

Getting Centered
Time to put our bodies on the gears

by Elizabeth Stinson, Director

“There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you cannot take part, you cannot even tacitly take part. And you’ve got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the levers, upon the apparatus and you’ve got to make it stop.” – Mario Savio

While Bush scapegoats immigrants and the shell game continues, the Peace and Justice Center of Sonoma County wants our members to know that we support immigration reform that contains a track to citizenship. The reforms, border policing and repressive bills proposed by Republican members of Congress and this president are inhumane and will lead to more suffering and death.

I received a call on May 1 from an extended family member who had been arrested following a high-speed chase in Brownsville, TX. The young man is 15. His family has suffered for years in El Salvador because of restrictive policies inflicted on Salvadorans by deals enforced by the US government. People come here for many reasons. The inhumanity of the vigilante “minutemen” and of congress ignore the reality that most are forced to escape situations created by this government.

I cannot name a south or Central American country whose citizens do not suffer so that the US standard of living can be maintained, either through unfair trade agreements that exploit resources and people, or because officers trained at the School of the Americas are actively repressing their population. Most of us would rather simplify our lives than to have people continue to suffer so that we can shop.

The Bush gang has decided the international world must function defensively because of US preemptive aggression and complete lack of diplomacy. Once the rules are changed, as they have been illegally under the Bush Administration, they can only be re-established in a humane and dignified way by holding the law-breakers accountable for abuse of their power and of our intentions.

Cindy Cohn, legal director of the Electronic Frontier Foundation is “laying on the gears of the machine,” as Mario Savio asked us all do. Cindy is pressing a lawsuit exposing the billions of cell phone messages that have been accessed by the government illegally. I urge all of you to check out www.eff.org. Let them know you appreciate their diligence in protecting “freedom of speech” on the electronic frontier. I urge all of you with AT& T cell phones to cancel your service and those of you with Verizon to also cancel your service. Tell those companies you do not appreciate their giving the NSA (National Security [spying] Association) your information.

You need to know that we do not have to wait for Congress to be taken back by the democrats, as those running for office would have you believe, to bring impeachment proceedings forward. State legislatures can call for impeachment, citizens groups, cities and towns as well as individuals can call for impeachment. I, Elizabeth Stinson, call on Congress to do their job and investigate the reasons to Impeach George Bush. In doing so I cite the following Violation of the Nuremberg Charter. Principle VI of the Nuremberg Charter states “The crimes hereinafter set out are punishable as crimes under international law: a. Crimes against peace: i. Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in

violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances; ii. Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (i). Bush invaded a sovereign country that had not threatened the United States and had no ability to do so. He needs to be impeached. We the people need to impeach him.

I urge all of our readers to find a way, no matter how small or insignificant it may feel at the time, but find a way to lay on the gears of the machine. Stand up for the human rights your government has chosen to ignore – “your” human rights.

Weekly, we are informed by active duty military personnel, many from 3rd and 4th generation military families, that they would never have dreamed the only support they would find for their rights would be from the peace movement. As we work to support them, we know these are perilous and challenging times. We work to shape a new and very necessary social contract with our community, our nation and our world.

Peace, elizabeth

Military Law Task Force Sues the Pentagon Chemical Weapons Used by US Military against Civilian Population

Rules of Engagement are designed to instruct military personnel when it is permissible to use deadly force, and to limit the circumstances under which soldiers may use such force to preclude the escalation of unwarranted deadly violence. In short, they rationalize and justify the killing. The Military Law Task Force intends to identify the words the US government provided for its ground troops to justify the leveling of the city of Fallujah when there were no identifiable enemy soldiers in uniform and no way of determining who was and was not a civilian. In effect, Fallujah, became a “free fire zone” even though, as a dense urban area, the US military should have issued a very restrictive ROE (rules of engagement). The US was aware that Fallujah was inhabited by thousands of civilians who would be forced to remain through the siege. The request for information concerning the ROE is made under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Its purpose is to illuminate and subject to public scrutiny, documents, such as the ROE in effect for the soldiers who fired on Italian journalist Giuliana Sgrena and who were involved in the siege of Fallujah. We hope to identify the process by which the unwarranted slaughter and collective punishment of entire civilian populations can be justified and rationalized by the Rules of War. Not since the destruction of Guernica (1937), the Warsaw Ghetto (1942), Nagasaki, Hiroshima, or Dresden (1945) has there been such a total devastation of a city the size of Cincinnati or Oakland, housing 350,000 people or more. Having no apparent purpose other than a “show of power” and a demand for revenge for four civilian American security contractors killed in March 2004, the Bush government unmercifully leveled one of the largest cities in Iraq. We want to share with the American people the degree of illegality of the US assault on Fallujah and to prove that the ROE for that assault were so meaningless and vague as to permit any atrocity whatsoever. The ROE in effect, as judged by the actions of military personnel and the resulting death toll, indicate violations of international and domestic law as a matter of official policy. What words did the US military use to authorize the war crimes that occurred in Fallujah, including the use of excessive force, indiscriminate and incessant bombing, sniping, and killing in urban civilian areas, white phosphorous, depleted uranium, flechette and cluster bombs, targeting medical structures and personnel, etc.? Similarly, the need for the US to cover up and lie about the nature of the destruction of that city, and the reasons behind its destruction, were highlighted by the murderous attack, on March 4, 2005, of the one reporter

from a Western country available to describe the atrocities being committed by the US. The decision to attempt to kill Giuliana Sgrena and her escorts was a cold-blooded attempt to silence the witnesses, and not an attack authorized by any reasonable ROE. It is in the interest of national security, honor, integrity, and the rule of law that we seek the release of this information from the US military, specifically from CENTCOM. There are times in the history of this country and especially during time of military conflict that the American people must themselves judge what actions pursued by military forces serve their interest and security. The American people have a right to know what methods of destruction are being employed by its military as we wage wars against our "enemies" throughout the world.

