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Police Gas Protestors in Quebec City

By Kati Winchell
and Garret Whitney

Street battles rock start of summit! "Melee surrounds trade talk!" the headlines trumpeted, as roughly 50,000 people poured into Quebec City for the Summit of the Americas last month to oppose the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

Seven of us from the

Massachusetts North Bridge Alliance for Democracy and two others from a sister organization had started out

**See related stories
on pages 2, 5, 18**

for Canada in two carloads and one airplane, not knowing

how many of us would be allowed to cross the border. We had been told that Canada would try to keep out as many protesters as possible. Arriving at the airport, those of us who had

flown sailed smoothly through customs and were greeted by a large, imposing sign: "Democracy. Prosperity. Human Potential. The Summit of the Americas." But at the border those of us on the ground endured exhaustive searches of our cars.

The nine of us reconvened at a summer camp for children about a half hour's drive outside Quebec City. The Canadian government had spent \$30 million to organize the largest police and

security operation in the country's history, including 6,000 police and an infamous ten-foot-high, 2.5-mile long chain-link fence to keep protesters away from the official meetings. We heard residents of Quebec City refer to the fence as their "Berlin wall" and the "wall of shame."

On Friday morning we made our way to a big white tent by the waterfront that had been set up and paid for by the Canadian government for the "alternate" summit

SEE 'QUEBEC' ON PAGE 3

Alliance Swings into Action for Clean Elections

Clean Team Delves Into McCain-Feingold, Granny D Launches Book Tour

These are busy times for political reformers. Prominent battles in Congress and a few key state legislatures are being fought, the presidential contest in Florida has sparked a flurry of calls for electoral overhaul, and fundraising scandals are breaking out in the news on a weekly basis.

The Alliance's Clean Elections Campaign ratcheted up its programs as the spring political season took root, and stayed deep in the action.

CLEAN TEAM DOES BATTLE FOR MCCAIN-FEINGOLD

At the congressional level, the debate over McCain-Feingold has moved to the House, where the bill's centerpiece—a ban on "soft money" donations—remains intact.

During the Senate's two

SEE 'CLEAN ELECTIONS' ON PAGE 8

Sen. Paul Wellstone speaks at March 19 Alliance rally kicking off Granny D's march around the U.S. Capitol Building during McCain-Feingold debate

ALLIANCE ALERTS

Alliance Alerts is a publication of The **Alliance for Democracy**, whose mission is to end the domination of our politics, our economics, the environment, and our culture by large corporations. The Alliance seeks to establish true economic and political democracy and to create a just society with a sustainable, equitable economy.

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Ex-MP Asks If Police State Is Coming to Canada

This report is excerpted from a longer piece in the Toronto Globe & Mail that ran on April 24, written by Sinclair Stevens, Canada's minister of regional industrial expansion in the Conservative government under Brian Mulroney and a Member of Parliament from 1972 to 1988. "A police state in the making--Our government forgot to practise what it preached," says Sinclair Stevens, "when it trampled democracy in Quebec City."

I never thought I'd be writing this article, surely not in Canada. There aren't many people in this country who view free trade as positively as I do. As industry minister in the Mulroney government, I participated in the 1985 Shamrock Summit that set the stage for our trade agreement with the United States. . . .

There also aren't many people who view the maintenance of law and order as a higher priority than I do. But this past weekend, I was shocked by events in Quebec City. Shocked by what I saw, and stunned by what my wife, Noreen, and I personally experienced. I believe Canada is right to view free trade as a model for democratic development in every corner of our hemisphere, and I was delighted to see us host the Summit of the Americas. But our government is dead wrong to behave in a manner that suggests we have forgotten what democracy is all about.

Noreen and I arrived in Quebec City last Friday at about 5 p.m. We had heard about the so-called security fence and wanted to see it firsthand, to walk along beside it. My first view of the fence was in front of the Château Frontenac. . . . The hotel was inside the fence, I was outside.

As we walked around the perimeter, a 40-year-old chap passed us, and asked: "Where is your gas mask?" I asked what he meant. He said: "There is gas farther on—watch out." We continued until we saw our first contingent of riot-

saw a much larger group of riot police standing shoulder-to-shoulder, several rows deep. The road was well away from the security fence. In fact, the fence was nowhere in sight.

I spoke with many of the people in the street, asked them why they had gathered, why they opposed the free trade proposals. It was a lively but friendly exchange.

We were interrupted as the police down the road began an eerie drumming, rattling their riot sticks against their shields. Slowly, in unison, one six-

inch step at a time, they began marching toward us. Noreen and I moved to the side of the street, as the protesters re-

geared police lined up three deep behind a closed gate. They were an intimidating sight—in battle dress, with helmets, masks, shields and assorted elaborate weapons. I was glad, this time, that they were inside the fence and we were outside.

Farther on, just before we got to Dufferin Street, there were perhaps 50 people—protesters, it turned out—who were standing or sitting on a small side road. At the end of the road, we

remained stationary. Some formed V signs with their fingers. To my horror, the police then fired tear gas canisters directly at those sitting or standing on the road.

As clouds of gas began to spread, Noreen and I felt our eyes sting and our throats bake. We pulled whatever clothing we could across our mouths. One young woman, who had

'QUEBEC' FROM PAGE 1

for peaceful protestors at the bottom of an extraordinarily long and steep hill. Up at the top of the hill was Old Quebec City, the official Summit of the Americas, and the heavily defended fence. These divergent locations created a built-in division among protestors over where to gather, at the government-designated area at the bottom of the hill or up on the hilltop, where the fence made it clear who was welcome and who was excluded. We headed for the top.

Hiking up, we passed large media vans from CBC Radio Canada and Global TV, and a few small, boarded-up stores along the quiet, narrow streets of Vieux-Quebec. At l'Hotel de Ville, City Hall, we saw a crowd of about 100 people listening to Jose Bove, the French farmer who drove his tractor through a McDonald's restaurant in France last year to protest the effects of globalization on family farms. Later, on our return flight, we had the good fortune to sit and talk with Bove about the weekend's events and plans for the future.

At 12:30 p.m.—in the midst of the calm all around us—we got our first whiff of tear gas while standing in front of a pharmacy on Rue de St. Jean. A group of about five steelworkers told us that protestors had just torn down the fence over that way and we sprinted toward the action. About 75 feet of the wire fence was down at the intersection of Burton and Scott. Police in green riot gear lined the unfenced perimeter shoulder-to-shoulder, and the air was filled with tear gas. The word among the protestors was that President Bush had been detained for an hour in his car by the melee and had had to be taken away by helicopter.

As the day advanced the streets swarmed with thousands of people of all ages, but most were young people, with gas masks, in comical hats, with painted faces, dressed in costume, dressed in plain clothes, playing on drums, dancing, blowing on trumpets, and carrying signs—"Public education is not for sale," "Resistance," "Revolution," "I am a trade barrier." There was deep camaraderie among us, no matter age or dress; the mood was at once festive and solemn. We were all joined in the same purpose,

to stop the FTAA.

But how to proceed? With such polite means as teach-ins, rallies, marches? Through civil disobedience, sit-ins and blockades? By damaging property? These were contentious issues among us. All week long leaders from organizing groups had worked to hammer out a unified approach, not yet worked out after months of planning, that would satisfy all parties. At the eleventh hour they came up with the "green, yellow, and red" solution—the three approaches would operate simultaneously and independently of each other. Yellow was to be nonviolent civil disobedience with some risk of arrest, and red was described as "anything goes." It was decided that Friday's activities would be red and yellow direct actions, while on Saturday there would be all three, but with stress on green varieties, which entailed no risk of arrest.

In actuality, the differences between red and yellow blurred—the closer to the wall, the redder the action got. Most of the "violence" was relatively benign—trying to pull down the wall, throwing tear gas canisters back at the gas-mask-protected police—but some of it, such as throwing paving stones or Molotov cocktails at police, was not. A very few windows were broken, many fewer than in Seattle, and most of the graffiti appeared on the plywood used to board up shop windows.

By early afternoon on Friday, le Parc d'Amerique, near the torn-down section of the fence, was gorged with thousands of people. Almost continuously the police volleyed tear gas at the crowds. A cat-and-mouse game developed between the police, who wore gas masks under their helmets, and protestors who had gas masks: the police launched the canisters into the crowds—the protected protestors threw them back at the protected police, the crowds cheering the return of

each canister.

As the day wore down the police changed their tactics and their choice of gas. Roaming the streets in shoulder-to-

shoulder formation, they now shot narrower canisters of a stronger pepper gas at peaceful groups of people along several roads below the perimeter. Why were they doing this? If their goal was to keep the meeting area secure, why attack with pepper gas those in the streets many blocks away from the perimeter? A sign on a wall asked the appropriate question: "Since when is protesting a crime?"

The pepper spray was much more punishing than the tear gas—it burned your face, blinded your eyes, scorched your throat. As people ran away from it others shouted, "Slow down!" to avert stampedes, and still others appeared with plastic bottles, ready to pour a mixture of water and lemon juice onto burning faces to lessen the pain.

There was no letting up after dark. The helicopters acted as ushers, hovering over areas where the conflict was most intense. Their roar continued into the night. The evening became surreal. Seated on pillows in a gorgeous Tunisian restaurant having dinner, we gazed out the window at the splendor of Quebec City at night glowing far below us, while

refugees from the latest blasts of pepper spray stumbled past the window, shielding their faces with bandannas and bits of cloth, coughing and gagging. After dinner, we made it on foot halfway back to our rooms, just two blocks away, until we couldn't see, couldn't breathe, and simply could go no further. Retreating to the restaurant, which had closed, we banged on the windows and they opened up to let us call a taxi to get to our bed and breakfast.

