ferenc on the tape. “There is not, because we fucked up. Not a little, a lot. No European country has done something as boneheaded as we have. Evidently, we lied throughout the last year-and-a-half, two years. It was totally clear that what we are saying is not true.”

On September 18, rioters burnt cars and demolished a water-cannon outside of the state-owned television station. A few police officers were disarmed while the spokesman of the police told that 5,000 riot police could arrive in every minute.

The protesters represent a variety political convictions. Many nationalists, football hooligans mixed with the crowd. On Kossuth Square it was a mostly right-wing crowd, while at the television station, anti-fascist workers and ghetto kids kicked one of the cars belonging to the television station, while lovers photographed themselves on the top of the burnt-out water cannon and around a smoking car some happy anarchists distributed leaflets.

[www.indymedia.nl/](http://www.indymedia.nl/)

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FAULT LINES OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 2006

05

# FAULT LINES GIVES PROPS

*Fault Lines* has no endorsements, none. Although we are a collective, we do not share a single brain, or a party line. You may notice that we don't feature any politician or candidate for political office—we're not about personality, we're about the issues.

In the current electoral system the closest we can come to dealing with issues and not personalities are propositions and referendums. From a woman's right to choice and safety—regardless of her age—to using Big Oil profits to fund alternative energy; many propositions can have direct impacts on the communities we live in.

## protect teenage women

BY EMILY HOWARD

Last November California voters soundly defeated Proposition 73 which would have required parental notification on abortions, allowing reproductive rights advocates to momentarily breathe a collective sigh of relief. This year anti-choice advocates have regrouped and proposed Prop 85, an initiative looking suspiciously similar to Prop 73. Once again, California has become a battle ground over whether a teenager, and ultimately a woman, has a right to make choices about her body.

This latest attack is bank-rolled by *San Diego Reader* and *San Diego News* publisher Jim Holman. According to state campaign-finance records Holman spent nearly \$1.3 million on Prop. 73, and, so far, an additional \$2 million on Prop. 85. Joining Holman are three conservative groups: Traditional Values Coalition, Evangelicals for Social Action and Right to Life of Central CA. The campaign is based on trivializing abortion—if a teen needs parental permission to get an aspirin from the school nurse, why should she be able to undergo a surgical procedure without her parents' knowledge? Scarily, the stance is accompanied by a fundamentalist authoritarian belief that women need men's consent (and God's permission) to make a choice about their bodies.

Last year, Californians voted against

the national trend of limiting a woman's right to choose. In this state, public and private agencies have worked together to empower and educate young women. Over the past ten years state government and private agencies have worked to reduce the number of teen pregnancies by 40 percent. Holman's \$3 million could be spent ensuring comprehensive health education, both contraceptive and abstinence-based.

The US has the highest teen pregnancy rate of any industrialized country. Currently 34 states require parental notification prior to an abortion. Separately, 20 states require parental consent. Young women in North Dakota and Mississippi must have the consent of both parents. While these laws are meant to involve parents, an alarming statistic from *Black Women Health* states, "60 percent of teenage mothers have a history of sexual molestation and sexual abuse by adults living in their homes."

The one thing that could redeem this proposition would be language ensuring healthy family communication. Passage as is would order notification of a young woman's parent or legal guardian 48 hours prior to the procedure. Additionally, another 48-hour waiting period is added, as reflection, before the procedure is performed. Judicial exception is made if she can prove her maturity or that notifying her parents could be harmful to her.

Studies indicate 60 percent of teens tell their parents prior to the procedure. Interestingly, studies have also shown that of the 34 states with parental notification laws, none have succeeded in increased family communication or a decline in pregnancy rates. In the absence of a parent, young women need a counselor or doctor. Prop 85 refuses a teen the option, thus hampering the effort to educate young people to make wise choices about sexual behavior.



PHOTO: SUEVE REPPES

# Taxing Big Dirty Oil Profits To Fund Clean Energy

(OFFICIALLY KNOWN AS: THE CLEAN ALTERNATIVE ENERGY INITIATIVE)

BY ALIZA WASSERMAN

Prop 87 creates a drilling fee for each barrel of oil pumped out of California to raise \$4 billion over 10 years to fund consumer rebates for vehicles that run on clean, alternative fuels, like biodiesel. It also funds research and development, and thereby creates thousands of jobs, for affordable clean technology, like wind power. Prop 87 supports practical ways, including public education, to reduce California's energy use by 25 percent within 10 years.

This prop makes it criminally illegal for oil companies to pass along the drilling fee to consumers. In case you're worried about Big Oil running to another town, Prop 87's drilling fee is comparable to those in every other oil-producing state. And California is

currently the only place on earth where oil companies don't pay a penny to the public for extracting limited, natural resources.

Need more reasons to see why this prop is so crucial?

- Climate crisis is happening. And mainly because of oil. Prop 87 is a proactive approach to preventing Katrina from happening again and again.

- Oil companies are making world record profits, while Californians pay the highest oil prices and suffer from the second worst air quality in the US

- Half of California's imported oil comes from Saudi Arabia and Iraq, so investing in a clean and domestic energy infrastructure means fewer of our friends, family, and Middle Eastern brethren will suffer through oil wars.

## AN ARGUMENT FOR SF's PROP F or, Confessions of a Waitress

BY HARMONY NILES

I must confess that over the years I have infected dozens, maybe hundreds, of innocent diners with the flu. Does that bother you? If it does, you should vote Yes on Prop F, because that is the only way to stop me.

For many restaurant workers taking time off for their health is a luxury they simply can't afford, and every flu season I see coughing cooks and sneezing servers pass on their germs to an unwitting public. Low-wage workers throughout the local economy must chose between their income and their health. The Institute for Women's Policy Research estimates that 116,000 San Francisco workers do not receive paid sick leave. The majority are women and people of color.

Prop F will require employers to provide nine paid sick days a year to their full-time staff, and five sick days for part-time staff. After a three-month probationary period, employees will accrue one hour of paid sick leave for every 30 hours worked. They can use their accrued time to recover from sickness or attend medical appointments, or to care for a sick relative, domestic partner, or unrelated person previously designated to their employer. Employers cannot require that a sick worker find a replacement for himself during his time on leave.

San Francisco Supervisors Ross Mirkarimi, Chris Daly, Sophie Maxwell and Tom Ammiano have spon-

sored the measure. They say the measure will protect public health, keep families strong and stable, and, ultimately, lower the costs of taxpayer-funded emergency care.

Young Workers United and other union groups have joined a Coalition for Paid Sick Days to promote the measure and get out the vote. They believe taking time off to recover from illness is a universal human right. If Prop F passes, San Francisco we will be the first city to mandate paid sick leave. Recent polls show that the measure's chances are good with 84 percent of likely San Francisco voters supporting.

The city has estimated Prop F's total cost to businesses at \$33.5 million. Predictably, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Golden Gate Restaurant Association strongly oppose the measure. It presents a huge added expense for San Francisco's small businesses, and an administrative hassle to keep records of employee sick days for the required four years. The burden will fall hardest on our small mom-and-pop restaurants. The restaurant industry needs more manpower to generate one dollar in revenue than most other businesses, and labor is already a restaurant's largest expense. Nevertheless, the right to protect your health and the public's welfare must prevail over business concerns. Restaurants will have to raise their prices, and diners will have to pay more to ensure that a healthy staff serves them.

# Santa Cruz: Measure D to Increase Minimum Wage to \$9.25

In recent years, economic inequality in the United States has risen drastically. In 1980, CEOs made 42 times as much as the average factory worker. By 1998 CEOs were making 475 times as much. In the meantime, the real value of the minimum wage has sadly gone down. In 1968, the minimum wage in California was \$1.65 an hour. Had it been indexed then to the rising cost of living, it would now be roughly \$10 an hour. That means that in real terms, the wages of the poorest workers have declined by a third over four decades, while those of most of the rest of us have increased at least a little, and those of the wealthy have skyrocketed.

**On election day, November 7, Santa Cruz city voters have the opportunity to vote yes or no on Measure G, which would increase the minimum wage in the city of Santa Cruz from the current state minimum of \$6.75 to \$9.25 an hour, with annual cost of living adjustments.**

On election day, November 7, Santa Cruz city voters have the opportunity to vote yes or no on Measure G, which would increase the minimum wage in the city of Santa Cruz from the current state minimum of \$6.75 to \$9.25 an hour, with annual cost of living adjustments. Low-wage workers in Santa Cruz, a city with one of the highest costs of living in the state of California, deserve better wages—and \$9.25 should be just the beginning. If you worked 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, at \$9.25 an hour, you would only make \$19,240, which is difficult to live on in such a costly city. But it's a much needed wage increase. At \$7 per hour, full-time workers now only make \$14,560.

Raising the minimum wage to \$9.25 is small step toward economic and social justice, and we with the Campaign to Raise the Minimum wage need all the help we can get to ensure that it does pass. Predictably, certain members of the business community will raise more money than we can in order to defeat Measure G, but there is power in numbers, and we need all the help we can get. If you would like to volunteer, contact us at 831.359.0952 or visit [www.waje.org](http://www.waje.org).