Information from MLTF press release of April 26, 2006

To the Reich Minister of Justice, Berlin

From the Bishop of Limburg on Lahn, Hesse, Germany, August 13, 1941

... About 8 kilometers from Limburg in the little town of Hadamar, on a hill overlooking the town, there is an institution which had formerly served various purposes and of late had been used as a nursing home. This institution was renovated and furnished as a place in which, by consensus of opinion, the above-mentioned euthanasia has been systematically practiced for months - approximately since February 1941. This fact is, of course, known beyond the administrative district of Wiesbaden because death certificates from the Hadamar-Moenchberg Registry are sent to the home communities.

Several times a week busses arrive in Hadamar with a considerable number of such victims. School children of the vicinity know this vehicle and say: "There comes the murder-box again." After the arrival of the vehicle, the citizens of Hadamar watch the smoke rise out of the chimney.

Children call each other names and say, "You're crazy; you'll be sent to the baking oven in Hadamar." Those who do not want to marry, or find no opportunity, say, "Marry, never! Bring children into the world so they can be put into the bottling machine!" You hear old folks say, "Don't send me to a state hospital! When the feeble-minded have been finished off, **the next useless eaters whose turn will come are the old people.**"

The official notice that N. N. died of a contagious disease and, therefore, his body had to be burned, no longer finds credence, and **official notices** of this kind, which **are no longer believed**, have further undermined the ethical value of the concept of authority.

Officials of the Secret State Police, it is said, are trying to suppress discussion of the Hadamar occurrences by means of severe threats...

The knowledge, and the conviction, and the indignation of the population, cannot be changed by it; the conviction will be increased with the bitter realization that discussion is prohibited by threats, but that the actions themselves are not prosecuted under penal law...

[signed] Dr. Hilfrich, I am submitting copies of this letter to the Reich Minister of the Interior.

A reminder that so recently in Nazi Germany it was necessary to speak out with clarity against the unspoken. www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/genocide/Limburg.htm

Who is the Terrorist?

I Remember. Do you Remember?

by Rosa Anaya, San Salvador, El Salvador, May 19,2006

I remember when I was called a terrorist and I was only ten years old, I remember they put six bullets into my fathers body because he was also accused of being a terrorist, I remember my family in exile because we were accused of been terrorists, I remember that it was the US government that financed the civil war for 13 years, it was the US government that sent bombs down to my country against the terrorists, all for political interests, we didn't have oil to protect, but my country seems to be located a bit too close to US national security issues... But above all I remember that it was the people of the United States that helped us to bring down the lies that were being told about my people to eliminate "terrorists" like my family... I always thought it was unfair that I got help from so many good people, while there were many other children crying in my country in the middle of the war, and somehow I had to help... but now I can't sleep at night thinking of all the children in Iraq crying at night, hoping they will survive the next US bomb, children that now... just like I did before... are crying for somebody to help them... Above all I remember it was people like you that helped us stop the war... Please make the miracle again... stop the war in Iraq, Afghanistan and soon Iran... Stop your government... Stop this mad man Bush and his friends...

I remember (I hope that you do too) that if you didn't do for us what you did then, I would not be asking for peace today... I would definitely be "resting in peace" under the numbers of the ones "killed for being a terrorist", if you would have helped me one day later I would be dead... Do you remember?

Rosa Anaya has asked us to publish her plea. Rosa was in sanctuary along with her two brothers and two sisters in the home of Elizabeth Stinson and other members of a very necessary underground, during the war in El Salvador and following the assassination of her father, Herbert Anaya. Herbert was a founder of the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador which documented the disappeared during the 15 year war and oppression. He was assassinated by what are believed to be SOA-trained death squads when he walked outside to start the car to take Rosa and her siblings to school. Rosa's mother Meerna is a supreme court justice in El Salvador.

Declaring Independence (Again)

by Debra Birkinshaw

As the time for July 4th celebration draws near, one could look through a reflective lens at the Declaration of Independence, in which the colonists seek to separate themselves from King George of England.

Don't we now have a King George who has taken over the white palatial walls on 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, without ever being declared the leader of all the people by their own word?

"The history of the present King of Great Britain [George III] is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world."

We need only to look at the **Patriot Act** to see the erosion of our personal rights. Political activists can now be termed "domestic terrorists" under the current rendition of that

tyrannical act, and be imprisoned for their dissent of governmental decisions for up to six months. We are almost entirely immigrants or descendants of immigrants, and yet our neighbors, friends, and co-workers are living under the threat of incarceration or deportation. These developments form an absolute attempt to still all our voices.

"He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them."

"[He is] suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring [himself] invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever."

Our present King George has simply ignored the rights of his subjects. Utilizing the presidential power to issue "presidential signing statements." our King George writes interpretations of each controversial law that he signs, thus bending it to his own will. As an example, when Senator McCain achieved passage of an anti-torture law, King George signed it, but so amended it in his attached letter that it in fact nullifies what McCain was trying to achieve. So now we have a law that says that US authorities will not engage in torture, unless of course, they see the need to do so.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: - For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences."

The Bush Administration has publicly gone on record that detainees suspected of terrorism are not to be subjected to torture. Condoleeza Rice issued a statement that there is no policy to expel, return ("refouler"), or extradite detainees to another state where they would be in danger of being subjected to torture. Yet there is concrete evidence that both these practices are in place.

"He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries."

Having failed to appoint his puppet, Harriet Meiers, (without any judicial experience), our King George has seen fit to appoint Supreme Court Justices Roberts and Alito, against the will of the people and the representatives of our state. Roberts advised and condoned Gonzalves' stand that information should be extracted by any means, including the torture of suspected terrorists. Alito encouraged the rampant use of presidential signing statements. Both appointees have consistently held the opinion that a woman's right to choose should be curtailed.