Saturday morning began with more helicopters, more pepper spray, and two new pieces of police equipment: huge white, square tanker trucks marked "POLICE" with proboscis-like nozzles for shooting water at people by the fence. Through that fence we gave an impromptu interview to reporter Daniel Altman from *The Economist*, spared gun-dousing for the duration of it.

Were we in favor of tariffs? the reporter asked from inside the perimeter. We're more concerned, we said, about the FTAA targeting non-tariff trade barriers, that is, laws that protect the environment, workers, and consumers which multinational corporations detest as obstacles to maximizing their profits. We added that we opposed the proposed FTAA rule whereby a corporation can sue nation-states for damages because of national laws the corporations contend impede their potential future profits. The accused nation-states must then either weaken or repeal the offending laws or pay severe penalties to the complaining corporations.

And, we added to Altman, we objected to the treaty's "national treatment" rules, which would require countries to treat foreign companies the same as they treat their own, rules which open domestic companies, most fatally in the Third World, to killing competition from much larger, more powerful foreign multinationals.

As this strange interview-through-the-fence continued, we also challenged the supposedly democratic nature of the FTAA, according to Summit leaders' rhetoric. How so? Altman asked. After all, the leaders at the table had all been democratically elected—they represent the people, don't they? We responded

that we wondered how he could say such a thing, given our own hijacked election in the United States this past November, and considering how Massachusetts state legislators have relentlessly tried to subvert the Clean Elections Law voters passed by a 2-to-1 margin in 1998.

This seems to have been the last time a reporter was allowed to interview people close to the fence. The police herded the media people back about 20 feet, effectively preventing them from speaking through the wire. Some of the reporters pointed their microphones at us and beseeched us to yell so they could record the "voice of the people." We yelled back, "Why aren't you here with us, on this side of the fence? You could always walk around! What kind of democratic discourse is this?"

Away from the perimeter there was a carnival atmosphere in the streets. The throngs began to assemble down by the University of Quebec for the separate red, yellow, and green marches. Looking down from the staircase above Rue de Couronne, we saw awesome masses of people filling up the intersecting roads. Most of the marchers headed for the white tents of the People's Summit, where Labor was convening. A few headed up towards the summit and the perimeter.

In due course the marches ended, but not the pepper gassing near the perimeter. A group of young men clad in black headed for the hill in parade-like fashion, pushing a small plastic dumpster. We wondered what was in the dumpster, and whether they were the Black Bloc or simply kids trying to look like them. We thought they might even have been plain-clothes police since newspapers had been reporting cases of infiltration. A little while later we observed a disturbance in the distance. We were told that people had thrown rocks at the CIBC Bank at the corner of Levesques Est and Turnbull streets and had broken several windows. We'd heard some booing from the crowd; perhaps it had been in response to this.

At 7:30 that evening about 150 police completely filled the narrow street of St. Genevieve to face off with student-aged kids who were engaged in a sit-down. A

little later the forces of the law gassed their way onto St. Jean, where a face-off continued for hours.

Half an hour before midnight an agitated young man pulled up from a run, breathless. We asked what had happened. "The police were pointing a laser at me!" he exclaimed. "They hit my friend with it yesterday and it made a huge swelling bruise on his arm." He pulled from his pocket the laser-sighted plastic bullet—solid white plastic, about three inches long and more than an inch around—that had hit his friend. (One man, hit in the throat by one of these, remains in critical condition as we write.)

We asked a resident passing by what he thought about all these protesters taking over his city. He didn't mind the protesters, he minded the police—"It's the police that are pointing things at us, not the protesters," he said. He thought he was against the FTAA, he said, but he wished he knew more about it, which was hard, he observed, since the text has not yet been released (although, we might add, 500 corporations had had access to it).

By the end of the official meetings on Sunday morning the helicopters had stopped whirring around. Residents began sweeping up the debris around their dwellings—the smell of gas still in the air—while police and protesters still skirmished at the perimeter. A car nearby had been torched. A note taped to it read, "The police torched my car. The police destroyed my car. Will the police pay for my car?"

Talking among each other, we tried to understand how the residents of the city must be feeling. We thought they must understand clearly that it was not their city that had been under siege, but their democracy, and that the protesters had come to help them protect it. How could the Summit leaders talk about breaking down trade barriers with straight faces while hiding themselves from the people behind a ten-foot fence two-and-a-half miles long?

Heading home, we nine among the 50,000 who ventured to Quebec City read in the papers that the political leaders had proclaimed the Summit a success, and that they had been unaware of the

protest activities the last night as they had dinner and watched Cirque du Soleil. But some of us were told by two Spanish TV reporters who'd worked on the inside that delegates in dinner jackets had pressed against the windows watching the events in the street. Tear gas had gotten into the ventilation system and forced a pause in the schedule. Then, during our Montreal stopover, some of us overheard a top South American oil minister saying on his cell phone, about events at the Summit, "It was a disaster. No one can agree. Nothing went well. The President needs our help. Some very strange things are happening. I can't talk to you now; I'll explain later."

Just as these stories didn't add up, neither does the official line about the FTAA.

Kati Winchell of Lincoln, Mass., is the chapter development director of the Alliance. Garret Whitney of Concord, co-vice-chair of the Alliance, is a therapist and Rolfer. A version of this report is also being published in the Progressive Populist.

Stop GATS and FTAA— On to Qatar

By Ruth Caplan

Like Seattle, Quebec City was a defining moment in the growth of the movement against corporate globalization. Now we intend to use the momentum to advance a three-pronged campaign.

First we must stop the expansion of GATS, the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services. The Alliance is an active participant in the international movement that is now in high gear to do this. In the U.S., labor unions and public-health advocates are becoming actively involved. We aim next to engage educators and municipal officials.

A "Stop the GATS Attack" letter, which the Alliance has signed along with 429 other organizations in 53 countries, is a principal organizing tool. It calls for a moratorium on GATS negotiations to allow governments to, among other things, conduct "a full and complete assessment of the impacts [of GATS] on

domestic social, environmental and economic laws, policies and programs with citizens' groups in all member countries" and guarantee "the right of governments to require ironclad safeguards for public services (e.g., health care, education, social security, culture, environment, transportation, housing, energy, and water) that may be threatened by global trade and investment rules."

Alliance chapters can approach other organizations concerning their signing this excellent letter. Beyond the peace and justice and environmental organizations, it is important to reach churches, local teacher and public hospital unions, PTAs, and other civic organizations. The letter is available on the Alliance website (www.thealliancefordemocracy.org) under the Corporate Globalization/Positive Alternatives Campaign.

A long-awaited booklet on GATS, expanded to cover services in the FTAA, will soon be ready. As with the earlier anti-MAI booklets, the printing is being

financed by bulk pre-orders. To order 100 or more, please contact me. The pre-order price will work out to be less than 40 cents per booklet.

Second, we must keep the heat on the FTAA. The Hemispheric Social Alliance, which organized the People's Summit in Quebec and led the mass march of

50,000 to 60,000 protesters there, now has high visibility. At Quebec the HSA released its vision for fair trade, "Alternatives for the Americas," the result of joint efforts among NGOs and unions throughout the Western hemisphere.

Our demands for the release of the FTAA text appear to have been heard. We are told by the present administration that the release of the text can be expected in the next few weeks. Meanwhile, the investment chapter was leaked just in time for the Quebec City protests. It is no surprise that the investment chapter includes the onerous investor-to-state provision from NAFTA Chapter 11, which has greatly intensified the power of the transnational corporations. The infamous Methanex case now before a NAFTA dispute panel is being pursued under this provision, which gives foreign corporations the right to sue the U.S. government (that is, U.S. taxpayers) to protect their future profits. Methanex is suing the U.S. for \$970 million as compensation for anticipated losses to their stockholders because the state of California ordered the phasing out of the use of MTBE, a carcinogenic gasoline additive that was already contaminating drinking water in the state.

An organizational sign-on letter entitled "A Ten-Point Plan to Fight for the Americas: No to FTAA/No NAFTA for the Americas!" is backed so far by more than 100 organizations in 15 countries, including the national Alliance and AFD's Mendocino chapter. Groups can add their names to the letter by going to www.tradewatch.org and clicking on the FTAA/ALCA link on the globe, or by sending an e-mail with "FTAA sign-on" in the subject line to alesha@citizen.org. In the body of the e-mail, the organization and country should be listed. Highlights of the demands in the letter include:

- No New Corporate Power Tools: Any NAFTA-style Chapter 11 Investment language allowing corporate suits against governments is unacceptable.

This Is What Democracy Looks Like

What We're Up To

By Nancy Price

As members of the Alliance, our individual and collective efforts over the years in various projects, campaigns, teach-ins, marches, and acts of civil disobedience have put life for us into the slogan we now hear in the streets—"This Is What Democracy Looks Like." But now President Bush has sought to appropriate not just the word but the concept of democracy by saying in Quebec City that trade leads to freedom, which equals democracy. What a travesty! Clearly, it is time for a sustained effort to further AfD's mission to reclaim democracy for the people from the giant corporations and their protectors. As co-chair of the Alliance I look forward over the next year to helping lead that effort.

Recently a slogan for a bumper sticker flicked through my mind—"Consume History." Perhaps this was the result of landing on the plus side of 60 and having been asked to introduce myself to my fellow Alliance members. I would like to do that with a few personal anecdotes that may explain my working now for what democracy should look like.