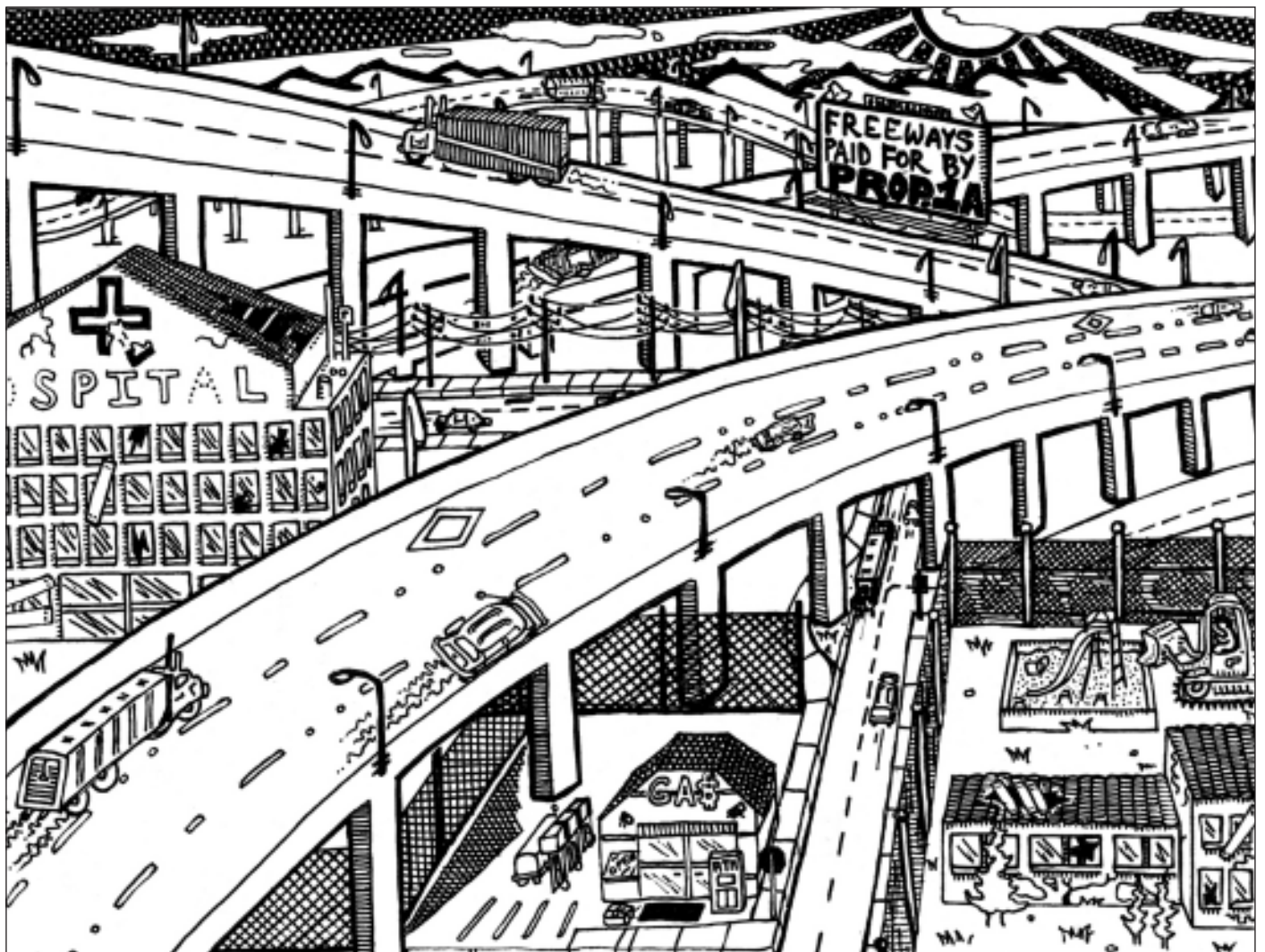


ILLUSTRATION: JARED POWER

## angry & pissed-off, but still voting

### STATE PROPS

**Proposition 1A: Transportation Funding Program -- No**

Prop 1A would make it so that all of the sales tax on motor vehicle fuel would be spent on "transportation improvements" (specifically, freeways), cutting off the 6 percent of the tax that currently provides \$2 billion a year to the state's emergency fund for education, health, and social services. Supporters (like highway clubs) say there's not enough money to improve highways. Considering the budget crisis California's in, with highways ranked #1 in the nation and schools ranked 47th, the state has higher priorities

**Proposition 1C: Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund -- Yes**

Proposition 1C issues a \$2.85 billion bond, to be repaid from the general fund, to support housing programs. Proposition 42, which currently provides much of the state's funding for low-income housing, is about to expire. 1C allows the state to continue to provide housing assistance to low- and middle-income people including: multi-family housing construction, down-payment assistance, construction of housing and shelters for farmworkers, homeless and transitional

folks, foster youth, with a goal of reducing sprawl, increasing public transportation accessibility, and increasing home ownership.

It's still supported by everyone from Gavin Newsom to the Coalition on Homelessness (only the Republican Party opposes it), and will benefit low-income Californians a great deal.

**Prop 90: Government Acquisition, Regulation of Private Property Initiative Constitutional Amendment -- No**

This shady and very confusing proposition makes it easy for property owners, especially those who live in low-income communities/ areas of "development" to lose their homes to developers and not be compensated fairly or at all. It also rolls back zoning laws so that developers have freer reign of "up for grabs" communities. If homeowners cannot come to an agreement with the government, then they will have to go to court.

Most low-income property owners cannot afford a lawyer, or an inexpensive lawyer, whereas the government can. Supporters say that "eminent domain is abused" and that bringing the government into it is a good thing.

### LOCAL PROPS

**Prop D: Beefing up Personal Privacy -- Yes**

Prop F would make is so the city could only disclose your private information when you give your consent, or if they are required to by a contract, law or court order.

There's no good reason why the city should get to sell or disclose our private information without our consent.

**Prop E: Downtown Parking Tax -- Yes**

Increases the tax on downtown parking by 10 percent to a total of 35 percent. It puts much-needed money into the city budget, and reduces carbon emissions and rush-hour congestion, especially downtown.

The \$22mil that would come out of this could come in mighty handy, and incentives to cut down on gas guzzling are probably a good idea.

*By the SF League of Pissed Off Voters  
[www.indyvoter.com](http://www.indyvoter.com)*

Nothing printed on these pages have been paid for by any candidate or committee.



# FIGHTING FOR THE FUTURE OF AFGHANISTAN

AFTER FIVE YEARS OF OCCUPATION, MANY AFGHANS HAVE LOST HOPE THAT THE U.S. CAN MAKE THINGS BETTER



INTERVIEW WITH FARIBA NAWA  
BY LIAM O'DONOGHUE

The covers of the European, Asian and Latin American the October 2 editions of *Newsweek* are nearly identical. On all of them, a Jihadist shouldering an RPG-launcher glares angrily above the headline "Losing Afghanistan." The cover of the US edition features Annie Leibovitz, a celebrity photographer with the headline "My Life in Pictures". Smaller text in the upper-corner reads "Al Qaeda & Jihadistan." This incident provides one of many obvious clues into the deterioration of Afghanistan's US-led reconstruction.

In the wake of 9/11, all eyes were on Afghanistan. Boosted by international support and a hastily assembled coalition of Mujahadeen and Afghan warlords, the US wasted no time in avenging its losses by orchestrating the fall of the Taliban regime. As military focus quickly shifted to Iraq, so did America's attention.

Judging by the lack of media coverage, the failure to demand accountability for the reconstruction and dwindling troop numbers, the US was simply too busy to worry about post-Taliban Afghanistan. Jim Dobbins, Bush's former special envoy to Kabul called Afghanistan the "most under-resourced nation-building effort in history."

In recent months, the escalating vio-

lence in Afghanistan has begun creeping back into the headlines. Most of the stories have focused on the resurgence of the Taliban and the accompanying suicide bombings, assassinations of Afghan politicians, and deaths of US and NATO soldiers. Much of the blame has been placed on insufficient coalition troop levels, the under-paid and under-trained Afghan National Army, and anger in the Muslim world regarding Iraq. Unfortunately, the gross mismanagement, epidemic corruption, and massive failures of the US-led reconstruction of Afghanistan have been mostly ignored.

In her recent 30-page *Corpwatch* investigative report, "Afghanistan Inc.," Fariba Nawa proves that "war profiteering" is an accurate term to describe the behavior of many of the corporations contracted with rebuilding her home country. Fariba's family fled Afghanistan to settle in Fremont, CA's "Little Kabul" neighborhood in 1980's, but she moved back to the real Kabul in 2004 to report on the reconstruction and Afghanistan's booming opium trade. Although "Afghanistan Inc." details the facts and figures of corporate corruption, it also tells the Afghan people's hope and eventual disappointment.

According to Fariba, the vast majority of the Afghans were overjoyed with the prospects of peace and prosperity following the US's ouster of the violent, repressive Taliban. In the five years since, the continuing lack of power and water, crumbling roads and buildings, and lack of new schools and health facilities has transformed much of this gratitude into aggravated cynicism and even hostility. A few days after 9/11 (2006), I spoke with Fariba about life in Kabul, the Taliban, and her predictions for the future of her war-torn homeland...

**Liam O'Donoghue:** What inspired you to return to your homeland and what have been the biggest challenges of living there?

**Fariba Nawa:** I enjoy living there because of the way I like to live life, which is unpredictable. But the biggest challenges have been normal aspects of daily life: not having power, not having enough water. If you're not living like a contractor, with 24-hour generator, and guards and cooks, then you realize how people are living. For example, in Kabul, there's probably three hours of power a day, and that's only for limited people. So imagine your life in the States without electricity and how difficult that would be.

**LO:** Many of the recent stories about Afghanistan in the mainstream media

Taliban are giving their fighters \$200 per month. I think a lot of the fighters are mercenaries. Of course there are ideological fighters as well—you don't blow yourself up unless you believe in something—but I do believe that it's not just Afghans. You have Arabs, Chechnyans, and other groups of people who are bitter and tired of imperialism. They find their niche, they find their voice in the Afghan cause.

Unfortunately, we're seeing the same patterns that we saw under the Soviet invasion. These are very different times and I don't want to make the mistake of making that comparison without context. But it was always a possibility that if the Taliban were removed that they might come back with a full-force guerrilla insurgency just like the Mujahadeen did during the Soviet era and there would be issues just like there are now.

But I want to clarify that it's very important to distinguish between Iraq and Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, there is not widespread support for the Taliban coming back. People don't want to go back to that kind of medieval rule and the psychological fear that they were living under. There's a fear in Afghanistan that they're being encroached on by Pakistan. I think Pakistan is the big problem and I don't think it's (Pakistani President) Pervez Musharraf that's the problem—it's overall. I think most Afghans look to Pakistan to blame them for the success of the insurgency.

**LO:** Where is the Taliban getting money?

**FN:** Largely, the drug trade in Afghan-

BUSH'S FORMER SPECIAL ENVOY TO KABUL CALLED AFGHANISTAN THE "MOST UNDER-RESOURCED NATION-BUILDING EFFORT IN HISTORY."

have spoken of a Taliban resurgence. What's your perspective on how strong they are and what conditions allowed them to regain strength?

**FN:** Frankly, I'm surprised at how quickly they came back and how forcefully they were able to maximize their strength. I was expecting a guerilla movement, but I wasn't expecting it to be so quick and powerful. I think they've been able to gather local support, especially in the south, where reconstruction failed miserably and the local government had very little support to begin with. I did a cross country trip across Afghanistan right after the Taliban fell and people were happy they were gone, even the Pashtuns [ethno-linguistic group of Eastern and Southern Afghanistan]. They were looking forward to jobs, water, power... and they didn't get ANY of those things.

[Another factor is that] the Afghan national army gives soldiers \$70 per month. The



THE COVERS OF THE EUROPEAN, ASIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN OCTOBER 2 EDITION OF NEWSWEEK ARE NEARLY IDENTICAL. IN THE U.S., THE COVER OF THE US EDITION FEATURES ANNIE LEIBOVITZ, A CELEBRITY PHOTOGRAPHER.