"He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. He is at this time transporting large Armies to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation."

The majority of our taxes have gone to support the build up of the military and the design and acquisition of weapons. It is suspected that over 100,000 Iraqi civilians, amounting to three or more generations dead, and three or more generations to come, have been killed. Meanwhile, in our own country, education is being eroded, people live without health care or adequate access to medications they need, and there are deep cuts, canyons, if you will, in social support services. The "No Child Left Behind Act" has a hidden but easily

excavated meaning: that our children are being harvested for drone armies poised to take over the world's resources.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people."

Our King George has a deplorable record on environmental protection; as an example, we have only to look at his "Clear Skies Initiative" which in fact raises the ceiling on how much pollution can be emitted by production plants. His administration, in a desperate effort to commandeer all the oil resources possible, is steadfastly pressing to allow drilling in the Arctic Wildlife Refuge.

"Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness... Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Are we not all thinking that **it is time to impeach our own King George**, or somehow try to eradicate his regime in the next election? And yet, many of us feel hopeless, nearly helpless as to how to go about that.

Ah, but the tide is turning, if we have eyes to see it, and ears to hear it. Our forefathers had the vision and fortitude to plan and implement change. We the people also have that power in this present day. We have voices in Congress growing stronger and more persistent every day with our encouragement – John Conyers, John Murtha, Barbara Lee, Dennis Kucinich, Barbara Boxer, Lynn Woolsey, Edward Kennedy, Bob Graham, Russell Feingold...

We have an emerging Green party that holds to ten points for peace, sustainability and the re-establishment of our personal rights. We have The New Apollo Initiative that focuses on development of alternative energy sources. The project has a far reaching effect on air and water quality, health, job development, habitat and species protection, the slowing of global warming, reduced dependence on foreign oil, (and therefore reduced need for invasive wars), and the equalizing process of third world development.

We must glean and nurture and expand our hope and our power wherever we can find it. This is all part of a strategy for transforming our world, first locally, and then globally, into a place that sustains life.

Articles of Impeachment

In his conduct of the office of the president of the United States, in violation of his constitutional oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, George W. Bush has

- abused his power by violating the constitutional rights of citizens, impairing the due and proper administration of justice and the conduct of lawful inquiries, contravening the laws governing agencies of the executive branch, and failing to take care that the laws were faithfully executed by directing or authorizing the National Security Agency and various other

agencies within the intelligence community to conduct electronic surveillance outside the statutes congress has provided for that purpose;

- used such information for purposes unknown but unrelated to any lawful function of his office;
- concealed the existence of this unlawful program from Congress, the press, and the public.
- abused his power by violating the constitutional and international rights of citizens and non-citizens by arbitrarily detaining them indefinitely inside and outside the united States, without due process, without charges, and with limited--if any--access to counsel or courts;
- abused his power and failed to faithfully execute the laws of the United States by allowing his administration to condone torture, failing to investigate and prosecute high-level officials responsible for torture, and officially refusing to accept the binding nature of a statutory ban on cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
- offended our system of government by attempting to expand his power at the expense of the other two branches of government.

In his initiation and continuation of the war in Iraq, George W. Bush has

- violated his oath of office and constitutional obligation that the laws be faithfully executed; this constitutes a high crime and misdemeanor and is illegal as well;
- subverted the Constitution, its guarantee of a republican form of government, and the constitutional separation of powers by undermining the rightful authority of Congress to declare war, oversee foreign affairs, and make appropriations;
- justified the war with false and misleading statements and deceived the people of the United States as well as Congress;
- denied the electorate the right to make an informed choice and thereby undermined democracy;
- committed fraud against the United States by lying to and intentionally misleading Congress about the reasons for the war;
- acted contrary to his trust as president, and subverted the constitutional government to the prejudice of law and justice and the manifest injury of the people of the united States.

Wherefore George W. Bush, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

Replacing Our Dominant Frame Story Toward a Moral Economy

“George Lakoff has challenged the Progressive movement to work on creating a meta-narrative or frame story that describes the core moral principles of the movement in a way that resonates with the populace.” – Ben Boyce

“It's not enough that we have reason on our side. We also have to use words and images powerful enough to persuade others.” – Robert Reich

Lakoff and Reich urge us to consider **our ways of looking at things, our frame stories or narratives**. All of us see and hear only what fits our frame stories, we don't see what doesn't fit.

A narrative may entirely dominate and shape our society's way of thinking and behaving for generations, as did the one that Franklin Roosevelt convincingly communicated to our nation in the Depression years of the 1930's.

A. Robert Reich proposes that there is an **overall and dominant narrative which characterizes and orders an era**, and that it includes, organizes and integrates within it four basic interacting sub-narratives. These are the essential American stories that have defined and animated the United States since its founding. Two are hopeful stories – *The Triumphant Individual* and *The Benevolent Community* – and draw their energy from their contrast with the two stories about fear – *The Mob at the Gates* and *The Rot at the Top*. Speak to these four stories and you resonate with the tales Americans have been telling each other since our founding.

In **FDR's** story, government action overcomes business rot and greed, and protects us from foreign fascist (or communist) mobs. Government help creates a benevolent community that responds to the "third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished" – FDR '37. Within this community of care, hard work is rewarded so that individuals can triumph and achieve upward mobility for their families. With the achievements of the New Deal, this story took roots and became the long-standing dominant frame, *an activist government overcoming the weaknesses of an unregulated market economy to achieve stability and renewed economic growth*. [Fred Block]

Fast forward and the Republicans with **Ronald Reagan** changed the sub-narratives and gave us a very different dominating story that continues to shape our current era, Market Fundamentalism, whereby *the market, free of government restrictions, coordinates all economic activity*. Adam Smith's mysterious "invisible hand" is invoked to bind the sub-narratives together. The Mob at the Gates was an Evil Soviet Empire (now replaced under George W. Bush by the Evil Terrorists) that must be destroyed. The Rot at the Top is big government (or the liberal elites) stifling Triumphant Individuals, who are the business entrepreneurs who would spawn new companies and industries if unencumbered by government regulations and taxes. The Benevolent Community is in small, traditional neighborhoods where people voluntarily help one another, free from government interference, with little social spending needed.