I have a fond memory, from when I was a pre-teen growing up near New York City, of sitting in front of the tall, Gothic radio listening to broadcasts from the United Nations General Assembly and hearing one of the "working languages" in the background through the simultaneous English translation. I think that must have been when I first became fascinated by other languages and cultures and inspired by the vision of world peace and prosperity.

Often my early attempts at political discussion at the family dinner table were frustrated—a familiar enough situation. In the context of the mid-'50s I was curious about other political systems, but to my parents, democratic socialism was as bad as communism. My "talking back" and questioning was no doubt nurtured by

my mother, who burned holes in shirts at her ironing board while watching the McCarthy hearings on TV, shaking her fist at the committee and cursing its tactics, while nevertheless agreeing that those Communists had to be caught. And while my father, the doctor and expert, thought government should flouridate drinking water, I argued for citizen choice.

Now, after my years of college and graduate school, travel, living at times in Europe and Asia—marriage, teaching (my lifelong academic specialty is early Chinese art history and archeology), supporting the popular movements of the '60s and '70s, raising with my husband Don a son now almost 21, trying to keep a house and garden while also immersed in local community politics—I realize that after the Nuclear Freeze movement of the early '80s I've been shaking my fist and swearing a lot, into the mid-'90s. Finally it dawned on me that the issues weren't any more or less complex than before, but that for the first time the influence of money and power from outside our community was compromising our local elected officials and that that influence was more than a small, loose-knit group of citizen activists could cope with.

Then, on a summer evening in 1996 at our cabin in New Hampshire, I carefully positioned a small portable radio on the hot-water heater in the kitchen, tilting the aerial on the pipe just so, and finally I got Maine Public Radio and heard Ronnie Dugger speaking on transforming the corporation and recovering democracy. That fall I went to the founding convention of the Alliance at the Mo Ranch in Texas—and the rest is history.

The first American Revolution was expanded only when, across the past two centuries, our fellow citizens organized to enhance rights and opportunities for more and more of the oppressed and excluded—African Americans, farmers turned into hired hands, women, working people, Hispanic Americans, gays and lesbians, and others. Now we have a real

calling to be a creative part of the new people's movement that is coalescing to work together again for what democracy should look like. The cycles of elections just ahead in 2002 and 2004 will focus an unprecedented opportunity for us to educate and organize to change the course and nature of our politics and to create a people's democracy.

Over the next year, I look forward to visiting many chapters (as I have over the years in California, where I live in Davis, near Sacramento, and in Oregon), and to working with groups of members to form many new chapters. Please call or e-mail me your concerns and suggestions (530-758-0726, ntprice@juno.com), and also let me know if you would like to organize a chapter.

Deep Democracy On Big Corporations Coming In June

The Alliance now resumes publication of our policy-oriented publication, *Deep Democracy*; our paying members will receive it in June. The next issue is concentrated on the Alliance mission of ending corporate domination of democracy and our national action group, established in national convention, to transform the gigantic corporations to completely subordinate them to democracy. What are the problems and difficulties about this commitment? How is it going to be done, and who is going to do it? When? With what foreseeable consequences?

The editorial deadline for this issue of *Deep Democracy* will be Monday, June 4th. If you are a member of the Alliance and wish to be a member of our national action campaign on transforming the corporation, please so inform the acting chair of it, Ronnie Dugger, as soon as possible: 781-894-9726, email rdugger123@aol.com.

'POLICE STATE' FROM PAGE 2

Stokes Challenges Alliance with \$10,000 Matching Grant

been among the protesters, offered us some vinegar. "What's that for?" I asked. "It takes away the sting," she said. And it did help.

The police, however, kept advancing. One large policeman with the number 5905 on his helmet pressed right against me and ordered me to get behind a railing. "I haven't done anything," I protested. "Why?" He simply replied: "Get behind the rail." Then he added, "and get down." I did so.

I shook my head. I never thought I would ever see this kind of police-state tactic in Canada. What we witnessed that night was mild compared to events the next afternoon.

This time, we walked along the fence until we reached the gate at René Lévesque Boulevard, where a great crowd had gathered that included TV cameras and reporters. I was asked for an interview by a CBC crew but, before we could begin, dozens of tear gas canisters were fired, water cannons were sprayed, and rubber bullets began to hit people nearby. Three times, I felt could not breathe, my eyes were sore, and all I could do was run. In the bedlam, my wife and I were separated for almost three hours. She said she had almost passed out from the gassing.

We lost something else, besides each other, last weekend in Quebec: our innocence. This government, and some reporters, like to brand the Quebec City demonstrators as "hooligans." That is not fair. I talked to dozens of them, mostly university students, aged about 20. They came to Quebec, not to have "a good time," as some suggest, but to express their well-thought-out views on a subject that is important to them, to all of us. I may not have agreed with their position, but I sure believe in their right to express it. The police had no cause to violently suppress it.

Some will say that a handful of demonstrators got out of hand and forced the police to take collective action. I can't agree. The police action in Quebec City, under orders from our government, was a provocation itself—an assault on all our freedoms.

—Sinclair Stevens

Harold Stokes, founder of the Detroit-Metro chapter of the Alliance and activist-in-the-round against corporate domination and for the environment, has offered Alliance members and chapters another challenge grant for this summer.

"I will match funds raised by Alliance chapters, or contributed to the Alliance, up to \$10,000 through August 31st," Stokes announced. "I will also match, up to that total, income the national Alliance receives for new memberships keyed to the grant during that period."

Chapters that wish to plan fund-raising events for purposes of doubling money raised for the Alliance, through availing themselves of the Stokes grant, should contact chapter coordinator Kati

Winchell at the AfD office, (781) 894-1179.

Members who recruit new local members or sign up new national members between now and August 31st should inform Stephanie Scadding of the AfD staff when a new membership is in response to the Stokes grant.

"We need to build a movement," he said by telephone from Redford, MI, on May 14th. "We want to bring groups together. People must feel they're helping to design the thing. We should all analyze what we have in common. Maybe it's the problems that the major corporations are giving all of us—hopefully some of us agree on this. I'm going to give this networking my major effort."

HELP THE ALLIANCE MATCH \$10,000 GRANT

Detroit AfD Co-Chair and Alliance benefactor Harold Stokes of Redford, Michigan, has generously offered the Alliance a grant of \$10,000—if we can match it with another \$10,000 from our members and chapters by August 31. We need your help to raise this money by this summer! Please contribute what you can, and help keep the Alliance going! Please return this form with your check for:

\$50___ \$100___ \$150___ \$200___ \$250___ \$500___

Other amount \$_____

Please bill my (circle one): VISA MasterCard Discover AmEx

Card # _____

Signature _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Please make checks payable to the Alliance for Democracy and mail to 681 Main St., Waltham MA 02451. Contributions are tax-deductible.

THANK YOU!

Campaign Money Crises at Hand

'CLEAN ELECTIONS' FROM PAGE 1

week deliberation, the original McCain-Feingold legislation was significantly watered down. Individual "hard money" contributions limits were doubled and other caps were increased.

The House will take up Meehan-Shays, its equivalent of McCain-Feingold, this summer, and it is certain that passage will not be easy.

The Alliance's Clean Team was in D.C. during the McCain-Feingold debate, and Doris "Granny D" Haddock circled the Capitol for two weeks. During the last four days of her "walking vigil," Granny marched non-stop, day and night, with breaks for catnaps, to further dramatize how deeply citizens long for reform.

During the debate, she met with more than 20 senators and was covered by CNN, NBC, and many of the major print outlets.

ALLIANCE ASSAILS MASSACHUSETTS HOUSE

In 1998, Massachusetts voters approved a ballot initiative—by a 2-to-1 margin—that established the Clean Elections Law, a measure that attempts to reduce the influence of private money in politics by creating a system of public financing for state-level campaigns. The law was cleared by the legislature in 1999 and since then \$22 million has been set aside for the Clean Elections Fund.

But in early May the House, under the leadership of Speaker Thomas Finneran, arch-enemy of Clean Elections, voted 96 to 59 to stop additional funding for the system and instead give voters the option of funding it through voluntary contributions on the state tax form. The move could kill the law, which would give taxpayer dollars to candidates who agreed to strict limits on campaign spending and fund-raising.

The new law, which was to have been in effect for the first time in the 2002 elections, has been widely unpopular with legislators who say it is a waste of taxpayer money. But Clean Elections advocates say the legislature's real reason for

opposing the law is that it would give a significant financial boost to challengers.

In reaction to the House's budgetary maneuvering, the Alliance sponsored a sit-in at the statehouse that shut down House deliberations. On May 3 more than 50 Boston-area activists, led in part by Alliance campaign director Jim Ace, stormed the statehouse with the intent

to rally. Massachusetts voters have to rally and make sure their voices guide the budget from here on. For the future of Clean Elections efforts, we must get this system up and running."

Pat Hammann, mid-Atlantic regional rep, displays an Alliance placard at the U.S. Capitol on March 19

to rush the House chamber, stop debate, and urge the legislature to appropriate the \$10 million necessary to ensure the new law's efficacy.

Blocked by security guards at the chamber doors, the protestors sat down at the entrances and chanted, "The people voted two-to-one—we want our Clean Election funds" and "Shame!" whereupon the House suspended debate.

"The House's action is not just a local disgrace," said Ace, "it's an insult to Massachusetts citizens and a potential setback to the national fight for public financing of campaigns."