WESTERN BRANDS INSULATE CONTRACTORS FROM LOCAL CULTURE

PHOTO BY FARIBA NAWA



GIRLS IN A MAKESHIFT SCHOOL IN KABUL. MANY LOUIS BERGER CORP. MANY SCHOOLS BUILT BY LOUIS BERGER CORP COLLAPSED WITH THE WEIGHT OF THE SNOW IN THE AFGHAN WINTER

PHOTO BY T KNOX



istan. It's a tremendous resource for them. Also, I think you have wealthy supporters . . . whether they're oil sheiks or Americans. They send money underground. And there's not a lack of weapons in Afghanistan. You have a stockpile from the Soviet time.

**LO:** Do you think Islamic fundamentalism is increasing across the Middle East and in other Muslim countries?

**FN:** I think it's been around for a long time. There was the Muslim Brotherhood in the early 1900s and the ideology of what the militants believe has been around a long time, in different ways and forms, depending on political movements in different countries. But I think it is a response to what we would call imperialism. If the US is going to support Israel's policies and they're going to attack the Muslim world . . . that feeds this bitterness or whatever Americans want to call it. Many Muslims see this as a legitimate resistance movement—it's a response to US aggression. A lot of people see 9/11 as a direct response to years and years of mistreatment by the US, which directly intervened (in Middle East geopolitics) to install dictators who mistreated their people or indirectly in many ways. When you do things like that you need to be prepared . . . I think it's been brewing for a long time.

**LO:** Do you have a theory on why US hasn't found Osama bin Laden?

**FN:** It's not that simple. There are a lot of conspiracy theories, saying if they wanted to find him, they could. He definitely provides the boogey man they need, so they can justify their decisions based on that one-man enemy they've got out there. But the problem is a lot bigger, obviously. I've been on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It's

about 1500 miles long and very mountainous—not something you can comb through easily. Plus, he obviously has a lot of supporters in that area, which is a tribal area that's not really controlled by the Pakistani government.

**LO:** Regarding the reconstruction, can you tell me about the new mall that's opened in Kabul recently?

**FN:** The new mall is the only place with elevators, escalators, all-day electricity and air conditioning. Locals are allowed there, but they need to go through a metal detector. However, it's one of the only places where locals and foreigners will mingle. Only a very small percentage of Afghans can afford to shop there. So the locals can come and see what they can't afford.

**LO:** So is there much segregation that has developed between locals and foreigners?

**FN:** In Kabul, there are places, restaurants mostly, where you have to show your passport and only foreigners are allowed in, for cultural and security reasons. Sometimes Afghan women might be allowed in, but men are barred or harassed when trying to enter. So it's a very divided culture that's emerging, between rich and poor, local and foreign. That, of course, builds resentment.

**LO:** What's your

prediction for the near future in Afghanistan?

**FN:** It's not good. I'm very depressed with what's going on in my country. With each new bomb, with each new suicide attack, you have more Afghans who came back from Iran or Pakistan going back to wherever they came from. People are leaving. Regarding world

interest, there's what you call "donor fatigue," people who were donating are saying "Why should we donate if there's no security." In the end, the poorest people, the least able are the ones who suffer. It's a very sad situation and after 23 years of war, I think we were hoping for change and I don't think we're going to see one soon. That being said I hope I'm wrong.

## DECONSTRUCTING THE RECONSTRUCTION:

An excerpt from FARIBA NAWA'S INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

On paper, it looks as though the international community has been awash in altruism and generosity toward Afghanistan. But most of the money allocated to Afghanistan never actually reaches Kabul; the US and the international community have a system, through world financial institutions, that treats the country like a massive money laundering machine. The money rarely leaves the countries that pledge it; USAID gives contracts to American companies (and the World Bank and IMF give contracts to companies from their donor countries) who take huge chunks off the top and hire layers and layers of subcontractors who take their cuts, leaving only enough for sub-par construction. Quality assurance is minimal; contractors know well they can swoop in, put a new coat of paint on a rickety building, and submit their bill, with rarely a question asked. The result is collapsing hospitals, clinics, and schools, rutted and dangerous new highways, a "modernized" agricultural system that has actually left some farmers worse off than before, and emboldened militias and warlords who are more able to unleash violence on the people of Afghanistan . . .

Afghans have pleaded to be allowed to allocate aid money as they see fit.



And donor countries continue to object, claiming that the Afghan government is too corrupt to be trusted. No doubt, corruption is a problem in Afghanistan, where business-as-usual generally involves bribes. But Afghan ministers decry the characterization, saying the no-bid, open-ended contracts the U.S. and the international community award contractors such as Ashbritt, Halliburton, DynCorp, Louis Berger, Blackwater, and others is little more than a dressed-up form of bribery and corruption. In the end, Afghanistan is hugely indebted to the international community, but barely enriched.

AFGHANISTAN INC: A CORPWATCH INVESTIGATIVE REPORT BY FARIBA NAWA IS AVAILABLE FOR FREE AT: [www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org)

COVER BY DESIGN ACTION



GRAIN SILOS BUILT FOR FARMERS GO UNUSED IN PARWAN PROVINCE

PHOTO BY FARIBA NAWA



# MILITARY BREAKDOWN: MASSACRES, SCANDALS, AND PISSED-OFF TROOPS

BY DAVID ZLUTNICK

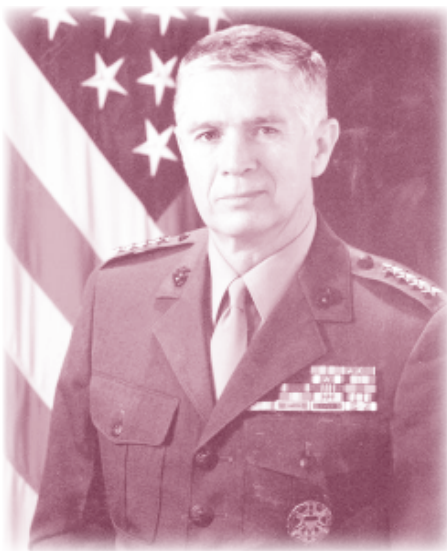
Have the military setbacks, mounting scandals and rising discontent among the troops brought the US armed forces to the brink of collapse? Mass murder, rape, sexual harassment, conscientious objectors, dissenting retired generals, white supremacist gangs—each week seems to bring the military's latest PR nightmare to the headlines. In June, the military command ordered all of the 150,000 multinational troops to undergo morals and ethics training to further clarify the "laws of war," while meanwhile recent polls show that public support for the war continues to drop in the US. And foreign opinion of the war is far worse.

Currently there are at least five official investigations under way of incidents in which US troops have allegedly murdered Iraqis. This has set off an outcry in the Arab world that may overshadow even the Abu Ghraib torture scandal. Even if the perpetrators of these alleged atrocities are punished, the dilemma of having US forces entrenched across the Middle East and in "unfriendly" nations across the globe will be far from solved. Several retired generals have acknowledged that our forces are stretched far too thin, and with recruitment down, the US military is now facing its worst crisis since Vietnam.

The shock from the recently exposed massacre at Haditha has forced many Americans to take a closer look at the situation on Iraq. On November 19, 2005 a team of Marines took revenge for the death of Lance Cpl. Miguel Terrazas in Haditha by shooting 24 Iraqi civilians. According to witnesses the Marines looked stunned, in shock, as they walked around their burning Humvee. Then they made their way into three nearby houses where the shootings took place. Aws Fahmi says he watched the scene from his home as he heard his neighbor, Younis Salim Khafif, beg in English for his family's lives. "I heard Younis speaking to the Americans, saying: 'I am a friend. I am good,'" Fahmi said. "But

they killed him, and his wife and daughters." According to death certificates the girls were 14, 10, 5, 3, and 1.

However, a US Marine spokesman said the following: "A U.S. Marine and 15 civilians were killed yesterday from the blast of a roadside bomb in Haditha. Immediately following the bombing, gunmen attacked the convoy



**"If we continue to do what we're doing, over a period of time there's every reason to believe that [the military] will be broken."**

**- GEN. JOSEPH P. HOAR**

with small arms fire. Iraqi army soldiers and Marines returned fire, killing eight insurgents and wounding another." It wasn't until *Time Magazine* presented the results of their own investigation, based off interviews with witnesses and a video of the aftermath, that the military acknowledged possible wrongdoing and announced their own investigation.

As in the case of Abu Ghraib much of the blame for such incidents has been pointed downward, at rogue groups of soldiers unrepresentative of the entire military force. However, what is being neglected in the investigations, much the same as in the Abu Ghraib case, is to what role commanding officers have played in these grave human rights abuses. While there is currently an investigation into whether Marine officers attempted to cover up the Haditha massacre by intentionally failing to probe inconsistencies in the initial reports and making the claims in the

paragraph above, there is no look into what the troops have been ordered to do in combat situations by their officers, whether it be Haditha or Abu Ghraib.

Another event that has gathered attention is the rape of a 14-year-old girl and the subsequent murder of her parents and her 7-year-old sister by members of the Army on March 12th. This occurred at the family's home in Mahmoudiya. The soldier who allegedly planned the attack, Steven D. Green, is currently being held in Kentucky, as he was honorably discharged for having a psychological disorder before the charges were filed.

The issue of psychological stress is an important one when examining these recent incidents. Many of those currently under investigation have served multiple combat tours in Iraq, a factor that is thought to facilitate such inhumane behavior. Charles Gittins, a former Marine and a lawyer who has represented Marines accused of murder in Iraq, believes that soldiers "can become almost numb to the killing... The more you're in it, the more you want to live through it. You think more about preserving your own life than about what's the right thing to do."

In a study released in August by the Journal of the American Medical Association roughly one in eight soldiers who have returned from Iraq have been diagnosed with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) within a year of returning. The same study shows that many returning soldiers show slight signs of confusion, reduced attention span, and impaired memory. And with more and more soldiers returning for their second, third, and even fourth combat rotations, the number is only likely to increase.

In a February poll by Zogby International three quarters of the troops interviewed had served multiple tours: 45 percent were on their second tour and 29 percent were in Iraq for at least their third time. This has proved one of the largest obstacles to a continued military presence in Iraq—the fact that troops are becoming infuriated at the

prospect of having to return in order to keep the overextended military occupation afloat.