B. Fred Block builds on Reich to present a vision based on **the power of a moral language** as key to changing the dominant story. Construct a *moral economy* as the organizing narrative for a revival of progressive ideas, and as the strong moral foundations needed for sustainable prosperity.

The four guiding principles of a moral economy are familiar rules of conduct:

1. **"Don't hit"** and **"take turns."** The principle of **reciprocity** avoids force and coercion.
2. **"Play by the rules."** The principle of **responsible competition** leads to elevated performance.
3. The principle of **conservation of all resources** includes human beings, nature and the built environment.
4. The principle of **cooperation** encourages sharing as essential for a productive economy.

These four principles interact and reinforce one another to enhance a moral economy's strength and effectiveness.

Envisioning a moral economy requires no heroic assumptions about human nature; it does not assume that people are always cooperative and kind. It starts from the idea that the individual pursuit of self-interest must be controlled or it will turn destructive.

Through continuous exercise of democratic self-governance we must and we can reform our institutions to make both the economy and the government work better to achieve our shared objectives. A moral economy must nourish bold "enterprise" and unleash the capacity for shared problem-solving. With such an economy, our nation itself would become a "benevolent community" with each individual able to reach his or her full potential.

First must come the stories that connect us to our nation's richest traditions, followed by bold policy ideas that implement and demonstrate the principles of a moral economy. "The great popular movements of our nation's history – against the slave trade, for the abolition of slavery, for women's suffrage, for trade union rights, for restraints on the power of big business in the Progressive Era, and extending to the civil rights movement, the New Left and the environmental movement – all have been efforts to align our economic and political institutions with our deepest moral commitments. We honor their legacy when we present a vision of a moral economy as an alternative to the failed claims of Market Fundamentalism. "[Fred Block]

C. Reich and Block provide very viable beginnings for an ongoing project. We must yet articulate how the principles of **accountability**, of **balance**, of **openness** and **transparency** are to be included. And it is clear that to achieve a moral and just economy, so vastly different from our current economy for the privileged, a **new social contract** is necessary.

This is an attempt to compress some basic ideas from Robert Reich [labor secretary under Clinton], "Story Time," The New Republic, March 2005, and from Fred Block [teaches sociology at UC Davis], "A Moral Economy," The Nation, March 20, 2006. Please read their full articles at our website. By Earl Herr.

Peace & Justice Center section

A New Social Contract for a New Century

by Susan Lamont

Some of the Center's members can remember the emergence of labor as a force to be reckoned with. More can remember Franklin D. Roosevelt's ability to remind us that government should be "for the people." And even more can remember the revolution in US society and law created by the Civil Rights and Women's Movements. Every step of the way, there were those who predicted the end of this country as we know it. And every step of the way there were others saying, "That's the whole point!"

Unfortunately, since the 1980's and the election of Ronald Reagan, the political and religious right has been effectively convincing people that we should turn back the clock. They've been convincing people that the "free market" and "the ownership society" will help them. They've been convincing people that the world is filled with "evil" and a constant state of high military alert and pre-emptive war are the only ways for "good" to triumph.

In the 1940's, FDR (with a lot of prodding from Eleanor) created a language that helped the citizenry understand that there was another way to look at government. Despite 150 years of public rhetoric to the contrary, government had always been about protecting the interests of the rich. It was always "trickle down" minus the slogan. So, FDR proposed a new social contract between government and the people. What he proposed was truly radical for the United States and he convinced the majority of the public to embrace this radicalism.

Well, it's time for those of us in the peace and justice community to do a little convincing of our own. It's long past time to create another revolution to end this country as we know it. It's time for a new social contract for the new century. And it's our job to convince the rest of the country that our ideas are better than the "free market" or the militarily supported battle of "good vs. evil."

In April, the Board of Directors of the Peace & Justice Center met for their annual retreat. We discussed the usual stuff – the running of the Center, the workings of the Board, etc. But we also discussed a new social contract. We are dedicating this next year (and more) to helping our community create and advance a new social contract.

Just what do we want? Peace and justice, of course, but we need to define them and propose ways to achieve them. What about health care? What about immigrants' rights? What about election reform?

There are groups in our community working on these issues. We need to consult with them. There are many sources of inspiration. Eleanor Roosevelt's Declaration of Human Rights is an excellent place to start. The Green Party's platform is pretty impressive too. There are lots of ideas out there.

And we want to turn to you, our members and readers, for your ideas as well. Send them in. Work on a committee. Help us get this going.

Then comes the hard part! Getting the word out. The media, Republicans, and many Democrats have spread the myth that we have no ideas. They say we're just a bunch of people who are against everything. But you and I know that we've always had ideas and answers – ideas and answers "they" don't want the rest of the country to hear.

So cultivate your writing and speaking skills. Pick the talking points that work best for you. Don't be tongue-tied when someone asks, "So what would you do?" It's time to make concepts like "universal health care" and demilitarization more acceptable than "family values" or "you're either with us or against us."

A new social contract – the future of this country and the world depends upon it.

Creating Co-Intelligence

by Jack Wikse

For a new social contract, we need new ways of learning, in new settings, with more creativity and clarity of purpose. We need renaissance organizations, capable of sharing dreams and organizing side by side, listening deeply to one another, not carving out territories and issues and political identities that separate us from one another, but finding common understandings and priorities. We need to focus our energies to see what's most important for everybody. We need co-intelligence – the ability to generate creative responses and initiatives that integrate our diverse gifts into collaborative thinking and action.