The situation is far from being resolved. Although the House's budget does not include funding for the law, the Senate, where Clean Elections funding will now be debated, is expected to allocate the \$10 million.

"We must make sure the Senate budget allocation prevails in conference committee," Ace noted. "It's time to mo-

GRANNY D'S BOOK PUBLISHED, ALLIANCE TO LAUNCH HADDOCK ACROSS COUNTRY . . . AGAIN

Random House has published Doris Haddock's book, *Granny D: Walking Across America In My 90th Year*, which chronicles her trek across America. To help promote the book and use it as an outreach tool to build capacity for comprehensive campaign finance reform, the Alliance's is sending Granny on a multi-leg "signing and organizing" tour.

The first leg of the tour will take place in June and will take Doris across the North Central and New England states. Alliance chapters and members interested in having Doris speak in their communities are encouraged to contact Stephanie Scadding at the national office. (781-894-1179) and propose an event.

Granny D Walks the Walk in Washington, D.C.

It was a blustery, rainy gray day in Washington, D.C., on Thursday, March 29th. When I left my home in Pennsylvania that morning my wife Susan said to me, "You're not going to get arrested, are you?" She had two good reasons for asking. I have been arrested three times in the past year for speaking out in the Capitol Rotunda for campaign finance reform. And this time she was going with me. But we were simply joining Doris Haddock, better known as "Granny D," as she continued her 24-hour vigil over the Senate.

Beginning on March 19th, while the hundred senators debated the McCain-Feingold bill that would ban "soft money," Granny D walked around the Capitol grounds to emphasize her outrage over the selling of democracy by its supposed representatives. She had walked 3,200 miles to demonstrate her commitment to reform; now she was circling the Capitol, day and night. When Susan and I caught up with her she was out there in a cold rain, her signature straw hat with its feather on her head, planning to continue her walk until the Senate voted for reform.

Alliance For Democracy Co-Chair Lou Hammann and AfD Mid-Atlantic National Council Representative Patricia Hammann were with her when we arrived. Patricia, concerned about Doris's health, asked her to consider ending her vigil. "When I started this I knew it might do me in," Doris said. "But I'm 91! What have I got to lose?"

This was the day the opposition would have its last chance in the Senate to kill McCain-Feingold outright. Senators Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) and John B. Breaux (D-La.) had proposed an amendment to invalidate the whole bill if any section, phrase, or word of it was found unconstitutional. Granny D and her rag-tag entourage took a break and entered the Senate gallery to witness the proceedings. Luck was with us. We gained entry to the mezzanine just as Senators McCain, McConnell, and a few others were making the final arguments. Then

the roll was called. Lou and I tried to keep track of the votes as they dribbled in. As we watched the senators appear and disappear from the "cloak room" outside the chamber, the tally trickled in, running two to one for the deadly amendment.

Across the gallery from me sat Granny D. After all the miles, all the footsteps, all the aching joints, there down below her, in the theater of the Senate, these men and women would decide whether she had walked in vain.

At last, the decision was in: 57 senators voted to kill Frist-Breaux and 43 senators voted in favor. Mitch McConnell took the floor, obviously shaken. He saw the adoption of McCain-Feingold as the demise of political parties, since they could no longer command the huge slush funds called "soft money." Passing the bill, he said with his usual arrogance, was "a stunningly stupid thing to do." If the bill finally passed there would be a court fight at once, "and I will be the plaintiff," he told the by then nearly empty chamber.

Even if McCain-Feingold is signed into law, it will be an imperfect bill. It does not guarantee the primacy of citizens as sovereign in the electoral process. It simply eliminates the grossest forms of obvious impropriety in the funding of election campaigns. But for the first time since 1974, something, anyway, had happened.

Thanks, Granny D.

—Ben G. Price

Granny D and John Muir

On the one-year anniversary of the John Muir Democracy Brigade action at the Capitol Rotunda, Doris "Granny D" Haddock was honored by fellow brigadiers during an Earth Day celebration at a

community center in Washington, D.C. She was in the capital to promote her new book. After a rousing state-of-the-progressive-union talk by Jim Hightower, Granny D delighted more than 100 people at Politics and Prose with tales from the road and vignettes from the American heart and soul.

Ms. Haddock said her experiences on the road had caused her to "fall in love with America all over again" as she was feted in town after town with musical serenades, ranch tours, and glowing interviews. She spoke of how her 3,200-mile sojourn awoke in people a yearning to be involved in something significant, lasting, and transcendent. To those who might feel that such opportunity and adventure have passed them by, Granny D said, "it is never too late to start."

After her book-signing at the Josephine Butler Parks Center, named for the long-time community leader and advocate for D.C. statehood (whose birthday, Jan. 24th, is the same as Doris's), brigadistas George Ripley, Steve Shafarman, Lou and Pat Hammann, Olivia Parry, Larry Martin, Bill Freese, and John Friedrich, and their attorney, Mark Goldstone, joined with 50 local activists in celebrating Granny's efforts. Ripley presented her with a dozen roses and a box of chocolates, the annual gift her late husband gave her on each of their 62 anniversaries. Friedrich read a poem commending Granny D and Ripley for their work on behalf of the people. Other activists spoke about local and national efforts for democracy, sustainability, and justice. Then Positive Music Works recording artist Amiel performed a singing dedication to Granny, followed by an announcement by Parks Center founder Steve Coleman that the large tree outside the Center would soon bear a plaque honoring her. In a letter of thanks, she asked that the marker simply say: "Granny D's Tree, given to her on 4/20/01 in recognition of Josephine's birthday, of January 24th."

—John Friedrich

Democracy in Danger

By Nancy Price

The coverage of "services" in trade agreements, coupled with provisions that protect corporate profits above all other values, threatens the very foundations of our democracy.

Many of us have mastered, somewhat, the alphabet soup of names, terms, and concepts fundamental to these trade agreements we are protesting. It remains necessary, however, to master the basics of how "services" are covered in them.

It used to be that trade negotiations covered raw materials and manufactured goods, and taxes and tariffs were levied by governments to promote national economic growth and prosperity. This changed in 1994 when the United States pressed to have services included in the World Trade Organization (WTO) under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), thereby setting the precedent for including services in the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement (FTAA) that is now being negotiated to cover the 34 countries of the Americas. Virtually anything that can be given a monetary value could be bought and sold on the international market and made subject to the treaty's trade rules.

Since the service sector accounts for 70 percent of the U.S. economy and more than half of the global economy, it is not surprising that corporations would want to cover services in agreements to secure their positions when the demand for raw materials and manufactured goods fluctuates. After all, every day, all of us depend on a range of services. Now, as Vandana Shiva puts it, "Every aspect of our lives is up for sale. Every aspect of human needs and every form of human activity is being redefined as a tradable service."

Just think of the many vital and non-vital services provided by state and local governments that we take for granted—police and fire protection, government administration, including the court system, drinking water, education, waste

treatment, and energy. These public services and many others that are frequently provided by the private sector—for example, transportation, food distribution, and banking and financial transactions—are regulated to protect our health and welfare and the environment, as well as to promote social and economic justice.

To control this huge sector of the economy and to pry open the market in services to ensure unregulated economic globalization and privatization of all sectors of national economies, these trade agreements use two policies in particular.

The first is the concept of the "non-tariff" barrier—the corporation-serving characterization, as a trade barrier, of any national, state, or local law or regulation that limits the way a multinational corporation can do business or create and provide a service or service product. Thus, under treaties so providing, environmental, human rights, labor, public health, consumer protection, and local community development standards of any country can be challenged in an international trade court by any foreign corporation. This can mean, for example, that a U.S. corporation that is in partnership with a foreign-based multinational might be party to a lawsuit against U.S. citizens and their communities. A foreign corporation could bid on and receive a contract to run our courts, our schools, or even public-health inspections.

The second policy embodied, for example, in the FTAA proposals is the "investor rights" principle, which allows a corporation to claim cash compensation for lost current and future profits in consequence of the application of a law or regulation cited as a "non-tariff" barrier. Government must either roll back the cited law or pay the fine, and either way the public loses: roll back a public health

law, or pay off the corporate claim with tax dollars. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which included this provision, was defeated in 1998 by an international organizing effort, so now trade officials and corporate lobbyists are determined to revive an expanded version of it in the FTAA.

We must challenge any argument that private business can provide services for less and more efficiently. Evidence is accumulating nationwide that most often

privatization—which is really corporatization—results in profiteering and reduced quality of service with often serious, even scandalous, consequences. Costs for services increase, jobs are lost, worker protections reduced, health benefits and pensions lost. In privatized health-insurance plans for state employees, taxpayers have often paid to cover

deficits.

This is such a danger to democracy! Among all the details in the GATS and FTAA, these two fundamental policies will rupture forever the compact between us, the people, and our governments. Our democratically elected officials are vested with the duty and the right to enact laws that protect the health and welfare of all, and basic services—drinking water, energy, and education, for example—are to be provided to all persons in our communities regardless of means. Because services are provided by state and local governments, these two policies allow private corporations to reach down into our states and our local communities to challenge our laws that provide and regulate services, imposing the corporate mantra of profits over the values, interests, and democratic decisions of our communities.

This tramples on the sovereignty of the people. This, at least as much as anything else, is what the fight against the globalizing trade treaties is about.

Recently Nancy Price, co-chair of the Alliance, has spoken to AfD chapters in Northern California and at a teach-in in Ashland, Oregon, giving the message embodied in her article here.



These two policies will rupture forever the compact between the people and our governments.