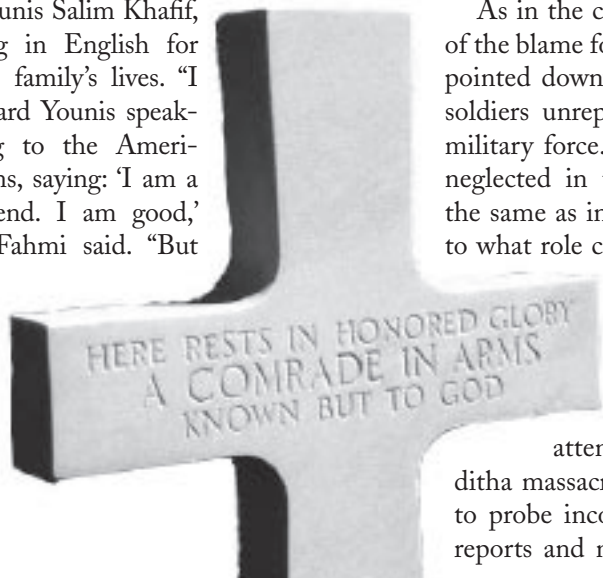
At the end of August it was announced that thousands of Marines who have already completed their active duty requirements would be called back into service for up to two years. This will affect the Individual Ready Reserve, a division of the Marines who still have time left on their eight-year contract but have already completed active duty. Derrick Jenson, for instance, has already been through three tours in some of the most violent parts of Iraq as an infantryman and communications specialist and has just received word he will be called back into duty. Iraq war veteran Jon Soltz, chairman of Votevets.org, says that this recall is a sure sign that the troops are far overextended and this sort of action is "the last thing that happens before the draft."

And with a significant troop withdrawal not expected until at least the end of 2007 according to military officials, we're likely to see a rise in recalls and tour extensions. In fact, 4,000 soldiers who were to be rotated out of service around now were informed in August that they will be staying up to an additional



**"It is my duty as a commissioned officer of the United States... I stand before you today, because it is my job and innocent Iraqis who have no voice. It is my conviction that the war in Iraq is not only morally wrong, but it is also a waste of money and lives."**

**- LT. EHRE**



four months. Two other brigades with around 3,500 soldiers each who were to be rotated out in September and not replaced will instead be relieved by two more brigades who be shifted into the fight for the Iraqi capital. It's no wonder that an estimated 8,000 members of the US military have gone AWOL since the beginning of the war.

According to the Zogby poll quoted earlier, of the soldiers polled 72 percent think the US should withdraw all troops within a year, and more than a quarter said the withdraw should be immediate. More and more soldiers are beginning to cross the border into Canada in order to avoid service, possibly the start of a movement similar to that of the 50,000 who fled to our northern neighbor to escape the draft during the Vietnam War. Jeremy Hinzman, who recently made it to Canada to avoid going to Iraq was the first to apply for political refugee status. Initially denied his case is currently in the appeals process and is widely expected to end successfully.

Following the example of the more well-known war-resisters such as Camilo Mejia, Pablo Paredes, and Aidan Delgado, a large number of soldiers have recently come forward proclaiming their refusal to fight in what they call an illegal and immoral war. On August 31st Mark Wilkerson turned himself in at Fort Hood, Texas after being AWOL for more than a year. He applied twice for conscientious objector status and had been denied. Instead of going back for a second tour in Iraq, he left. "I am not willing to kill. I am not willing to be killed," Wilkerson said before he turned himself in. "My morals said that going

to Iraq was not the right thing to do. And I was not going to live a life of violence. I was not going to participate in a war."

In June Lt. Ehren Watada became the first commissioned officer to refuse to deploy to Iraq and is currently facing up to seven years in prison. The charges against him include conduct unbecoming an officer, missing movement, and contempt toward officials. Banned from announcing his decision at a press conference by military commanders, he, too, issued a video statement where he proclaimed: "It is my duty as a commissioned officer of the United States Army to speak out against grave injustices. My moral and legal obligation is to the Constitution and not to those who would issue unlawful orders. I stand before you today, because it is my job to serve and protect America's soldiers, its people and innocent Iraqis who have no voice. It is my conclusion, as an officer of the Armed Forces, that the war in Iraq is not only morally wrong, but a horrible breach of American law."

Other soldiers have refused to fight for other reasons, such as Suzanne Swift, an Army Specialist who went AWOL after her claims of sexual harassment and assault were neglected. She served in Iraq for one year but would not return because her superiors repeatedly sexually harassed her. Eugene Police arrested Swift on June 11th at her mother's home and she is currently confined to her base at Fort Lewis, Washington.

This echoes continuous claims by young women of sexual assault and rape by military recruiters. Eighty recruiters were disciplined for sexual misconduct last year and since 1996 the Army alone has had 722 recruiters accused of rape or sexual misconduct. Bad press such as this, coupled with effective counter-recruitment movements around the country, has made the military service a less and less attractive career choice, in turn making recruiters that much more desperate.

In 2005 the Army announced that it had missed its yearly recruiting goal by more than 6,600 recruits. The military overall has said that it has failed to fully staff 41percent of its wide range of both combat and non-combat jobs. The military is getting desperate as evidenced by such actions as expanding its age range for new recruits (the maximum age is now 42) and large increases in signing bonuses for recruiters (\$20,000 up from \$6,000).



UC Santa Cruz students kick military recruiters off campus.

In Watsonville, just south of Santa Cruz, a recent push for parents to easily be able to "opt-out" of releasing their child's personal information to recruiters by making the choice visible in school registration materials has led to an increase from only 90 students opting-out in 2005 to over 900 in 2006. Victories like these make recruiters' jobs even more difficult and is pushing them to ignore ethical concerns and legal regulations.

According to a Government Accountability Office report instances of recruiter misconduct have jumped by 50percent from 400 in 2004 to 630 in 2005. In Ohio, two recruiters were found to have signed up a young man who was diagnosed with bipolar disorder and had just been released from a mental hospital. In another incident, recruiters threatened to arrest a high school student if he didn't show up for an appointment. As a result of these and many other similar reports, the Army was forced to close all recruiting centers for a day in May to allow for mandatory ethics and morals training for all its recruiters.

A recent report by the Southern Poverty Law Center said that an increased number of white supremacists have been joining the military because recruiters are not screening potential soldiers as thoroughly as they should. Defense Department investigator Scott Barfield believes that, "Recruiters are knowingly allowing neo-Nazis and white supremacists to join the armed forces, and commanders don't remove them from the military even after we positively identify them as extremists or gang members" because of the shortage of fresh troops." This upsurge has led to "white power" graffiti increasingly being found on walls in Baghdad.

All of this intense information has led to the military increasingly characterized as a "broken force," similar to the situation in the final years of Vietnam. Although the military doesn't appear to be on the verge of complete collapse, there may be some validity to this

statement. In an interview with PBS's Frontline General (retired) Thomas White, Secretary of the Army from 2001-03, says that the over-deployment of the armed forces may be "unlike any other period in the 229-year history of the Army."

Marine General (retired) Joseph P. Hoar, who commanded CENTCOM from 1991-94, said that he couldn't answer for sure when asked if the military is a "broken force," but that it's heading in that direction. "If we continue to do what we're doing," Hoar responded, "over a period of time there's every reason to believe that it will be broken."

**FOR MORE INFORMATION:**

IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR

[ivaw.org](http://ivaw.org)

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

[warresisters.org](http://warresisters.org)

WAR RESISTER LT. EHREN WATADA

[thankyout.org](http://thankyout.org)

WAR RESISTER SUZANNE SWIFT

[suzanneswift.org](http://suzanneswift.org)

WAR RESISTER HISTORY

[sirnosir.com](http://sirnosir.com)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

[objector.org](http://objector.org)

FRONTLINE SPECIAL ON STATE OF THE MILITARY (FROM RUMSFELD'S WAR)

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/pentagon/themes/broken.html>



ited States Army to speak out against grave injus-  
 to serve and protect America's soldiers, its people  
 conclusion, as an officer of the Armed Forces, that the  
 out a horrible breach of American law."

N WATADA



# HEZBOLLAH RISING

## Lebanon's popular Guerilla Organization emerges stronger from the summer war.

BY ALI TONAK  
PHOTOS BY:  
BARUCHA "CALAMITY" PELLER  
AND ALI TONAK

For 34 days of the summer thousands of Lebanese families were trapped in single rooms in their homes listening to bombs approach closer and closer. Without water or food they waited for an end. Waiting for the war to end or waiting for their breath to stop, whichever came first. Body parts were recovered hundreds of feet from where explosions occurred. Bodies of loved ones were buried hastily as others fled for safety. Those unable to bear the long road to refuge in the north stayed behind.

And some decided to fight, despite the desperate circumstances of an invasion and bombardment staged by one of the most powerful armies in the world. And even though it was only a fraction of the population in direct combat with Israel, the majority of Lebanese rallied in support of Hezbollah's resistance—this resistance being the only hope of self-defense for their immediate survival and the light of empowerment to stand against Israel for another lifetime.

20 years of Israeli assaults and invasions have been the painful realities for the Lebanese. In so-called "peace time" it comes as planes braking the sound barrier over the country to terrorize

people or mine fields and cluster bombs left behind by a retreating Israeli army (410,000 in 2003 but today, according to UN estimates, 1 million cluster bombs and bomblets are scattered across Southern Lebanon). In proper "war time" the effect is amplified: last July and August, missiles fired into civilian populations and ground operations left 1300 dead and 900,000 displaced. In every sense Israel has invaded the Lebanese psyche.

53 year-old civil defense worker Faysal Amin spoke of this invasion as he was assisting the cleanup of the rubble leftover from the bombing in Chiah on August 7th where 41 people died. He said "All my life me and my family have lived in fear and all my life people I know have been killed by Israel. If they want to fight us they should try fighting us with democracy." While this author was interviewing Amin fliers silently cascading from the sky interrupted the conversation. The Israeli Army was warning that they were planning on striking this residential neighborhood once again.

### Hezbollah Reigns in the Middle East

Amongst this crushing reality, a resistance movement was born 21 years ago. It has claimed many victories against Israel, but more importantly has

provided a fundamental liberation for the Lebanese psyche. Hezbollah began in Lebanon but has become the jewel of resistance movements in the region. In cities across the Middle East there are posters of Hezbollah Leader Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, billboards against Zionism, and most of all the ubiquitous green and yellow Hezbollah flag. The explicitly anti-Zionist tradition that brought Hezbollah into life is one of the

were worried over possible revenge attacks by Hezbollah on the Southern Lebanese Army (SLA). The SLA was comprised mostly by Christian militiamen and was heavily supported by Israel. Hezbollah showed restraint and proved the alarm bells unfounded. They did not instigate further sectarian violence and underwent a dramatic transformation. They became heavily involved in parliamentary politics and concentrated on their grassroots organizing and services.

### Support Grows

Keeping in mind that pain and suffering cannot be reduced into a geopolitical war game we can still say that Hezbollah did indeed emerge victorious from the conflict last summer. Hezbollah won the ground war against Israel by sophisticated guerilla tactics in a terrain that not only they lived, farmed and tended to but also where they had decades of experience battling the Israel Defense Forces. They destroyed 20 Israeli tanks (1/10th of total tanks that were part of the invasion), though according to Hezbollah sources the number is over a hundred, and disabled many more through the use of landmines. Worldwide image and sentiment for Israel has hit rock bottom; across Lebanon, even amongst the Christian population, the popularity of Hezbollah has increased dramatically in comparison to before the latest attack.