Democracy is a theory of knowledge, and a philosophy of education as well as a set of values. A democratic pedagogy is sometimes called “co-inquiry,” where dialogue (not lecture) about common problems, texts, images or ideas is practiced. Problem-posing education, as developed by Paulo Friere in Brazil, opens people to the words that name their oppression. In an open society, such learning would flourish.

Co-inquiry teaches open mindedness and critical thinking, recognizing that no one monopolizes the “right answer.” Too many self-righteous political “experts” are leading us increasingly into dead ends. To avoid this, we need to develop “socioception” – the ability to perceive the shared impact of our thoughts and actions on others. We are all more or less ignorant and need to learn how to learn from one another. Truly democratic learning is inclusive and participatory. It affirms the many (demos) ways of knowing. The more we are open to inquire together about what we don’t know, the more insight is possible. “Know it all” authoritarian assumptions about learning create inflexible “positions” from which we debate one another. Our word “debate” is from the Latin *desbattere*, “of battle.” Closed mindedness and the war of words can be found both on the left and the right. The way we hold our views and affect others is as important as the content of what we value.

For example, David Horowitz, a founder of the anti-war *Ramparts* magazine during the '60's, has renounced his leftist past and these days makes *ad hominem* attacks against “liberal” university teachers in *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America* (Regnery, 2006). Did you know that Angela Davis was RAISED in Bettina Aptheker’s home? No! This is the privatization of McCarthyism. Horowitz changed the content of his values, but not the closed mindedness of his thinking. He’s still advocating a class war, only now he’s changed sides. His “Student Bill of Rights” (to protect students from “dangerous” faculty) demands that teachers teach “both sides of a subject” – as if there are ever only just two! Resist un-democratic assumptions!

Creating co-intelligence is an antidote to our tendencies to make war with words. As an extension of our values of non-violence, the board of the Peace and Justice Center is committed to strengthening the center as a “free space” within which our friends and participating organizations can come together to increase our co-intelligence. The “Co-Intelligence Institute” website (co-intelligence.org) has lots of good ideas. What do you think? We’re riding a vast wave of transformation. We need to keep our wits about us – and two heads are better than one.

Community section

Let Us Not Repeat the Horror of Hiroshima & Nagasaki

The 61st anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima & Nagasaki will be remembered with two events.

A movie night at the Rialto will present “Original Child Bomb”, a documentary film showing the human cost of nuclear weapons. This will be Wed. July 26th @ 7:00pm.

A commemoration of the bombings will be on Sunday August 6th in Court House Square in Santa Rosa from 4 - 6. Claire Greensfelder, former head of Plutonium Free Future will speak, and Sonoma County Taiko Drummers will perform, along with other speakers & performers.

We need to gather together to acknowledge the tragedy of these bombings and confront the threat that nuclear weapons still pose today.

The Progressive Festival Needs Community Support

The 9th Annual Progressive Festival is happening September 24 this year. One of our main revenue sources for the \$10,000 needed to put on the Festival is two yearly garage sales. As always, cash donations are also much appreciated. If you can help out, please send checks to The Petaluma Progressives, PO Box 445, Petaluma, CA 94953.

Our meetings are the 3rd Wednesday of each month, 7 p.m. in the basement of Copperfield's Books in Petaluma, and all are welcome to help plan this year's Festival. Thanks!

For speakers at this year's Festival, so far we have commitment from Michael Rupert, Francisco Herrera (activist/musician, KPFA Flashpoints cohost), Carolina Banuelos, Evelina Molina (of KPFA), and Kevin Danaher of Global Exchange. For more information, call 707-795-1044.

Book Review (Unveiling the Covert) – *The Sorrows of Empire* by Jack Wikse

If you haven't read Chalmers Johnson, I recommend *The Sorrows of Empire* (Henry Holt and Co, 2004), for its careful scholarship and his open mind. In the '60's, while a UC Berkeley political scientist (a protegee of Robert Scalapino, who developed the notorious "domino theory") Johnson joined the CIA as an intelligence analyst. He came to learn about US covert activities in the basement library of Allan Dulles's home, then a "secret" training base in Virginia. He was deeply disillusioned, and overwhelmed by the banality of "intelligence estimates." He writes: "Agencies classify things in order to protect themselves from congressional scrutiny or from political or bureaucratic rivals elsewhere within the government. True secrets need not be classified. They are simply closely held by prudent leaders" (p.10).

If you don't already, it makes you wonder about September 11th. Johnson introduced into our vocabulary the CIA term "blowback" (*Blowback*, Henry Holt, 2000), meaning that covert operations in other countries would result in retaliations against the US. *The Sorrows of Empire* develops his criticism of US militarism. "After 2002," Johnson writes, "the US no longer had a foreign policy. Instead, it had a military empire... an empire of bases." There are more than the 725 officially acknowledged US military bases around the world – 75 in Iraq alone according to a recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor*. Johnson gives us a guided tour of this empire, plus insightful reflection on its sorrowful implications.

Film Review – *Around the Bend* by Susan Lamont

It can be difficult to see the hope in mourning. The pain can feel too great. But mourning can take us where we need to go to heal.

In the movie, *Around the Bend*, Henry Lair teaches his family to mourn and to mend itself through ritual that is created personally, rather than through the influence of society.

Henry's family has been torn asunder by violent tragedy. An anthropologist, he has observed the healing power of ritual. He seeks this for his own family. In and of itself, the creation of meaningful ritual requires both an inner contemplation of one's self and an outward, empathetic understanding of each family member that is the most powerful manifestation of true love.