“The Theft of a Democracy”

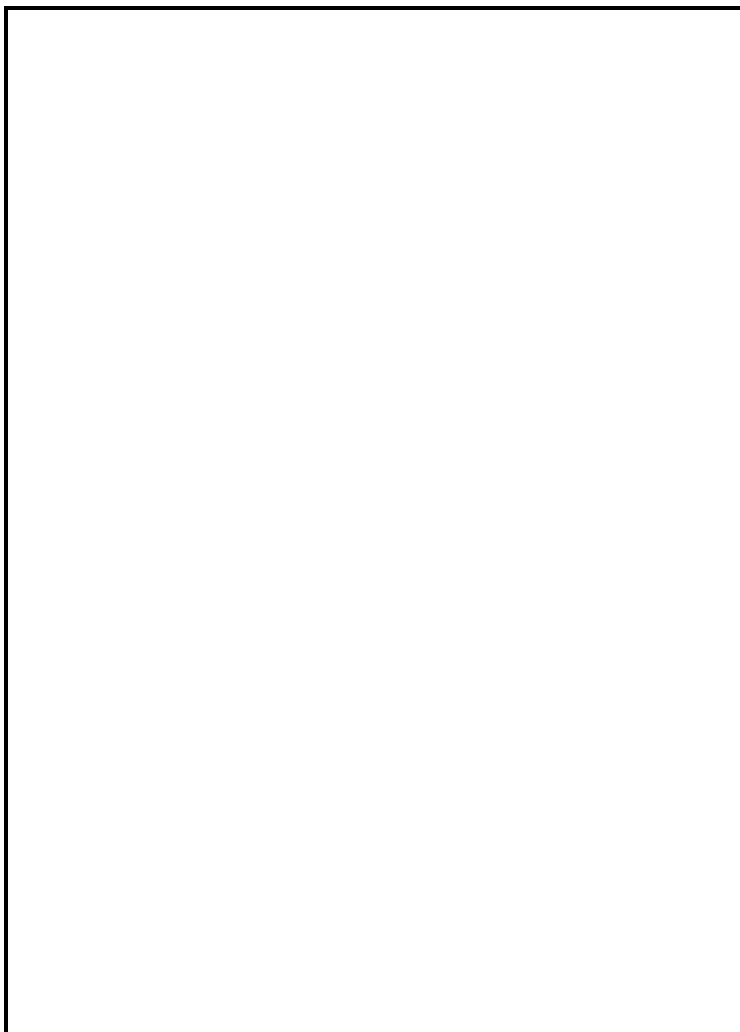
There are many angry people in America these days, and there are many things for them to be angry about. Anger is a normal and healthy reaction to unfairness, criminality, and injustice.

As I am young enough to yet see with my own heart, let me tell you that there are sufficient injustices in the world to keep us angry all the time, unless we give ourselves some freedom from anger. It is only with that freedom that we can truly improve the world.

As I am old enough to have seen and felt a third of our nation's history, let me tell you that there has always been a sufficient supply of raw deals to keep us toasty warm with rage, if we are only capable of rage, instead of loving action.

Let me tell you about anger. If you find yourself one day in charge of a company or a community or a kingdom, and you discover that you now have enemies who would try to bring you down, here is your best strategy: Keep them angry about little issues, so that their energies will be spent before they get to the big issues that could truly threaten you.

There are indeed people who use their wealth and power against the interests of our human community. They must now be immensely entertained by the fact that so many people are upset about the outcome of an election, when in fact they were set to win either way it came out. It was the old, rigged coin toss: Heads I win; tails you lose. They laugh if you fight about the outcome of that toss. They laugh because the real issues, so much bigger, might pass with little notice or resistance.



(L to R) Doris (Granny D) Haddock, Stephanie Wilson, Director of the Fannie Lou Hamer Project, and Josh Silver, new at-large Alliance council member, launch Granny's march around the U.S. Capitol Building in March.

Our imperfect Union, our ever-wobbling Republic, beset as it is by occasions of corruption and assassination, poor judgment and faulty elections, moves ever forward toward gleaming goals of human kindness, fairness, equality, and peace. Our nation moves upward despite all its errors and deficiencies because it is somehow blessed—is it not?—as a society founded upon a dream that has proven more durably inspiring than can ever long be damaged by any sad episode or corruption. . . .

What is the real issue today? What

battle must we see through all foggy distractions? It is the fight to preserve that dream—the fight to preserve the elements of representative democracy required to continuously enact that dream into law.

If we choose to be angry, let it be in defense of our standing as a self-governing people. Let its poison harden us in battle against those who, in exchange for campaign contributions, sell policy and sell access to power—which belongs rightfully to all of us. For how can we serve each other's needs and preserve our very earth if we allow greedy interests to steal from us the reins of our own democracy? There's the issue, friends: not the theft of an election, but the theft of a democracy. . . .

We must put an end to the bribery that poisons our democracy and poisons all of us and our very earth. Let us not be distracted from this mission.

Excerpted from Doris Haddock's speech in Dupont Circle at the inauguration protest, January 20, 2001.

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.
—Abraham Lincoln

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For more info...

If your chapter needs assistance connecting its programs to the Alliance's national campaigns or if you'd like to launch a chapter outreach and membership growth drive, contact Kati Winchell at <ademocracy@aol.com> or call her at (781) 894-1179.



*We are not
just pawns
at the
mercy of
PG&E . . .*

Portland Chapter Focuses on FTAA

In the Alliance chapter in Portland, Oregon, we are actively involved in expanding the reach and impact of the local coalition opposing granting the president trade-treaty fast-track authority and adoption of the FTAA treaty. The coalition has sponsored three workshops to develop speakers and has made dozens of presentations to unions, neighborhood associations, and church and community groups, and obtained resolutions from them. The coalition also sponsored a successful 1,000-person rally and march on April 21 in the main square of Portland, which was well covered by the local media.

AfD-Portland has been especially active in supporting a resolution in the Oregon legislature which asks our congressional delegation to develop select committees to hold public hearings around the country on the impact of international trade agreements on communities and governments. The resolution focuses on the threats to local and state sovereignty posed by current and proposed agreements. After testimony and intense lobbying by several of our members, as well as others in the coalition, on April 23 the resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 26-3; it awaits House action. In this proc-

ess we were especially successful in reaching out to a farmers' group that has organized to protest the effects of NAFTA on farming. Because our legislature has a Republican majority, the support of this group was critical.

After completing an eight-week study course, the AfD Globalization Working Group has moved on to a range of other activities, including lobbying state and congressional representatives, doing research, mounting a concentrated letter-writing campaign, testifying at hearings, and staffing tables about the FTAA at large environmental and community events.

A member of AfD has been elected to the board of a local water district that may be faced with the possibility of privatization by a transnational corporation. She is using her new position to alert her colleagues and the public about the potential hazards of globalization and international trade agreements.

In addition, we have been allying with others in writing and promoting an Instant Runoff Voting initiative. Having submitted the initiative to the Secretary of State and received a ballot title, we are to be gathering signatures in May.

We also partnered with a group opposing the building of a Home Depot in an old Portland neighborhood. In this effort we claim vic-

tory, as Home Depot has decided not to build, citing the downturn in the economy and increased costs.

—David E. Delk, Co-Chair,
delkthomas@aol.com
and Dolores Hurtado

Sonoma Assails Star Wars II

The California Energy Crisis is an issue made to order for action by the Alliance for Democracy. A state legislature and governor partially deregulated electricity and natural gas prices at the behest of the major utilities a few years ago. Now profits have totally eclipsed any responsibility to the public. Our chapter in Sonoma County has had two meetings to get an understanding of the situation and now we are working to form a coalition of citizens to take action in our own behalf.

We are not just pawns at the mercy of PG & E, the legislature, the governor, and the producers of electricity, natural gas and gasoline. We have the power to affect this unfolding drama, which illustrates very clearly how government and business have acted contrary to the best interests of the people—and, in fact, contrary to the reasons for the very existence of business and government. Our power lies in our will to put conservation first, to pressure our gov-

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ernment to stress development of the alternative wind and solar sources of energy, and to help educate the public on the total mismanagement of energy by our elected officials and state-chartered corporations.

On another issue, in April the chapter declared its opposition to "research, development and deployment of a National and/or Global Missile Defense System" as "inappropriate, destabilizing and unrealistic for dealing with any existing or likely threat to the United States," and as "primarily a military-industrial-corporate money-making project."

Continuing the pursuit of this project, the chapter said in its statement, would abrogate the ABM Treaty, which prohibits construction of antiballistic missile defense systems; reactivate the nuclear arms race; foster space-based warfare; divert between \$30 to \$130 billion from urgent needs for education, health care, affordable housing, and environmental protection; and leave the United States and the world more vulnerable to the possibility of nuclear war.

Members of the chapter gave the resolution on this to their Congresswoman, Lynn Woolsey, who urged them to get the message out across the country, as she could only spend her time on issues where she has the support of her colleagues. When something

like this comes up for discussion, she indicated, she is allowed only one minute to present her views.

"We call on the President and the Congress to abandon this costly and dangerous corporate boondoggle," urge all citizens to vigorously oppose it, and "urge all chapters to get hold of the videotape from the Washington, D.C., Center from Defense Information, 'Star Wars: New Hope or Phantom Menace.' and support our policy," said a statement from Adrienne Swenson (who has more information on the issue at 707-575-2462) and the chapter's co-coordinators, John Shearer and Calvin Simons.