The support for Hezbollah, even by those that would presumably be skepti-



ONE OF THE COUNTLESS FLIERS DROPPED OVER LEBANON LAST SUMMER FEATURED A POORLY SKETCHED CARICATURE OF NASRALLAH CAUGHT IN THE CULTURALLY SYMBOLIC LEBANESE CEDAR TREE; NEXT TO IT READ, "TO THE LEBANESE CITIZENS, YOU CAN RETURN THE ODOR OF CEDARS TO LEBANON, IF YOU WANT, IF YOU SHAKE OFF FROM YOUR SHOULDERS THE DESTROYERS OF LEBANON."

factors that makes it a resistance movement supported by most in the Middle East and allows its popularity to cross secular and national boundaries.

Hezbollah demonstrated its commitment to Lebanon rather than sectarian Shia fundamentalism in May of 2000 after the Israeli pullout from southern Lebanon. At the time many Lebanese

LEFT: ONE OF THE MANY BILLBOARDS PROCLAIMING A DIVINE VICTORY  
BELOW: HEZBOLLAH SUPPORTER IN THE DAHIEH NEIGHBORHOOD OF BEIRUT  
TITLE: NASRALLAH POSTER IN SOUTHERN LEBANON





LEFT: ALI STANDING IN FRONT OF THE COLLAPSED BUILDING NEXT TO HIS APARTMENT, CENTER: TWO SISTERS FROM AYDAROUN THAT SURVIVED 20 DAYS OF BOMBARDMENT, RIGHT: GHASSAN TENDS TO REFUGEES AT THE CENTER HE COORDINATES IN SAIDA

cal, was especially compounded in light of the inaction on the part of the Lebanese army who abandoned their posts at places such as Marjayoun where the Israeli military took control of a Lebanese army post without facing any resistance whatsoever. As a Lebanese anarchist organizer lamented while passing relaxed looking Lebanese soldiers “Look at them, they are just standing there useless. At least Hezbollah is fighting Israel.” Even though he is not in agreement with the political ideology of Hezbollah, under the present circumstances he is a supporter. It is hard not to be supportive when bombs drop from the sky regularly killing scores and shaking the souls of those that do not die. Every tank that Hezbollah destroys, every Israeli soldier that they take brings hope to the Lebanese.

Ghassan, who is an electrical engineer from Saida, has committed his life to social service. But because he cannot get a job in Lebanon he is planning on going to the United Arab Emirates like so many other Arab men. He was one of the coordinators at the refugee centers in Saida where 150,000 had fled from the south. He explained that before the war he was mostly unsympathetic towards Hezbollah and thought that they should disarm. A few days before the end of Israeli air strikes he was saying, “How can I be against Hezbollah? That would mean that I am with Israel.”

In the Beirut suburbs of Dahiye and the southern part of Lebanon the support is much more tremendous and incredible admiration is felt for the leader of the party, Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah.

Five sisters who had fled from the village of Aitaroun (2km from the Israeli

border) to one of the centers in Saida had survived 20 days of bombardment and lost many of their family members including two unborn twins. The militant support these women had for Hezbollah and Nasrallah and the conviction that Israel would be defeated was fierce.

Ali, a computer programmer who occasionally dealt drugs to get by was outside of his apartment when a bomb fell on to the building next door. He escaped instant death by pure luck and had lost 6 relatives including his 4-month-old nephew in Southern Lebanon. He says “I am thankful for Hezbollah in the name of Shia. I don’t think anyone here can hate Hezbollah. The houses can come and go but the freedom? It’s not like the house.” And regarding the destroyed homes, the day after the ceasefire Hezbollah officials were handing out thousands of dollars in cash to families who had their homes destroyed or damaged.

Now, more than two months after the cease-fire, Israeli troops remain in Israel and undoubtedly the pain and anguish is starting to settle in. What little celebration there was to be had of the war has left its place for trauma but the backing for Hezbollah remains.

### Spectacular Precision

Hezbollah is well aware of its popularity and uses it in a most politically savvy way. Nasrallah understands the spectacle in its deepest senses. This understanding not only permits him to put up slick billboards proclaiming “A Divine Victory” and embroider war rubble across Lebanon with signs reading “Made in USA” but also allows him to resort to some amazing theatrics. Al Manar is Hezbollah’s 15-year-old TV station. Even though it’s studios were bombed during Israel’s opening salvos

they never went off the air and continued broadcasting from an underground location. On the second day of the Israeli aggression Nasrallah appeared on Al Manar as he would throughout the war and declared defiantly “Look at the warship that has attacked Beirut, while it burns and sinks before your very eyes,” Those who in fact did have a view of the Mediterranean were able



FAYSAL AMIN POINTS TO A LIST OF THE DEAD AND MISSING FROM THE CHIAH BOMBING

to see the distant flames of a burning Israeli warship that had been hit with an unmanned Hezbollah aircraft rigged with explosives. Such feats that appear almost magical in the face of the strongest army in the Middle East give great clout to Hezbollah.

In stark contrast are the psychological operations that Israel has conducted. One of the countless fliers dropped over Lebanon last summer featured a poorly sketched caricature of Nasrallah caught in the culturally symbolic Lebanese ce-

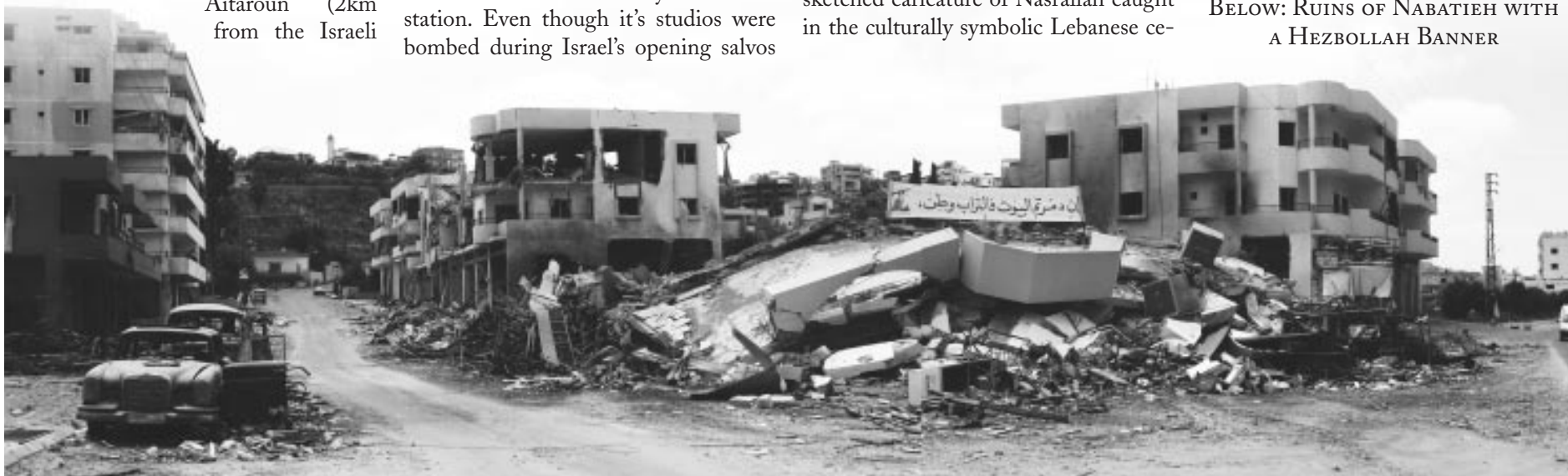
dar tree; next to it read “To the Lebanese citizens, You can return the odor of cedars to Lebanon, if you want, if you shake off from your shoulders the destroyers of Lebanon.” They used text messaging and automated phone calls to send crude messages such as “Hassan Nasrallah is destroying your country.”

### Arab Resistance

Hezbollah’s victories are not just significant for the Lebanese but also a liberation penetrating the psyche of the Arab world, especially the Palestinians living under the occupation. Many in the region believe that Hezbollah’s 2000 victory over Israel also provided inspiration for the second Palestinian Intifada that began 3 months later. The noose swung around more than a million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip might very well be a preventative measure to quell further such inspiration.

The ‘savior’ image of Hezbollah has created in the Lebanese psyche is not only a result of well-organized guerrilla action or smart propaganda and branding. It is heavily created by the conditions that Israel has carved out for Arabs in the Middle East and the terms of warfare that it has laid. Israel itself has created the circumstances in which any successful act of self-defense is empowering in the most extreme way and inspirational to millions of Arabs. During the war last summer demonstrations of support for Hezbollah dominated cities from Cairo to Karachi. It is not difficult to see that as long as Israel continues its existence of occupation and apartheid against Arabs; there will be other groups that are as successful and may even outdo Hezbollah.

BELOW: RUINS OF NABATIEH WITH A HEZBOLLAH BANNER



# BEYOND THE ZAPATISTAS: MEXICO REACHES THE BOILING POINT

AS THE WORLD FOCUSES ON WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST,  
RECENT TUMULTUOUS EVENTS IN MEXICO ARE SLIPPING UNNOTICED UNDER THE GLOBAL RADAR.

By RAMOR RYAN

In what some are calling the “New Mexican Revolution” and others “Armageddon for the Mexican State,” the country reels in political conflict as President Fox concludes his six year tenure. Millions, actively protesting fraud and manipulation in the official outcome of the presidential elections, have disrupted Mexico City for months with massive civil disobedience. Oaxaca is utterly consumed by a teacher-led street insurrection. The Zapatista’s Other Campaign is set to renew its rebel trek across the northern states. For official president-elect Felipe Calderón of the conservative PAN party, the prospect for assuming power on December 1 and governing uncontested are not looking good.

The notion of revolution in Mexico without Chiapas at its fore has until now seemed improbable. For the last 12 years, the impoverished southernmost state has been the heart and soul of rebellion, not just in Mexico, but around the globe. The Zapatista spokesman Subcomandante Marcos assumed the mantle of the new Che Guevara for the radical electronic generation. Remarkably, as Mexico finds itself in the grip of both constitutional and extra-parliamentary turmoil, the focus of resistance and rebellion are found everywhere but Chiapas. The long anticipated Battle of Chiapas appears now to be taking place instead in Oaxaca, while the battle for re-writing the Mexican Constitution from below—long the cornerstone of Zapatista political demands—looks set to take place in the streets of the capital city. What’s more, it is being led by the defrauded PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador and the millions backing him as the rightful winner

of the July 6 vote. This is truly ironic, since both the Zapatistas and the PRD took great pains to distance themselves from each other before the election.