Henry knows that he is dying. In one scene, we see a young boy emerging from a traditional church funeral. We are left worrying about his emotional wellbeing. But we leave *Around the Bend* with no such worries about Henry's great-grandson because Henry creates a ritual for his survivors that will take them on a journey of mourning from which they will emerge healed.

In a time of war, we need to rethink our rituals. Have they locked us into a destructive pattern? Is it possible that this movie could inspire the peace and justice community to create new models for working through our national grief – models that will help us understand how we are led to war – models that will help us to say no in the future?

This is the first in a series of reviews of movies that relate to peace and justice issues. Some of the movies will have very obvious messages for us. Others, like this one, will have more subtle meaning for our movement.

articles

Another World Is Possible

by Danielle Burlison-Craft

We live in a society that over consumes resources, that oftentimes rushes blindly through each day in our overpriced, fuel burning vehicles only to come home to piles of bills, sick kids and mind-numbing, right wing controlled media. Our modern culture in mainstream America has been built through lies our teachers fed us in elementary school and the media continues to stress the importance of individual freedom over the welfare of our society as a whole. This, as many people will surely agree, tends to leave those of us in the progressive movements feeling cynical, hopeless and extremely overwhelmed. I for one sometimes feel on the brink of complete activist burn out. However, just when I am looking over the edge, into an abyss of total apathy and defeat, something pops into my experience to give me that replenishment of energy needed to keep on keeping on.

One such promising and amazing movement to look at is the World Social Forum. The World Social Forum is an open meeting place where social movements, networks, NGOs and other civil society organizations opposed to neo-liberalism and a world dominated by capital or by any form of imperialism come together to pursue their thinking, to debate ideas democratically, for formulate proposals, share their experiences freely and network for effective action. The World Social Forum is also characterized by plurality and diversity, is non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party. It proposes to facilitate decentralized coordination and networking among organizations engaged in concrete action towards building another world, at any level from the local to the international, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society (from www.forumsocialmundail.org). Amazing!

My biggest problem with the progressive movement is that it seems to be somewhat fragmented, with certain groups wanting to remain autonomous and with some groups portraying superiority in theory or practice to others. I strongly believe that when all

progressive movements can come together and share ideas and offer one another *support*, then another world can be possible! What a better example than the World Social Forum? A place where millions of people from across the globe can come together to share information and work on solutions to the global crisis we are facing at this very moment.

I for one am determined to participate in the next forum, which will take place in January 2007 in Nairobi, Kenya. I am aware of the effects of globalization and see examples of its detrimental effects in the world every single day. Now, I want to see what more can be done to make the world I want us to all raise children in. I want to believe I can become the change I wish to see in the world. I want to see for myself that another world is possible indeed.

Dani Burlison-Craft is a full time single mother, graduate student at New College of CA and a board member at the Sonoma County Peace and Justice Center. Her fundraiser concert and art auction to get herself and her children to WSF 2007 will be held on June 24th 4pm-8pm at the New College campus in Santa Rosa. Tax deductible donations can be made to the P&J Center c/o Dani. Contact her at danisavestheworld@yahoo.com or read her on-going writing about the WSF at www.danisavestheworld.blogspot.com.

Stop The War

by Andy Froess

Bullets fly.
People fall.
A retired commanding
officer sits alone at home not expecting the call.
For years now people have cried.
So many tears drop.
One at a time.
Over in Iraq so many have died.
For four years we have been at war!!!
I really can't see what the hell this is all for!
I'm scared.
I cry.
I'm afraid for my brother.
That his name could get pulled.
He might get a helmet or maybe a gun to hold.
Sent in to find a family or just maybe an innocent child to kill.
How could someone carry or give out an order like that?!
Don't you respect life!?
If not... their mind must be ill.
This war has got to end!
So no one else can die.
So no one else can cry.
No one is ever ready to lose a friend, love, or just a family member.
No one is ever ready to say goodbye.
And I know that you're not ready either.

Petaluma Living Wage Campaign Underway

by Ben Boyce LWC Coordinator

The Living Wage Coalition (LWC) is a project of NEWS (New Economy Working Solutions), a public policy research and advocacy organization dedicated to promoting greater equity and fairness in the regional economy through policy research, public education, leadership training, and community organizing. The LWC believes that implementation of living wage ordinances is one tool for improving the wages and benefits of a limited number of low-income workers. We have passed ordinances in Sebastopol (2003) and Sonoma (2004) which mandate that the City, City contractors, and firms receiving substantial economic assistance from the City pay their workers at least \$11.70 an hour with benefits.

The initial round of the Petaluma Living Wage Coalition campaign began in 2000 with the formation of a core group which explored the economic and political feasibility of passing a Living Wage ordinance. That core group, which is still largely intact, focused on outreach and public education efforts and played a key role in the negotiation of a public subsidy agreement in 2001 for the proposed new Petaluma Sheraton hotel. The LWC sponsored a survey of Petaluma residents conducted by Citizens for a Better Sonoma County in 2004 which demonstrated broad support for a Living Wage ordinance.

The Petaluma LWC began meeting monthly by mid-year of 2004, and is now moving forward to passage of a city-wide Living Wage Ordinance. The first step in this process was the council's approval of the fiscal impact study in December, 2004, which has been prepared by the UC Center for Labor Research and Education. We plan to introduce the ordinance in late summer of 2006, and in coordination with our community and faith allies, we intend to make the Living Wage ordinance a key campaign issue. We believe that we have a majority on the city council for the ordinance.

The Petaluma Living Wage campaign is an important foundation for the ultimate objective, which is to pass a county-wide Living Wage ordinance, as part of a Bay Area campaign to establish a regional wage norm. The ordinance will cover up to 2,500 jobs in the Petaluma redevelopment district, and could help shape the economic development of the City of Petaluma towards a high road, equitable growth path. Implementation of living wage legislation in Petaluma, the county's second largest city, will unquestionably impact other City Councils as well as the Board of Supervisors.