—Calvin Simons,
Co-Coordinator,
Sonoma Valley AfD

Walking with Granny D

The McCain-Feingold bill was debated by the U.S. Senate for two weeks beginning March 19th. The Alliance's national action project for Clean Elections organized a high-profile forum on March 19th, addressed by various organizational leaders, calling for an end to political bribery. It was held on the steps of the U.S. Capitol and featured such speakers as Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN), Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen, former independent presiden-

tial candidate John Anderson, and Granny D.

The 91-year-old Doris Haddock—Granny D—also walked around the Capitol building and among Senate building offices during a two-week vigil to raise awareness of the need for clean-money reform. She had originally planned to walk each day from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., but heightened tensions and suspense over McCain-Feingold led her to decide that for the second week she would walk 24 hours, around the clock, with breaks for catnaps, until the bill passed. And so she did.

The Washington, D.C., AfD chapter helped publicize the March 19th forum, supported Granny D marchers, and sent appeals to like-minded groups to help increase interest and keep her company. The D.C. chapter also sent all chapters a petition calling for clean-money reform. Returned petitions were delivered to the appropriate senators; the D.C. chapter thanks the other chapters that were able to meet the tight deadline on this. Members from other chapters, some from halfway across the country, joined in the walking with Granny D, including national co-chair Lou Hammann from Pennsylvania and Ted Dooley from Minneapolis.

The D.C. chapter also organized on a mini-forum on the Free Trade Area of the Americas on April 16th. Co-sponsored with 50 Years Is Enough, the forum featured



We have the power to affect this unfolding drama, which illustrates how government and business have acted contrary to the interests of the people.

Send news of your chapter's activities for the next issue of *Alliance Alerts* to the Waltham office at both of these addresses:
rdugger123@aol.com
suzannejwolk@aol.com
or The Alliance for Democracy, 681 Main St.,
Waltham, MA 02451,
(781) 894-1179, by
June 30.

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The D.C. Chapter will participate in the May 19th Voter March for electoral reform, and on the 20th day of each month will gather at the Capitol to protest the undemocratic nature of the presidential election, consummated by the inauguration on January 20.



The McCain-Feingold bill as passed by the Senate could be called the Incumbent Protection Act of 2001.

Bob Naiman of the Center for Economic Policy and Research and Ruth Caplan, co-chair of the AfD globalization action group. The speakers covered the potential impact of the FTAA on local policies as well as basic issues regarding the international economic model. Afterwards, attendees wrote letters to the U.S. Trade Representative expressing concerns about FTAA.

We are participating in the national Voter March demonstration on May 19th. Voter March actively seeks national electoral reform and more democratic voting procedures. Ronnie Dugger of AfD will be among the speakers.

We also plan to distribute literature and to protest at the Capitol Building on the 20th of each month to commemorate the undemocratic events surrounding the presidential election, consummated last January 20th by the inauguration. Visitors from other chapters have a standing invitation to join us in these events. We can assist our fellow members from afar in finding housing as needed.

—David Jaber
djaber@ase.org

Hard-headed for Clean Money

With leadership from the San Fernando Valley AfD chapter, an organization has been put into place in California to marshal enough backing for a public-funding Clean Elections ballot initiative in 2004. Such initiatives have been adopted in Arizona, Vermont, Maine, and Massachusetts, but were de-

feated last year in Oregon and Missouri, and the Massachusetts legislature is now embroiled in a nasty fight over whether to finance the measure the voters passed in 1998.

"We will go for 2004," said Jo Seidita, a member of the Alliance Council and co-chair of AfD's public-funding national action campaign, "if we meet some stringent benchmarks—a certain amount of money in the bank, enough volunteers and active endorsing groups around the state, and enough strength in public opinion polls to give us a chance. We are not foolhardy. To go forward when we are not ready would be a setback for public-funding efforts in other states, as well as in California.

"Of course, we hope our hard work will pay off," Seidita said. "We are initiating 'One Million Californians for Clean Money,' an unofficial petition drive to build support for our 2004 effort. We are designing a hard-hitting brochure to go with the petition that lays out the money mess in politics. Even if we only get a few hundred thousand signatures, it will help us deliver a message and gather a list of interested people and addresses for 2004."

On March 24 Seidita, Will Forthmann, and members of California Alliance chapters attended an organizing committee for the campaign. Nick Nyhart, director of Public Campaign, explained to the group that the cost of needed staff and offices north and south in the state would be not \$100,000, but four times

that.

In the view of the Valley chapter of the Alliance, the McCain-Feingold bill as passed by the Senate, banning soft money but doubling the hard-money donor limits and increasing the amount an individual can give during an election cycle by 50% (in other words, trading "soft money" for "hard"), while closing the door on groups like labor unions, could be called "The Incumbent Protection Act of 2001." AfD and Public Campaign believe the only way to get true reform is public financing.

The co-chairs of the California Clean Money Campaign are Seidita and businessman Ted Williams. Members of the California campaign's advisory board are Larry Agran (mayor of Irvine), Aris Anagnos, Ed Asner, Elaine Attias, Rabbi Leonard Berman, Anthony Beilenson, Marilyn Bergman, the Rev. Dr. John B. Cobb, Jr., Sandy Elster, Lila Garrett, Tom Hayden (now a candidate for Los Angeles city council), Xandra Kayden, State Senator Sheila Kuehl, Norman Lear, John W. Mack, Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Alan Sieroty, Harold Willens, Theodore E. Williams, Kent Wong, Peg Yorkin, Medea Benjamin, Irving Kramer, Rabbi Steven Jacobs, Tony Miller, and Robert Stern.

The organizations that signed on as co-sponsors for the campaign, in addition to the Alliance for Democracy, are Americans for Democratic Action, California Common Cause, California Congress of Seniors, Center for Governmental Studies, Gray Panthers,

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League of Women Voters, Voters of Los Angeles, San Diego Alliance for Clean Elections, Southern California Federation of Scientists, UCLA Labor Center, Global Exchange, and the board of the Unitarian-Universalist Project on Freedom of Religion.

The San Fernando Valley chapter meets the last Saturday of the month at 10:30 a.m. at 9743 Noble Avenue, North Hills, unless otherwise notified. Guests welcome. To offer a speech presentation or schedule an agenda item, one may call Toni Dragert at 213-680-1016; to join, call Dolly Arond or Warren Felt at 818-893-9691. For information on the Clean Money drive call Sam Roth at 818-346-9692.

—San Fernando Chapter

New South Bay Chapter News

Folks in the new Mass. Bay South chapter have been calling, visiting, and attending hearings, hoping to sway recalcitrant local legislators to fund our state's Clean Elections law, enacted by 66% of Massachusetts voters in 1998. We rallied at a local town hall recently in support of legislative funding for the reform. One of our signs read, "Yes, Virginia, We Do Know What We Voted For!"

At our next meeting we are watching the Center for Defense Information's 30-minute video against star wars (available from the CDI on loan), and we will consider the

resolution opposing missile defense which the Sonoma County chapter adopted.

—Jean Maryborn
maryborn@earthlink.net

Sacramento Actions

It's Spring Into Action in California's state capitol, and Greater Sacramento chapter members continue coalition work with other local activist groups on issues both local and international. Although we are a relatively small group, we have developed a divide-and-conquer strategy and have established a significant presence in the local activist community.

Members have been speakers at various gatherings on globalization trade issues, and we co-sponsored a free-trade forum on the California State University at Sacramento (CSUS) campus, followed by a "Speak Out" that featured speakers from the Sierra Club, Zapatista Solidarity Coalition, Teamsters Union, Black Radical Congress, ILWU, student activist groups, and educators, along with a local family farmer—all discussing the impact of free trade, for the most part with personal stories.

On April 21st we marched in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Quebec City. The local NBC, ABC, CBS affiliates and the Spanish TV channel covered us, although they were probably disappointed that we were peaceful chanters with puppets, signs, and banners, not black-shirted anarchists. We had a table the next

day at an Earth Day celebration at CSUS, getting lots of folks to sign petitions on several issues and letters to our representatives concerning the many issues that affect us, including "No Fast Track Authority for Bush." We'll be tabling at a celebration at UC Davis in May.

On local issues we have been actively supporting the Sacramento Living Wage Campaign—there is to be a big rally on that issue May 20th.

On the California power issue members represented the Sacramento AfD and other California chapters at a statewide Emergency Energy Summit April 27th in Sacramento with the purpose of forming a coalition to advocate clean, affordable, public energy systems.

Some of us attended a media-training-for-activists workshop in April sponsored by the Michael Harrington-Fannie Lou Hamer Institute, with John Nichols (*the Nation*), Salim Muwakkil (*In These Times*), Loraine Ballard-Morrill (from a Philadelphia Hip-Hop radio station), and Armando Bottello (*LA Opinion*, the only all-Spanish newspaper in California). I highly recommend this workshop.

The Sacramento chapter meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of each month. For information please call me.

—Vikki Savee
916-929-5687
vsavee@rocksystems.com

ACTION ALERT



If you live in Massachusetts, let your state representative and state senator know what you think of the House's May 1 vote not to fund the Clean Elections Law this year. Write, call, or visit their offices, and make your voice heard! For info on upcoming protest actions at the state house and elsewhere, call the Alliance (781-894-1179). You can also visit www.massvoters.org for more info on the law and its current status.

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MOYERS: BIG MONEY & BIG BUSINESS

"Big money and big business, corporations and commerce, are again the undisputed overlords of politics and government. The White House, the Congress and, increasingly, the judiciary reflect their interests. We appear to have a government run by remote control from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the American Petroleum Institute. . . .