## INSURRECTIONARY MEXICO

The state of Oaxaca remains ungovernable for the authorities, and the citizenry—led by the radical Section 22 of the teachers’ union—are in a state of ongoing insurgency. The state capital, Oaxaca City, has become the hotbed of the Oaxaca Commune, a five-month-old occupation and shut-down of city plazas, thoroughfares and businesses, including the key tourist sector. Marches drawing hundreds of thousands of determined protesters have constituted the support base for the Popular Assembly of the People of Oaxaca, known by its Spanish initials APPO. The revolutionary council serves as the uprising’s decision-making body and has assumed the de facto role of government from below. The regime of PRI governor Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, having lost all legitimacy, has resorted to employing paramilitary forces against the insurgents. So far, half a dozen extra-judicial deaths have been attributed to these pro-Ruiz death squads. But as the repression increases, so too does the determination of the resistance. The revolutionary spirit is spreading.

Meanwhile the rebellion in Mexico City is keeping the outgoing conservative government of Vicente Fox and the incoming administration of Felipe Calderón under a state of siege. In the biggest political demonstrations in the history of Mexico, López Obrador supporters staged protests overflowing the city’s main plaza, the Zócalo, mobilizing over a million and a half citizens in two consecutive weeks. For seven disrupt-

tive—but festive—weeks, they occupied the main financial street and the Zócalo, culminating in a massive meeting dubbed the National Democratic Convention (CND). The CND’s half million adherents promised to inaugurate López Obrador as the legitimate President-in-rebellion on November 20, and drew plans to prevent the investiture of Felipe Calderón in a rupturous day of civil disobedience—Armageddon for the new administration.

“The country is progressing extraordinarily well,” insists the hapless outgoing President Fox, avoiding mention of his term’s legacy of increasing poverty,

tificating in vain through a bullhorn. In images more reminiscent of 1970s Latin American dictatorships, armored cars and armed paramilitary police behind rows of massive metal fortifications guarded the Congress building from thousands of citizens who had encircled the nation’s seat of power. The new President-in-waiting, Calderón, an uninspiring politician whose persuasions lie well to the right of Fox, is unable to appear in public without being continually hounded by angry protesters.

## ANOTHER POLITICS FOR A NEW CENTURY

While the Oaxacan rebels wear their revolutionary credentials on their sleeves—like those in Atenco before them—the López Obrador campaign was decidedly reformist from the beginning, focused on getting an election recount. As the political institutions refuse to budge, what was originally an electoral battle has become a generalized rebellion at the grassroots which no longer merely calls for a recount, but now demands a new constitution.

“To hell with corrupt institutions!” López Obrador declared to the multitudes in the Zócalo, and upped the ante from parliamentary reform to constitutional change. This demand is shared by the Oaxaca insurgency. Its initial call to depose the corrupt governor Ruiz quickly evolved into a more general revolutionary position. The proclamations of López Obrador, always a fiery orator, could be mistaken for words straight from the APPO’s communiqués. “We need to initiate a new way of doing politics in which power and money don’t triumph over ethics and the dignity of the people,” he told a rapturous crowd in the Zocalo, “as is happening now.”

While these are certainly the words of a slippery politician appeasing his more radical grassroots base in the streets, Lopez Obrador—formally of the governing party and a career politician with authoritarian tendencies—his words ironically echo those of his nemesis on the left, Sub-comandante Marcos. Throughout this recent national political crisis, the Zapatistas have taken a back seat, with Marcos himself holed up quietly in Mexico City planning a trip up north and the Zapatistas down south in Chiapas remaining on “red alert” ever since the Atenco crisis in May, while they consolidate their autonomous municipalities.



A young supporter shows her views on pigheaded politicians.

PHOTOS: BRADLEY STU

migration, and hopelessness. His desire to be remembered as a crusading human rights defender was delivered a fatal blow by his own security forces in May when they entered San Salvador Atenco, an autonomous town near Mexico City, and indulged in a two-day orgy of brutality, rape, and pillage. “There is no crisis,” Fox said, attempting to salvage his floundering administration most recently while assessing the damage wrought by Hurricane John in Baja California. When the local residents requested aid to rebuild their lives, he characteristically shook his head and dismissed them muttering, “I’m only here to see the hurricane.”

“There is no crisis,” he repeats—yet Fox was unable to even present his final State of the Nation address to Congress on September 1 when more than one hundred PRD congressional deputies stormed the podium. Humiliated, Fox stood pathetically in the wings pon-



The march travels through the city of Oaxaca between barricades and signs of support.

# A River of Filth: The Porgera Gold Mine Papua New Guinea

A DUMPTRUCK THE SIZE OF A HOUSE BACKS UP TO THE CLIFF AND RELEASES ANOTHER HUGE LOAD OF DEBRIS THAT TUMBLES INTO THE VALLEY. THE MACHINE IS ONE OF THE LARGEST MODELS ON THE PLANET, CAPABLE OF CARRYING 200 TONS OF EARTH, AND MANY MORE LIKE IT TRUNDLE AROUND THE VAST OPEN PIT MINE AND POUR EVEN MORE DIRT AND STONE INTO THE ONCE-FREE FLOWING STREAM.

ARTICLE AND PHOTOS BY  
DAVID MARTINEZ

AFTER a decade of dumping, this process has filled the entire valley with mud and rocks, turning it into a massive river of filth that slowly moves downstream, fouling the local water and pulling the surrounding hillsides down with it, including the houses of the people who live there.

It's all part of the operations of the Porgera Gold Mine, the world's third largest of its kind owned by Canadian mining giant Barrick Gold, which sits high in the forested mountains of Enga Province, Papua New Guinea. The contrast is startling: in the midst of some of the most dramatic landscapes on earth, thick with old-growth forests and cloud-draped mountains, the mine is carved like an open sore into the land around it.

The Porgera Mine began operation in the 1980s, after company officials approached the locals and suggested working out an agreement to begin gold mining on their lands. After much bargaining, Porgera's inhabitants—who were at that point living just this side of a Stone Age existence—struck a complex deal with the mining company involving payments and dividends to landowners and their families, as well as the construction of lasting resources like a school and a hospital at the company's expense. Indeed, at the time of the agree-

ily obtainable veins of gold, switched to an open pit mining operation. The top of a mountain was dug away, and cyanide-laced tailings began to be dumped into nearby streams. The locals claim they were never informed that such a dramatic change could take place and they began to demand renegotiation of the original contract.

Since the first agreement was signed, changes had happened in Porgera as the sudden influx of heavy industry and money brought with it legions of unemployed men, rampant HIV, and skyrocketing prices of food and fuel.

At the same time, very little development seemed to have gone on in the town and its environs, especial-

**In a way, the Porgera Gold Mine is a microcosm of the whole country. The wealth of the nation is being extracted while the inhabitants remain poor.**

ly in view of the millions of dollars worth of gold produced each year by the mine. The visitor to Porgera gets the impression of a wild mining town in the hills of Melanesia. It is really



all unpaved and subject to landslides. Much of the mine's business, from transportation of personnel to moving the actual gold, is done by HeaviLift

to continue. What happens in the coming years is anyone's guess, but it's hard to believe that the Papuans, who are not known for being pushed around, are going to let the new century be a repeat of the disparities of the last one.

FOR MORE ON P.N.G. SEE:  
[WWW.MININGWATCH.CA](http://WWW.MININGWATCH.CA)



**TOP:** The highlands of Papua New Guinea are covered with dense forests, another example of the country's great natural wealth, much sought after by foreign companies.

**ABOVE:** Villagers from Laigum, Enga Province, down the road several hours from Porgera.

**LEFT:** The extended family of Stanley Kaka, my guide and a former union organizer.

**BOTTOM:** Part of the open-pit Porgera Gold Mine. The dump-trucks are some of the largest in the world, capable of hauling 200 tons of earth.



ment some considered it a landmark achievement in which indigenous people actually received a just share of the resources of their lands.

But in 1993 the situation began to unravel, when the Porgera Mine Company, having exhausted the eas-

just a group of tin-roofed shacks around an old dirt airfield. There is one general store run by a Chinese family that sells everything: stoves, hardhats, hardboiled eggs, sweaters, fifty-pound bags of rice, sewing needles—all at exorbitant prices. The roads in and around the town are

helicopters. The clear impression is that the company is investing as little as possible into the infrastructure of the region, merely waiting until all the gold runs dry before shipping out.

In a way, the Porgera Gold Mine is a microcosm of the whole country. The wealth of the nation is being extracted while the inhabitants remain poor. Again and again a visitor will hear the same refrain: we are such a rich country, but our people are poor!

It reminds me of a piece by the Ecuadoran author Eduardo Galeano. In it he said that the third world, contrary to popular conception, is not poor; it is rich. It's just that all of the riches go out of the third world and up to the first world! Papua New Guinea is a grim and perfect example of Galeano's analysis writ large on a stunningly beautiful island in the South Pacific. The latest "development project" is an oil pipeline that will run down from the Southern Highlands of P.N.G. and across the Coral Sea to Australia.

But as the saying goes: fool me once shame on you, fool me twice shame on me. In my brief time in Papua New Guinea I met many many people who were going to try their damnest not to allow the exploitation

# SF PRINT COLLECTIVE

The SFPC is a printmaking collective that uses graphic art to support social justice organizing. The SFPC started in February of the year 2000 when a group of silkscreen artists met at Mission Grafika, a community-based, non-profit printshop. We came

groups who serve low income, immigrant communities. Taking inspiration from the Chicano Poster Movement and San Francisco's rich history of political graphics, we make public art to challenge the mass media and broadcast progressive politics directly to the streets.

Our work is anonymous, dedicated to community empowerment instead of individual, artistic success. Our politics are internationalist, but our focus is on local issues, such as housing and homelessness, that affect people's daily lives. We believe political power comes from the grassroots through direct action, and we see elections as a potential tactic to defend our rights. We want direct, democratic control for our communities, and we envision a future without capitalism where human needs come before corporate



together to make posters collectively, and our first campaign addressed the impact of gentrification in the Mission District. After our first project we joined an anti-displacement coalition and built close ties to housing

greed.

To get involved in upcoming poster campaigns, contact the SFPC at the email below.

To learn how to screenprint, take the SFPC's ongoing Silkscreen Postermaking class. The



month-long workshop will show you how to use the mass media for activist organizing, including the basics of guerrilla art, media work, graphic design, and legal defense.