The Living Wage Coalition campaign has been endorsed by the North Bay Labor Council, Sonoma County Housing Advocacy Group, the Sierra Club, Sonoma County Conservation Action, Sonoma County Democratic Party Central Committee, Sonoma County Peace and Justice Center, Sonoma-Lake-Mendocino Building Trades Council, Petaluma Progressives, and Petaluma Tomorrow. We will be endorsed by a broad-based interfaith social justice alliance, Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (Sonoma CLUE), which represents six major religious denominations, Pax Christi of Sonoma, and three Catholic lay social justice ministries in the county.

The LWC plans on conducting an extended petition gathering campaign, aiming for 5,000 signatures, to build community support for the ordinance. We are waging a major media campaign to form public opinion on the Living Wage movement. The media campaign will include op-ed pieces, letters to the editor, radio and TV guest spots. We will make presentations to faith communities and citizen advocacy groups to develop a base of community support for the Living Wage campaign. The LWC is planning a series of public

events (see inset) to introduce Living Wage and Accountable Development principles to the policy-makers and politically engaged citizens of Petaluma. With our committed efforts and the support of our allies, we will prevail in Petaluma, and lay the groundwork for establishing a county-wide living-wage norm and making Petaluma a place where our children can work and live.

We need your help to build the movement for social and economic justice in Sonoma County. Please attend our monthly meeting of the Petaluma LWC on the first Wednesday of each month at 7:00 PM at the Bank of the West community room at 20 Petaluma Blvd., across from the new movie theater downtown. We will need volunteer signature gatherers, lawn sign locations, and help with conducting house meetings in your precinct. Please contact Ben Boyce at (707) 545-7349 x220 or ben.boyce@sbcglobal.net for a speaker to address your group on how to get engaged with the Living Wage movement and raise the standards for our community. For upcoming events, see PJC web calendar May 31, and June 14 and 28.

Today We March, Tomorrow We Vote!

by Roberto Garcia

In a matter of a few months, millions of immigrants across this country have come together peacefully in marches, vigils, rallies, and other actions urging Congress to sign Comprehensive Immigration Reform and in that process have given life to a new movement.

The community has not only received HR 4437 as an insult but as a threat to those of our brothers and sisters that continue to carry out the hardest work and continue to aide in the construction of America on a daily basis. Many find it odd how such type of proposed legislation could even be conceived given the fact that historically the labor and contributions of the immigrant community, in a great part, have lent to the success of this nation.

Recently, in a press conference, President Bush said the following: "I know there is a compassionate, humane way to deal with this issue. I want to remind people that family values do not end at the Rio Grande." In that, the immigrant community does hope that that humanitarian time is now indeed for the President to sign immigration reform that will be just for working people and their families. After all, the immigrant community not only comes to this country to work, but also to share the values of other Americans and in that be recognized for their contributions and not be criminalized for them.

Furthermore, the "We are America Alliance" composed of organizations from across this country are demanding from Congressional leaders that immigration reform include the following key points: (1) a path to citizenship for hard working immigrants and their families; (2) provide an effective visa program for future immigrants that protects their rights and includes a path to citizenship; (3) keeps families together; (4) protects our civil rights and civil liberties; (5) protects all workers regardless of their immigration status; and (6) does not criminalize immigrants or their allies.

In doing so, our working people and their families will hold the protections that are necessary to acquire and maintain living wages, benefits, just working conditions, and more than anything else, respect for their contributions that you and I enjoy the most.

Locally, the United Farm Workers of America has been working in solidarity with the Coalition for Immigrant Rights of Sonoma County in requesting a recognition and solution to the immigration issue that continues to plague those of our brothers and sisters who continue

to be taken advantage of via their cheap labor and who are constantly being denied of the opportunity to fully incorporate themselves into this society.

In shedding light on this issue, a great part of this movement seeks to continue to pressure legislators to stop proposing laws that seek to penalize or impede on the advancement and justice for the immigrant community. Voter registration drives and the production of new citizens will be mobilized in order to fully exercise the motto, "Today we march, tomorrow we will vote."

Roberto Garcia is Contract Administrator for the United Farm Workers in Sonoma County. For more information about UFW issues and actions, see: www.ufw.org.

The Fall of Internet Neutrality?

by Michele Bottaro

Amid the mounting heap of vital issues and threatened social programs competing for our attention, a certain valuable freedom may soon slip beyond our grasp.

I had not heard the term "Network Neutrality" before I was sent a persuasive warning from an on-line watchdog organization. The message contained an urgent plea to sign a petition and to telephone members of Congress to let them know the valuable role of Network Neutrality. I wondered how many avid Internet users were also getting the message so late in the game; would there be time to stop this encroaching threat to our ability to move freely, warts and all, on the internet?

"Network Neutrality" refers to freedom and equality on the Internet. When the Internet was first initiated, the concept of Network Neutrality was considered an imperative. Nondiscriminatory access was protected from the outset; commercial privatization was rejected. In its open state, the Web freely allowed creativity and experimentation, permitting it to become the mind-boggling tool it is today.

AT&T, along with other large telephone and cable companies such as Verizon and Comcast, have been lobbying heavily to persuade Congress to create Internet laws in favor of private, commercial interests. They believe that the Internet *cannot be free*.

Within a week after I received the warning message, the House Energy and Commerce Committee had voted on an amendment offered by Representative Ed Markey, and also another measure called the COPE Act (Communications Opportunity, Promotion and Enhancement Act of 2006).