"We live today under a regulatory system designed by the [chemical] industry itself. The truth is, if the public, media, independent scientists and government regulators had known what the industry knew about the health risks of its product—when the industry knew it—American laws and regulations governing chemical manufacturing would be far more protective of human health than they are today."

—Bill Moyers, "Journalism & Democracy," *The Nation*, 5/7/01

Lively Metro-Detroit Chapter Surveying Corporate Impacts

The primary project of the Metro-Detroit Alliance chapter this year is a survey of social-justice organizations. We want to encourage other groups to think about their goals and how they are affected by large corporations. We hope to illustrate how the actions of the major corporations undermine most social-justice causes and thereby establish a common ground on which to build united action.

We believe this effort will build strong local networks that can cooperate together to assert citizen control of democracy—the beginnings of a modern populist movement.

In our letter on this project to other organizations we open with the mission statement of the Alliance, "to free all people from corporate domination of politics, economics, the environment, culture, and information; to establish a true democracy; and to create a just society with a sustainable, equitable economy."

"Is your group frustrated in meeting its goals?" we ask the other organizations. "Has your group considered the impact corporations have on your concerns? . . . Huge multinational corporations own almost every mainstream television, radio, and print media in the country. Important news, such as the impact of trade agreements, genetically engineered foods, corporate

welfare, military use of depleted uranium, peaceful citizen protests, and many other vitally important stories are often distorted and frequently not reported at all.

"Deregulation, self-auditing, and increased corporate welfare do exactly the opposite of what they're purported to do," our letter continues. "Instead of greater competition, there is less competition as the bigger fish buy out or merge with related businesses. Now, more than half of the world's 100 largest economies are corporations.

"We believe by their sheer bigness and single-minded mandate to produce profits for their shareholders, giant corporations have become too powerful. They create vast economic disparities, threaten people's well-being, and severely damage ecosystems. . . .

"Be it health care, peace, poverty, education, personal liberty, environmental protection, worker rights, social justice . . . etc., giant corporations interfere with these aspirations."

Among other things we ask our fellow organizations to "consider what forces prevent the realization of your goals" and to "identify those businesses that actively oppose your efforts." We will compile the results and share them in the community. We will create a scripted presentation that we will then present to other groups. One consequence, we trust, will be that other groups will include opposition to corporate domination as an organizational priority.

We have been active in other directions, also.

On April 21st, in conjunction with Labor Notes, we co-organized an FTAA border-town solidarity protest. Heavy rains stopped just in time as more than 700 people participated in a festive march along Jefferson Avenue, Detroit's main riverfront street. There were plenty of creative signs, enthusiastic chants, and bursts of energy. A rally featuring speakers from as far away as Colombia and Brazil followed. On a second trip along the Avenue, a group of young activists shut down the Detroit/Windsor tunnel for about 20 minutes. Then there were two teach-in workshops dealing with the FTAA and where we go from here.

Our monthly three-hour meeting has been reorganized to include speakers on current topics during the first half of our time together. Recently we had a Muslim speaking on rebuilding water supplies for Iraq, a speaker from the L.I.F.E. organization, and Marty Heller from Mirage, speaking on genetically-modified foods. Four of our members went to Washington to protest the inauguration, and our members have been attending meetings of several social-justice and environmental organizations in Michigan: Friends of Detroit River, Michigan Environmental Council, Southeast Michigan Coalition of Safety and Health, Jobs with Justice, Living Wage, Peace Action, and People's Congress, in part in preparation for protests, teach-ins, and speak-outs planned for the

CHAPTER REPORTS

National Mayors' Conference in Detroit in June. A couple of our members protested at the Oak Ridge, Tenn., Y-12 plant against building a new nuclear plant and more nuclear weapons. Scott Heinzman from our chapter spoke at the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild on corporate welfare (we had a table of literature there), and at the Global Renaissance Alliance on the FTAA.

Thanks to Rusty Hixson, we have our own web page at www.geocities.com/alliance4democracy. Posted there, for example, is our Year-End Review for 2000, reviewing educational programs we have organized, the bridges we are building to many organizations, our major programs last year, and our production of several cable-access programs.

—Harold Stokes,
Co-chair, 313-53-EARTH,
hstokes@bignet.net

New Chapter Plans Afoot

This is a great time for the Alliance to grow both chapters and members. Our programs are going well, and people are seeing the political and economic situations more clearly, realizing how badly we need deep, systemic change. With Granny D's book tour, Ronnie's availability as a speaker, and the mood of the country under Bush's reign, the time couldn't be better.

At the Council meeting in Washington, D.C., last February, we distributed updated regional databases to regional

representatives and others interested in starting new chapters. Looking through them, we identified clusters of people in our database who might serve as the beginnings of chapters. Out of that process, 83 such clusters were identified.

Granny D's Random House book tour began on April 16 and ended on May 12. She is now making plans to barnstorm around the country to publicize her new book (*Granny D: Walking Across America in my 90th Year*), stopping at such chapters of the Alliance as can make arrangements for her to come by. Ideally, Alliance-focused events should be planned on the same day as Granny's book-signings, but at a different time, or on the day before or after, depending on her schedule.

As a practical matter, she will be speaking mostly for clean elections; other aspects of the Alliance message and activities should be handled by others. Chapter-starting events with Doris and Ronnie are not limited to Doris's book tour schedule. As a general goal, let's try to organize most of our chapter start-ups before or after the summer slow-down, when people tend to be away. Several chapters can be formed in the same area or region and pitch in together on the speakers' out-of-pocket expenses. We encourage regional reps and other chapter organizers to work together on developing coordinated tours and to check in with me to see how one region's plans might fit in

with another's.

To schedule an event with Granny D, please speak with Stephanie Scadding at the Alliance's national office (781-894-1179, peoplesall@aol.com), and keep me informed also at ademocracy@aol.com or call me at the national office. To schedule an event with Ronnie please contact him directly at 781-894-9726 or rdugger123@aol.com, and once again clue me in. Please contact me with requests for materials, allowing a minimum of two weeks, if possible, to help keep postage and the frenzy-factor down. Two years ago chapter-starting organizers for Ronnie's west coast tour made thousands of copies of materials at the starting end of the tour and simply passed them along from one event to the next.

Currently, seven chapters are in various stages of forming—they have been sent Starter Kits. They are in Michigan (Ken and Jan Mathenia in Grand Blanc, with Harold Stokes's assistance); Montana (Elmer Fauth in Great Falls); Virginia (Don Morrison and John Withrow are planning to start a chapter in Lynchburg with Pat Hammann's assistance); Massachusetts (in Framingham Bob Stubbs is planning to start a chapter; in Lexington Ben Ball may be starting a chapter; in Methuen Michael Bleiweiss is planning to start a chapter); and New Hampshire (Nancy Brown organized a start-up event in Portsmouth, at which Granny D and Ronnie spoke).

—Kati Winchell
ademocracy@aol.com

There goes the American dream . . .

Since 1973, the assumption that all hardworking American married couples would be able to afford a home, and that the wife could then, if she chose, stay home and raise kids, has begun to seem absurd. The question now is whether the average married couple, both working full time, will ever be able to take home more than \$30,000 a year, [which] will not permit homeownership or buy decent daycare. . . . Economic insecurity will continue to grow in America. . . . due to the globalization of the labor market.

—Richard Rorty,
Achieving Our Country
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 83-84.

Democracy Summer

Democracy Summer 2001 is a gathering of a multiethnic and cross-generational alliance of organizations and individuals committed to building a pro-democracy movement. The Democracy Institute, a week-long training on electoral reform and organizing skills, will take place June 17-23 at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, Florida (the scene of the crime). After that, participants will be placed in activist internships around the country according to their interest and availability.

AfD chapters and other organizations can participate by identifying and sponsoring a young person from their areas or funding members of delegations re-

cruited elsewhere; hosting a trained organizer for on-the-ground electoral reform work after the training; or making contributions to support the Institute.

Young people will learn, organize, and brainstorm about alternatives to money-driven, winner-take-all politics; local organizing for electoral reform; the student-led voting rights movement of the 1960s; coalition-building, direct action, and organizing skills. For more information contact Tanya or Sekou at Democracy Summer, 202-234-9382, e-mail democracysummer@excite.com or visit www.democracysummer.org. See the website for a complete list of sponsoring organizations and endorsers.

Democracy Summer is part of the Pro-Democracy Campaign, endorsed by the AfD Council, which has been devel-

oping since the Florida election crisis. More than 100 organizations have endorsed a ten-point Voters' Bill of Rights that includes strict enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, abolition of the electoral college, publicly-funded elections, instant-runoff voting, proportional representation, voting rights for former prisoners, making voting easier and more reliable, easier candidate access to the ballot, media, and debates, independent and non-partisan election bodies, and statehood for the District of Columbia. For the text see www.votersbillofrights.org.

—Sue Wheaton
sue.wheaton@juno.com,
301-270-9038

Report from Geneva—Stop the WTO

Fifty activists from all corners of the globe gathered in Geneva in March to meet with WTO staff and negotiators from member countries and to map out strategy on the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services—GATS—and on the next WTO ministerial, which will take place in Qatar on the Saudi Arabian peninsula in November. We assembled in high spirits on the steps of the WTO, a stately stone edifice on the shore of Lake Geneva, then dispersed to meet with country delegations.