To get involved, take the SFPC's Silkscreen Postermaking class from Nov 16 - Dec 16. This month-long workshop will show you how to use the mass media for activist organizing, including the basics of guerrilla art, media work, graphic design, and legal defense. For more info: [sf-printcollective@gmail.com](mailto:sf-printcollective@gmail.com) or 415-821-7282.



## OAK to 9th

the copy of the ordinance on the city's website.

Erica Harrold, the spokesperson for the city attorney's office told *Fault Lines* the Oak to Ninth Referendum Committee "is trying to save face with their lawsuit, they simply did not do their homework." Harrold went on to say, "Under State Election Law a petition can be thrown out if there is even a missing comma, yet the copy of the ordinance used to petition by the referendum committee read 'NOT ACCURATE - TO BE UPDATED' on the Table of Contents."

While there may be blatant errors in the Referendum Committee's hasty attempt at bring the Oak to Ninth Ordinance to referendum, it is hard to undermine their reasons for attempting

to do so. According to Harrold there is still an outside chance a judge could grant the committee another 30 days to gather the signatures needed for referendum by petitioning on the final ordinance.

The Oakland City Attorney's Office is currently litigating two other suits filed by local groups trying to block the current ordinance. The Oakland Heritage Alliance filed suit in late June to protect the historic Ninth Avenue Terminal, and in early September the Coalition of Advocates for Lake Merritt filed suit claiming the developer provided the insufficient and faulty environmental impact reports.

Without a favorable court decision in one of the three pending law suits, the Oak to Ninth Development will go

ahead as decided by the city council. While the debate on Oak to Ninth may be over, it is clear that as long as significant disputes remain between those who oppose high end residential devel-

opment, Mayor Jerry Brown's famous declaration, "If you are not for gentrification, you are for slumification," will continue to be the philosophy behind Oakland's development.

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# VISIONS OF ENDLESS WARFARE:

# Shooting War & DMZ

*DMZ* by Brian Wood and Riccardo Burchielli – Vertigo Comics

*Shooting War* by Anthony Lappé and Dan Goldman – shootingwar.com

REVIEWED BY TED E. RUXPIN

When pondering the horrific directions our current state of permanent war may take us, two recent comics series come to mind. *DMZ* and *Shooting War* are both stories of young journalists who find themselves thrown into war zones and forced to navigate the treacherous terrains of battlefields and the equally treacherous terrains of the corporate media.

*Shooting War* is set in 2011 and the bloody occupation of Iraq is still stumbling on. The neoconservative faction that instigated the conflict has more or less run its course and a more pragmatic and jaded conservative movement has taken power in America with John McCain as president. In between forays out into the battlefields of a crumbling occupation, much of this story takes place in a ridiculously isolated Baghdad Green Zone full of fancy hotels, nightclubs, and fast food. Whether it's direct

references to Bill O'Reilly, Hardt and Negri, or Flickr, *Shooting War* is presented as part parody and part critique of the media landscape that surrounds America's current imperial adventures.

*DMZ* takes us into a New York City of the not too distant future in which Manhattan has been transformed through a drawn out civil war into the epicenter of a conflict between US Federal troops and a populist rebel army of Free States. Across the Hudson River in New Jersey, the armies of the Free States have formed a coherent frontline after swarming from scattered locations across the United States and drawing on popular dissatisfaction with the government's overseas failures. Brooklyn is still firmly in the hands of federal troops which places Manhattan in the tenuous position as a demilitarized zone (DMZ) between the warring factions constantly interrupted by breaks in the ceasefire and bloody incursions.

While much of the story echoes what we hear coming from Iraq, Afghanistan, or Palestine, this comic series lacks many of the blatant references to today's media saturated politics that litter *Shooting War*. Instead, *DMZ*

shines in its portrayal of everyday life for people trying to get by while a war rages around them and in this way it is as relevant a critique of modern armed conflict as the more overtly political *Shooting War*.

At times, these comics border on adolescent boy fantasies filled with automatic weapons, spraying blood, and women who cannot keep their clothes on. This pathetic storyline that is all too common in the world of comics is much more problematic in *Shooting War* and ends up contributing to a confused and sometimes offensive politics. *Shooting War* is still worth the read primarily for its many clever references as well as a unique artistic style that combines col-



ABOVE: SHOOTING WAR, BELOW: DMZ



laged photos as well as original illustration (although this too can be confused and messy at times). However, *DMZ* is of a much higher quality on all levels and only promises to get better as the issues continue.

## BEYOND ZAPATISTAS CONT.

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on the left, Sub-comandante Marcos. Throughout this recent national political crisis, the Zapatistas have taken a back seat, with Marcos himself holed up quietly in Mexico City planning a trip up north and the Zapatistas down south in Chiapas remaining on "red alert" ever since the Atenco crisis in May, while they consolidate their autonomous municipalities. The recent "Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle" a kind of new Zapatista mani-

of the Chiapas rebels. Seemingly sidelined as the political action moves like a huge wave across the country, they are revolutionary visionaries and inspirational mentors for these newly emerging resistance movements. While elsewhere in the world the political situation seems to be falling inexorably into the false dichotomy of a "clash of civilizations," insurrectionary Mexico (and indeed Latin American beyond) provides a different template for struggle.

While elsewhere in the world the political situation seems to be falling inexorably into the false dichotomy of a "clash of civilizations," insurrectionary Mexico (and indeed Latin American beyond) provides a different template for struggle.

fest of unarmed resistance for the 21st Century" anticipated the institutional crisis, and foretold the demands of the rebels on the streets of the Mexico City and Oaxaca. It stated, "We are fighting for another politics, for a program of the Left, and for a new Constitution."

Ultimately, this seems to be the role

The Zapatista Sixth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle could well prove to be the quintessential revolutionary document for mapping the trajectory of the new resistance. (Shortly before going to print, the Zapatistas announced 2 upcoming "intergalactic" conferences: one at New Year's and one in July 2007.)



Ramor Ryan, the author of *Clandestines: The Pirate Journals of an Irish Exile* is a rebellious rover who makes his home between New York and Chiapas.

# DISASTER PROFITEERING

....CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

its aid money in Lebanon, if Iraq and Afghanistan are to be taken as examples, the aid will go primarily to US corporations. In Iraq, even the country's own oil wealth was siphoned off by US corporations accused of mismanagement and corruption. An August 2004 *Washington Post* analysis of government records showed that at least 85 percent of the total \$2.26 billion of Iraqi money so far spent by the Coalition Provisional Authority was obligated to US companies. \$1.66 billion from the Iraqi money went to Halliburton's subsidiary KBR to import fuel from Kuwait. This contract came under scrutiny when it was found that KBR overcharged by as much as \$61 million for the fuel.

Indeed, over-billing and waste have become synonymous with reconstruction efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the post-Katrina Gulf Coast, calling into question the myth of corporate efficiency. Meanwhile, the US government failed to take advantage of many of the gestures of good will offered to them by local and international communities.

## Why volunteer when you can over charge?

In the early days of September following Hurricane Katrina, \$5.3 million in international food aid was denied, supposedly due to a ban on British beef despite the fact that many of the meals were vegetarian. Instead, the US taxpayer was charged \$16,000 to store these rations each day as the State department looked for a needy country to donate the food. Meanwhile, FEMA awarded a 30-day contract to Emergency Disaster Services for \$3.6 million to provide meals for emergency personnel, which worked out to \$100 - \$279 each meal. The same company got a \$329,989 contract for renting six shower trailers for a month.

In a similar vein of absurdity, Florida-based Carnival Cruise line won a \$236 million no-bid contract to house hurricane victims despite the fact that the nation of Greece had offered the use of ships for free. Jeb Bush personally facilitated the deal. Another political contributor to the Bush family, Kenyon International Emergency Services, billed over \$6 million to recover 535 bodies (about \$12,500 per victim). Meanwhile, local black morticians volunteered their services to recover and process bodies but were turned away by FEMA.

In Iraq, Halliburton welcomed Kuwait's help in extinguishing oil fires following the initial invasion of Iraq. In fact, Kuwait did most of the work before Halliburton had even arrived on



PHOTO: BROOKE SHELLEY BIGGS

the job. While Kuwait offered their services as a gift to the Iraqi people, Halliburton none-the-less accepted their full payment for a job well done.

## Shoddy work, shady billing

There are numerous examples of corporations over charging for bad work. From Halliburton's infamous \$100 bags of starchy laundry to quarter million dollar schools with collapsed roofs in Afghanistan, contractors overcharged the government for questionable work and were rewarded handsomely for it. Cost plus contracts, which pay a fixed percentage above cost to contractors, guaranteed that the more a company spent, the more money they made. Meanwhile, abusive subcontractor pyramids ensured that these costs could be absorbed by middlemen along the way, according to a recent *CorpWatch* report.

The results? Emergency tarps provided for free by FEMA were installed at an average cost of \$2,500 each by the Shaw Group in Louisiana; Halliburton charged \$45 for cases of soda in Iraq; and schools in Afghanistan cost about three times more for Louis Berger to build than Japanese contractors doing similar work. At the same time, all of these areas remain a far cry away from developed.

In 2005, military auditors identified more than \$1.5 billion in "questioned" and "unsupported" costs with Halliburton's expenditures in Iraq. While the Pentagon acknowledged this mismanagement by canceling Halliburton's military logistics contract earlier this year, it has failed to financially penalize Halliburton for these dubious charges.

## Why hire local when you've got the whole developing world to exploit?

Whether due to multiple layers of subcontracting or due to the fact that President Bush suspended the Davis-Bacon Act, which protected minimum wages for work on federal contracts,

money from post-Katrina contracts did not trickle down to the workers on the ground.

According to Louisiana Senator Mary Landrieu, 478,000 Americans had lost their jobs following Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. However, in an effort to save money, many of the jobs associated with reconstruction went to migrant workers. Additionally, thousands of these migrant workers charge that they never even received payment for their work from firms such as Belfor USA Group and LVI Environmental services.

Similarly, in both Iraq and Afghanistan, with 60 and 40 percent unemployment rates respectively, local workers receive little pay, if they are employed at all. In Afghanistan, engineers, consultants, and mercenaries make as much as \$1,000 a day, while the Afghans they employ make \$5 per day. In Iraq, much of the work is performed by migrant workers from South Asia, who get paid a tenth the salary of their American counterparts. Here, strikes and labor disputes are common due to lack of pay, allegations of human trafficking, and lack of adequate safety equipment in dangerous working conditions.

The effect of these employment policies reaches beyond the scope of those who it immediately affects. Pratap Chatterjee, author of "Iraq, Inc." and Managing Editor of *CorpWatch* comments, "from Gaza and Iraq to the inner-city ghettos of the US, you see time and time again that a dysfunctional economic environment breeds violence, resentment, and instability. If the corporations were interested in promoting peace and development, they would find better ways of engaging local populations."