What does the Cope Act actually "cope" with? From what I can gather, it copes with the highly paid, incessant lobbyists seeking to win their way deeper into Internet users' pockets. The Cope Act appeases AT&T, Verizon, Comcast, and Time Warner, the large corporations that hope to become the new Internet Gatekeepers. It contains few provisions to protect Network Neutrality, meaning that those controlling the gates could legally reject access to less-than-ideal sites or those disagreeable to the company's commercial interests. To put this in perspective, would we want McDonald's to take charge of the Department of Health and Welfare? There are substantial conflicts of interest, to put it mildly.

Markey's amendment included provisions protecting Network Neutrality and was backed by 472 coalition groups made up of not-for-profit organizations, small businesses, individual educators, ISP's, blogs, gamers and independent web sites. But in spite of public

outrage, Markey's amendment couldn't withstand the heavy corporate lobbying and was defeated in committee in mid May.

The COPE Act was passed soon after. The Senate will address it sometime in July.

To see how our Representatives on the House Energy and Commerce Committee voted, and also to learn more about this issue, see the following website:
<http://savetheinternet.com/=faq#who>

[back cover](#)

Dear *Peace Press* Editors,

I appreciate your continued and essential work promoting peace and justice in a country that tramples both, that lurches blindly toward fascism while most of its citizens are drugged on television, anti-depressants and shopping.

Through your careful selection of articles, the *Peace Press* always makes the inescapable and important connections between the horror of US policy and the police state emerging in what its perpetrators call – without a hint of irony – “The Homeland.” Your headline for Harold Pinter’s Nobel Prize acceptance speech in the February-March issue demonstrates this perfectly: “State Terrorism and Moral Sensibility.”

Though most Americans – at this point even those who admit to being Republicans – must feel that something is fundamentally, terribly wrong with this country, too few see the links connecting the occupation of Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine; the corporate-military takeover of the country; the highest incarceration rate in the world; unspeakable poverty surrounded by obscene wealth; the utter capitulation of mainstream “news”; and the suppression of the Bill of Rights.

For doing that so well and so eloquently issue after issue – thank you.

Brian Boldt

[insert](#)

Leo Strauss & the Neo-Cons

by Rebel Fagin

The current administration is half made up of the religious right (Bush, Rice, Rumsfeld, Gonzales) and half Neo-cons (Chaney, Wolfowitz, Perle). Both believe in unwavering support for Israel. The Neo-Cons are followers of the philosopher Leo Strauss.

Leo Strauss’ ideas were a reaction to Existentialism and Anarchy. He favored a return to classicism, and the patriarchal rule of the enlightened few. Forced to flee Germany because of his Jewish roots, Strauss’ only comment about Hitler was that he had a limited vision of fascism.

According to Strauss, 80% of the population is chattel, good for work and following orders. They are to be distracted by fashionable consumption, sports and television. 15% are the “gentlemen”. They are the managerial class and run society, but they don’t design it. Society is deigned by the “philosophers”, the 5% who can handle the truth. The truth being

that there is no God, the universe cares nothing for men and that human history is nothing more than an insignificant speck on the cosmos. There is no morality, no good or evil, and of course any notion of an afterlife is an old wives tale. They see this philosophy as an antidote to the nihilism of anarchy. The Neo-con rulers of America think they are superior to the rest of us and therefore above all law. As our superiors, it is their job to use the Nobel Lie to protect the masses that can't handle the truth. Religion is good for suppressing the masses and should be part of the state's control apparatuses.

As well as insane, these ideas have nothing more to do with democracy than does empire building. I'm not too worried though, I'm pretty sure their arrogance is going to undo them.

Let's look at Bush's signing statements as an example. Since at least Nixon, presidents have been attaching signing statements to acts passed by Congress. When Congress passes a bill it goes to the President for his signature to become law. If he vetoes it instead, Congress can override his veto with 2/3 vote of both houses. Nixon faced bills he didn't like, that he knew Congress could pass despite his veto. He showed his displeasure of them by signing the bills and then attaching statements about how those bills were not in alignment with his administration's policies. This is a statement of opinion, but does not change the laws that Congress passes.

Bush uses signing statements to change law. He uses them like a line item veto, something expressly forbidden under the Constitution. He has attached signing statements to 10% of all the bills that he has signed into law since becoming president. This hasn't gone unnoticed. In his first term he issued 252 signing statements raising 505 constitutional challenges. He uses these statements to nullify laws he doesn't like, reducing Congress to an advisory role, similar to his wife or barber. He has used these statements to ignore laws on torture, espionage, and extra legal prosecutions. In his signing statements he states that he will construct the law "in a manner consistent with the President's constitutional authority to withhold information the disclosure of which could impair foreign relations, national security, the deliberative process of the Executive, or the performance of the Executive's duties."

In other words his signing statements equate a regal decree. He alone can decide which laws he will obey. These signing statements will take on another name soon and that name will be evidence at his impeachment hearings.

And for the Neo-cons that's okay. Bush is managerial; he is part of the 15%. He can be replaced. You know he's the patsy because he is not a signatory to either Vision 2020, or the Project for the New American Century.

Strauss' philosophies calling for a secret cabal to run our government are the opposite of an open society based on democratic principles. This has happened, in part, due to the inactivity of the American people. You can't put democracy on auto drive and expect it to work. Freedom is a constant struggle. Turn on to politics or politics will turn on you.

Sources: *The Strategist and the Philosopher*, by Alain Frachon and Daniel Vernet, La Monde, April 15, 2003; *The Secret Kingdom of Leo Strauss*, by Tony Papert, *Executive Intelligence Review*, April 18, 2003; *Bush's Signing Statements: Suppressing the Power of Congress?*, Institute for Public Accuracy, March 27, 2006; *The Problem with the Presidential Signing Statements*, by John Dean, *FindLaw Legal News and Commentary*, March 11, 2006. Videos: *Hijacking Catastrophe*, interview with Dr. Shadia Drury.