Eight of us from the U.S., Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia headed across the way to the stark glass building that housed the U.S. mission to the WTO. The meeting with the Geneva-based U.S. trade staff began with our first-person stories of how neo-liberal trade policies stifle local development in developing countries. In Ghana, the staff were told, privatization meant a Canadian transnational corporation putting local waste collectors out of business and the loss of rural banking services. A Teamsters Union participant told how NAFTA was interfering with trucking safety in the U.S.

Back to the WTO: about 25 of us

participated in a meeting with EU staff. The unexpected appearance of Ian Wilkenson, the EU deputy negotiator, signaled that they were taking this meeting seriously. His message to us was that the EU will do whatever is necessary to ensure that NGOs can be present in Qatar. When I pressed for a definition of "collection" of water in their proposed classification of drinking water services, the EU staff ducked, saying this would be left to individual countries to define. Wilkenson closed the meeting by saying we should continue to be vigilant and advise the EU regarding our concerns.

The WTO Secretariat staff sought to rebut some of our arguments in a long tract sent out to the press that referred directly to some of our writings, including the Alliance's fact sheet, "Water, Water Everywhere." They were particularly defensive about charges that government services were given no real protection in GATS, even as they contradicted themselves as to the meaning of this key provision.

We also had an opportunity to hear perspectives from developing countries. Mr. Das from India, who spent time as the head of the Uruguay Round negotia-

tions that set up the WTO, said he sees that the overall goal of the WTO and GATS is the privatization of the whole world for the benefit of corporations. Later we heard from another developing country negotiator that his country had already suffered deregulation and privatization under the IMF and World Bank—now it was time for the GATS to pry open the North.

The selection of Qatar has already broadened our movement. NGO leaders from the Middle East, for the first time part of our campaign planning to oppose international trade agreements, will be making essential links with people in Qatar. They are also exploring the possibility of an international gathering the week before Qatar somewhere else in the Middle East.

We agreed that our overall goal should be to "Stop Corporate Globalization" and that we should unite our work under the slogan "The World Is Not For Sale," with the sub-theme, "Another World Is Possible." Sounds like the Alliance's campaign! Under this heading we will promote our specific campaigns, such as "Stop the GATS Attack."

SEE 'GENEVA' ON PAGE 20

New Strategies for AfD Conventions

A central function of the Alliance is its bi-annual convention. The next convention will take place in the summer of 2002. Plans for the program are being discussed but have not taken formal shape. As with most Alliance functions, the staff and council rely heavily on member input.

The Greater Sacramento chapter has given this matter some thought and advocates a democratic model for planning and implementing national conventions and recommends a proposal by Kenneth Schneider. Chapters have been asked to send feedback to Rich Morrison of the Sacramento chapter.

Schneider, an author and a member of AfD, begins by noting that a major part of the last convention at Davis, California, in July 2000 was an array of outside speakers who presented subjects of prospective interest to the organization.

"Although important AfD business was conducted and health care was added to the AfD campaigns," Schneider writes, "the judgment could be made that the chief objective and chief accomplishment was limited to member stimulation of a very broad character. It could also be suggested that most participants went home rather empty-handed, without being put into gear to accomplish AfD's array of important objectives.

"If AfD is to succeed in getting the chapters and members critically engaged, the best time and place to do so is at the national conference. We are an action-oriented organization, not an academic pursuit. That means, consequently, a strategic organization of conference subjects and sessions to review philosophy and strategy, sharpen tactics, and review networking efforts. It may mean more systematic assignments of special work to chapters, to general or ad hoc committees, and even to individuals."

More vital than stimulating members, Schneider continued, is critically engaging members "for a year or more of productive and coordinated work. The conference, then, is planned to be more of a work session to become more effectively

engaged in the good struggle we are devoted to."

Schneider thought that outside speakers might be limited to perhaps two or three selected for direct contributions to specific objectives, thereby assuring that the subjects that are the central AfD priority are allowed ample time for development and the renewal of focus.

"The conference should be used, therefore, to formulate and adjust strategies on the essential issues and engage all members in these issues. Outside speakers should be specifically focused on those issues. The Alliance will succeed or fail according to how effectively it can engage its members and chapters to effectively pursue well-thought-through basic objectives.

"The Alliance might perceive itself as an activating mind of a populist movement, not necessarily the movement itself. This means above all that it emphasize a continuing vital and dynamic internal dialogue, supported by evolving concepts, followed by publications, coalition building, and initiating key actions. Essentially this is all we can do while we are small. A case in point is building a vision of what kind of organizations (or corporations) might result to manage society's greater economic functions, like airlines. We cannot oppose corporations without proposing what should replace them.

"Chapters might follow processes parallel to the national conferences. And to help them organize their efforts in fully engaging individuals they might see from both old and new members (1) their resumes, (b) statements of their personal priorities, and (c) suggestions of what roles or activities they might wish to personally pursue—organizationally, committee work, or individual projects. Then chapter work can be advanced with an articulate sense of what individual members might do."

Chapters are invited to respond to the Schneider proposal and advance other suggestions. We request that communications on this to Ruth Morrison in Sacramento also be copied to Ronnie Dugger at rdugger123@aol.com.

—Vicki Savee, 916-929-5687
vsavee@rocksystems.com

Health Care Action Group Makes Plans

One of the four primary national campaigns of the Alliance is to bring about comprehensive, universal, single-payer health care in the U.S. What is most frightening, yet perversely most encouraging, about the present situation is that the health care crisis worsens every day: the number of uninsured people grows, the HMO system fails to provide adequate care to those it does serve, health care and pharmaceutical costs continue to rise, the ratio of actual health care staff to administrative bureaucrats continues to decline, and there are a growing number of bankruptcies among hospitals, clinics, insurance companies, and doctors' groups—all of this while there is an embarrassing surplus in government tax collections.

The Health Care Action Group is seeking to develop ways to use the tragedy of the present situation, acting with the hundreds of other national organizations that share our goal for comprehensive health care reform. Rick LaMonica, the chair of the St. Louis, Mo., AfD chapter, who has agreed to become the co-chair of the action group, is consulting with a number of such organizations with a known commitment to a single-payer system, with the hope of establishing a closer working relationship with them. Our immediate goal is to improve coordination, networking and internet links among these groups, because we have powerful opposition to real change.

Calvin Simons of the Sonoma County, Ca., chapter, the other co-chair, is taking responsibility for keeping the action group web site and database up to date. Please send him copies of articles that detail horror stories or hopeful signs about the future or other information on the status of health care service around the country. You may visit the web site—<http://afd-online.net/uhc>—directly. If you have ideas for action or would like to join this action group, please email the co-chairs.

—Calvin Simons (chsimons@aol.com),
Rick LaMonica (ricklm@mindspring.com)

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Bequests Help AfD Carry On

Bequests to the Alliance for Democracy are lasting gifts to future generations of social-structure activists for economic and political democracy. The AfD is forming an endowment escrow account and will deposit all bequests into it.

Attorneys who prepare members' or supporters' wills can draft the form of bequest best suited to carrying out a particular person's wishes. Some forms may be more complicated than others. A bequest could be left as a sum in dollars; a number of shares

of stock, or bonds; a share in a residuary estate, or a remainder interest if certain people predecease the donor; an interest in copyrights; or a portion of income from a trust. There are other possibilities.

Bequests to the Alliance for Democracy are tax exempt, AfD being a 501(c)(3) organization. If you have questions about making a bequest, please telephone Suzanne J. Wolk at the Alliance national office, but your own lawyer should advise you on the best way to make a bequest.

Stop GATS and FTAAs

'GATS' FROM PAGE 5

- Services Needed for Survival, such as health, education, water, energy and other basic social services, must not be subject to trade rules.
- Stop Corporate Patent Protectionism: Seeds & Medicine are Human Needs, not Commodities.

Third, we are gearing up for the WTO ministerial meeting in Qatar on November 9-13 by once again demanding no new round. We succeeded in Seattle; we can succeed in Qatar. The first action is simple. Join the campaign to flood the Qatar embassy with visa requests. Qatar is only planning to allow WTO-accredited NGOs into the country. Contact the Qatar embassy and tell them you want a visa to attend the ministerial, Nov. 9-13. (Of course, you may or may not use the visa.) We must stand up for the principle that all civil society has a right to participate, not just those accredited by the WTO. You can e-mail your request to jbvisa@aol.com or mail it to: Embassy of the State Qatar/Suite 200/4200 Wisconsin Ave. NW/Washington, D.C. 20016 202/274-1616 (phone), 202-237-9880 (fax). Please send a copy in a separate e-mail message to me or mail to the Alliance D.C. Office at 3407 34th Place NW, Washington DC 20016.

—Ruth Caplan, Co-Chair,
Corporate Globalization/Positive
Alternatives Campaign, 202-244-0561, rcaplan@igc.org

Report From Geneva

'GENEVA' FROM PAGE 18

Our message to our governments will continue to be "No New Round, Turn Around," as we oppose the proposals for a new round of negotiations in Qatar and organize to turn around agreements like GATS.

Before leaving Geneva we held a rollicking demonstration on the lawn of the WTO. Costumed as a cell phone, a water faucet, a book (yours truly), a letter, and a Red Cross kit, we represented essential services that were chased by corporate fat cats with butterfly nets. In the end the fat cats, in the ultimate merger, netted each other.

—Ruth Caplan

Thanks to Polner

Jerry Polner of Brooklyn edited the past three issues of *Alliance Alerts* with verve and timeliness. He worked as an unpaid volunteer with grace and with his characteristic unflinching good humor. We are grateful for his good work and for getting our newsletter out regularly. --Eds.