## Where is the money going? The future of disaster capitalism

In hindsight, the privatization of military operations and reconstruction efforts doesn't seem to be the deal that neo-liberal hype predicts. However, in-

stead of reversing this troubling trend, the government created the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization in August of 2004, scapegoating its incompetence with a lack of advance planning. This new office will plan post-conflict strategies for a secret watch-list of "25 countries where instability might precipitate US intervention," compiled by the National Intelligence Council (NIC), now headed by John Negroponte. According to the *Financial Times*, the planning includes "forming a 'reserve corps' of specialist civilian teams and devising reconstruction contracts in advance with private companies and NGOs."

There is no indication, however, that pre-planning will result in more cost effective work. For example, AshBritt was on "active status" with the Army Corps of Engineers 3 years prior to hurricane Katrina's arrival on the Gulf Coast. However, their half billion dollar contract for debris removal is a case study in abusive contract pyramids. An *NBC* investigation detailed how an initial fee of \$23 per cubic yard paid to Ashbritt for debris removal translated to \$3 per cubic yard for the contractor at the bottom of the pyramid, passing through three other sub contractors along the way.

However, despite the fact that privatization has not been a panacea for government ineffectiveness, this model of disaster relief appears to be gaining institutional ground. Author Naomi Klein points to the Shaw Group's new state-of-the-art Baton Rouge headquarters, Bechtel's increasing stock of construction gear, or Blackwater's new 6,000-acre campus in North Carolina and refers to this newly constructed infrastructure as the "Disaster Capitalism Complex." While the US government goes broke paying corporations for their questionable services, the corporations themselves are building capacity in time for the next disaster to strike. Klein predicts that the future of this system might resemble that of US healthcare system, where only those with the means can pay for its services, and others can go broke trying.

As the US eyes other countries to destroy and rebuild, inequities rage at home. Meanwhile, it appears that war is becoming yet another tool to spread the neo-liberal economic policies that give further advantage to the economically privileged, either by coercive lending policies or by the subsidized privatization of everything from war to reconstruction to humanitarian relief itself.

FOR MORE INFORMATION REGARDING WAR AND DISASTER PROFITTING, CHECK OUT CORPWATCH'S REPORTS AT [WWW.WARPROFTEERS.COM](http://WWW.WARPROFTEERS.COM) AND [WWW.CORPWATCH.ORG](http://WWW.CORPWATCH.ORG)

# Minimum Wage Laws Don't Exclude Undocumented Workers

....CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

OLSE, the worker needs a full name and address for his employer. Especially in the case of day laborers, many times workers do not have this information. Without a full name and address, there is little that the OLSE can do.

## A Penalty that fits the Crime

The Minimum Wage Ordinance authorized the OLSE to impose a \$100/day penalty on employers found guilty of violating minimum wage laws. If it were fully enforced, this penalty is enough to put some repeat violators out of business. The OLSE has yet to impose this penalty. The general sentiment at the hearing was echoed by Waller, when he said, "The courts will not order the penalty." So, they have not tried.

To further complicate matters, when penalties are applied to businesses there can be backlashes for workers. If a business goes bankrupt as a result of its offenses, they do not have to pay their workers, because workers are considered "debtors" once the OLSE determines their employer owes them money. Or, as sometimes occurs, businesses appeal and elongate court battles when penalized, causing the worker to wait for their pay even when they have already won in court.

Oscar Hernandez is a Mexican immigrant who had to file against an S.F. construction company when they refused to pay him for weeks of work. After waiting 11 months for a hearing in which the court awarded him \$2500 in wages plus another \$5800 in penalties, he has now waited an additional 3 months because the employer, Ground Zero Design, appealed the decision. "All that I wanted was for them to pay me what they should: the \$2500" stated Mr. Hernandez, who has yet to be paid.

## Inadequate Outreach into Immigrant Communities

Nonprofits are vital to increasing enforcement of the minimum wage because immigrant communities can trust and relate to them. They educate workers about their rights and provide legal advice when necessary, as well as providing many other services. Many immigrants do not know their labor rights. Julio Loyola, a day laborer and member of La Raza Centro Legal said, "We find out very often when we ask people what the minimum wage is in San Francisco, they don't know."



PHOTO: MATT CERECHTY

Although city government has created well meaning programs to resolve minimum wage violations, insufficient outreach and a lengthy process for receiving unpaid wages have left many immigrants vulnerable to exploitation by employers. New staff at the OLSE should speed up the wage claims process.

However, the current number of claims may represent only a small proportion of workers who are actually not being paid the minimum wage. For example, UCLA recently conducted a nation-wide study of day laborers. Of the thousands of day laborers surveyed, 50 percent reported being paid less than they agreed upon, or not being paid at all. As the education and research program that has yet to be developed reaches more of the immigrant community, the OLSE will find itself in the same position in subsequent years: too many claims and not enough staff to accomplish its mission.

Flaws inherent in the wage claims process have created a lack of business accountability that—whether through neglect or malice—is creating a permanent subclass of workers who are not being paid what they are worth.

Minimum wage laws apply to day laborers who flock to busy intersections no less than they would apply to any other worker in California.

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photo by Eric Slomanson / ZUMA PRESS

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Interested in distributing Fault Lines in your community? Pick up stacks at:

Station 40, 3030 B 16th St, San Francisco

# CALENDAR OCT-NOV

WWW.INDYBAY.ORG/CALENDAR

#### Oct. 20 - Iraq For Sale: The War Profiteers. 7:30pm

Robert Greenwald's documentary film tells about the human stories, the tragedies, and the undermining of national security that come with lack of oversight and transparency. Taking you inside the lives of a variety of Iraqi citizens, he exposes the connections between private corporations making a killing in Iraq and the decision makers who allow this to go on. \$5 donations are accepted - Humanist Hall 390 27th St. Oakland, CA 94612 (510)383-1621

#### Oct. 22 - March Against Police Abuse - 2:00-5:00PM

Rally and March to stop police brutality, repression, and criminalization of a generation. Wear black! Fight back! March from Haight and Stanyan to the Fillmore SF October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality. Contact Mesha, (415) 595-8251

#### Oct. 22 - "Deconstructing Tyrone: A New Look at Black Masculinity in the Hip Hop Generation" 7:30pm

Journalists Natalie Hopkinson and Natalie Y. Moore speak. In "Deconstructing Tyrone", Includes chapters on Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick, the complicated relationship between women and hip hop, and gay black men "on the down low." Free. Modern Times Bookstore 888 Valencia St., San Francisco (415) 282-9426

#### Oct. 22 - Pirate Cat Radio Halloween Party. 8:00pm

Join Pirate Cat Radio for a Halloween benefit concert, featuring Desperation Squad, Wealthy Whore Entertainment, Pillows, and The Skoalkans with their 20th anniversary reunion show. \$5. Li Po Cocktail Lounge, 916 Grant Street, Chinatown, San Francisco. More info, www.piratecatradio.com

#### Oct. 27 - SF Critical Mass! 6pm

Get hypy at the Halloween Critical Mass! Put on your costume and go buckwild. Justin Herman Plaza @ Market & Embarcadero.

#### Nov. 3 - Oakland Critical Mass! 6:00pm

Join us for a fun bike ride party/tour of the city! Meet every first Friday of the month near the BART entry at Frank Ogawa Plaza (City Hall).

#### Nov. 2 - Day of the Dead: Chiapas Benefit Concert, Doors 7pm

A night of spoken word and music, in honor of those that have passed. Performances by La Plebe, Los Nadies, FUGA, DJ Rico, and others. We will also have an ofrenda, or altar, commemorating those who have died in struggle. \$8-20 sliding scale 2232 Martin Luther King, Oakland, www.radiozapatista.org.

#### Nov. 5 - The Fire Inside 10th Anniversary w/Alice Walker 2:00 pm

California Coalition for Women Prisoners celebrates 10 years of publishing "the newsletter for women prisoners," The Fire Inside. Alice Walker will be our guest of honor and will read from her newly released book. Also featuring: Theresa Cruz (formerly incarcerated survivor)& daughter Adriana; Drum Sistah Warriors; Maisha Quint from Poetry for the People; Quilt Raffle by former Political prisoner Linda Evans, Kuda, poet extraordinaire, and performing arts group Loco Bloco!! \$10 - \$100 - No one turned away African American Art & Culture Complex, 762 Fulton St, San Francisco, www.womenprisoners.org.

#### Nov. 8 - Sexual and Reproductive Freedom—1960s to Now - 8:00pm

Join Elizabeth Creely, in conversation with three outstanding reproductive rights activists, Patricia Maginnis, Ruth Mahaney, and Norma Gallegos. As the assault on abortion rights continues, let's take a look at where we're from, and where we're going. Counterpulse, 1310 Mission Street (at 9th), San Francisco, bacorinfo@riseup.net.

#### Nov. 10 and Dec. 8. - The Vent -An Under 21 Open Mic Series 7:00pm

Youth Speaks presents "The Vent," a spoken word performance. Founded in

San Francisco in 1996, Youth Speaks is at the forefront of a national Spoken Word performance, education, and youth development movement. Free, Hosted by Spokes. Second Friday most months at Pro Arts 550 Second Street, Oakland. Final Fridays, last Fridays of most months at Galleria de la Raza, 2857 24th St. at Bryant, San Francisco. For more info, www.youthspeaks.org.

#### Nov. 13 - The Art, Technology, and Culture Colloquium: Stop Making Sense, Contextualizing Media Art - 7:30 pm

Berkeley's Center for New Media presents "Stop Making Sense, Contextualizing Media Art" with guest speaker Rudolf Frieling, Media Arts Curator, SFMOMA. All lectures are free and open to the public. UC Berkeley, 105 Northgate Hall,

#### Nov 17 - Nov 23 - Black Gold: Wake Up and Smell the Coffee

This eye-opening and entertaining film explores the business of coffee - from meticulously hand-picked bean to the \$3 cup. Featured in the Sundance and Human Rights Watch film festivals, BLACK GOLD is must-see experience for everyone who drinks coffee. Roxie Theatre, 3117 16th Street, San Francisco, www.newsreel.org.

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**Paul McCartney**

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Compassionate Consumers' undercover video of an egg farm:

[www.wegmancrucity.com](http://www.wegmancrucity.com)

East Bay Animal Advocates' undercover video of a poultry farm:

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

News, upcoming events, and resources of the Bay Area and beyond:

[indybay.org/animalliberation](http://indybay.org/animalliberation)

While no one can tell you what to eat, you owe it to yourself to examine the ramifications of what you put in your body every day.

The Union of Concerned Scientists identified the meat-based diet as one of the two most harmful things individuals can do to our environment.

By going vegetarian (or vegan) today, you can effect positive change right now.