

Eat The State!

A FORUM FOR ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL OPINION, RESEARCH, AND HUMOR

This Week's Menu

WTO Fallout

Youth Lead the Charge On the Front

Vandana Shiva on Seattle

On Outrage at the Police

Eat These Shorts!: Kitchen, Dec. 1 Nerve Agent, Property Destruction, Africa Trade, Much More

One Planet: Panama, Colombia, Brazil, East Timor, and WTO Solidarity

Nature & Politics: Victory in Seattle

Focus On the Corporation: A Whiff of Democracy in Seattle

BackTalk: WTO Tour

Calendar, History, Comics, and not a word on Y2K! Well, OK, One Word...

Quote of the Week

Two thirds of poll respondents who earn more than \$60,000 a year said using tear gas [against WTO protesters] was appropriate, while only 43 percent of those earning less than \$20,000 a year agreed.

—SEATTLE TIMES, 12-19, P. A 23

WTO Fallout

Barbie™ MOVES INTO THE NEW POLITICALLY AWARE MILLENNIUM WITH THE "CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PLAYSET" featuring:



COMING SOON: SPECIAL "WTO EDITION BILL CLINTON KEN"™ WITH DETACHABLE CONSCIENCE. AND "CITY UNDER SIEGE NEWSCASTER BARBIE"™ WITH "CONSERVATIVE BIAS NEWS SCRIPTS."

In handling the fallout from the WTO, the city's strategy has been one of PR management and attempts to contain the blame.

Police Chief Norm Stamper and Assistant Chief Ed Joiner resigned less than a week after Nov. 30. In his resignation letter, Stamper pouts that he was going to be leaving at the end of January anyway and for other reasons; however, if that were true, he would have announced it months ago. Clearly, Stamper and Joiner are the minimum sacrifice that the city is willing to pay for the bad decisions made by a host of public officials during the WTO week.

The events of Nov. 30 have been slowly leaking out in the local press. Apparently, Asst. Chief Ed Joiner was in charge when the first tear gas was fired at peaceful protesters at 10:05 AM. Joiner, who planned security for the 1990 Goodwill Games and the 1993 APEC conference, was instrumental in deciding how cops would respond to the massive civil disobedience strategy of demonstrators that morning. It was obviously part of the city's plan to have riot police equipped with tear gas, rubber bullets, and pepper spray well beforehand. But the overall plan was a schizophrenic one: there were only 400 cops on the street that day with no reserves on standby, and no effort was made to keep protesters from surrounding hotels and the Convention Center.

The idiocy of the city's security plan is obvious in hindsight; both FBI agents and protesters themselves provided Schell, Stamper, and Joiner with information on the protesters' plans to shut down the city and stop the WTO Ministerial from taking place. But there was one reason why the city's security plan was drawn up this way. It was designed in large part to provide political PR for the city and for Democrats, both on the national and local levels.

Mayor Paul Schell and Gov. Gary Locke (who's aiming for a cabinet position in a future Gore administration) figured that the biggest and most effective group of protesters on the streets on Nov. 30 would be

the huge contingent of labor and environmentalists set to march into downtown at noon. And because the Democrats (especially Al Gore) need the support of both labor and environmental groups, the plan was to allow these valuable constituencies to have their say ... late in the day, after the opening ceremonies had already started.

The city knew about the early morning protesters, but they wrongly assumed that these rabble-rousers would number no more than a couple of hundred people. If they caused any problems, a few riot police would take care of them before the big march showed up. The morning protesters would be gassed, pepper-sprayed, and swept off the streets in time for the labor march—the real media event that would show how progressive Seattle is in allowing people their First Amendment rights, and how the WTO can in fact be reformed by the mighty Democratic Party. The city badly miscalculated.

And it wasn't just Schell and Stamper who erred. All the other security agencies involved in the planning process signed off on this plan: the FBI, the Secret Service, the Washington State Patrol, even the right-wing King County Sheriff's office (in spite of Sheriff Dave Reichert's whining).

If we're going to point fingers, we should blame Gov. Locke, Bill Clinton, and the whole Democratic party machinery, too. Clearly, when Schell made his decision to declare an emergency and set up an exclusion zone, it was under pressure from Gov. Locke (who had already called out the National Guard), Secretary of State Madeline Albright (who, trapped in her hotel, screamed at Locke over the phone to clear the streets), and the Secret Service. At 3:00 PM on Nov. 30, Schell, Stamper, Locke, and federal officials had an emergency meeting where the Secret Service laid down the law: clear out the protesters or Clinton won't come to town. And Clinton had to get to Seattle; it would have been a public relations disaster—and an enormous victory for WTO opponents—for him to stay away.

Eat the State!

PO Box 85541
Seattle, WA 98145

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
BELLEVUE WA
PERMIT #273

Now the city is engaging in spin control. After a pro-police rally, heavy media coverage of cops doing public service for the holidays, and free downtown parking to draw shoppers, there's been an emphasis on turning the blame back onto the protesters. But two separate investigations into how WTO security was handled—one by Mayor Schell's office (led by Ed Joiner) and one by three city council members (Jim Compton, Nick Licata, and Richard Conlin)—will keep some of the attention on city officials and hopefully bring more facts to light. The two recent marathon public hearings hosted by the city council were attended by overflowing crowds who spent a total of over 18 hours giving accounts of police abuses, denouncing the mainstream media's assertion that "no one was seriously injured," and demanding the resignation of Paul Schell and City Attorney Mark Sidran.

While Sidran had no part in planning the security for the WTO, he did take a hard line in negotiating the release of arrested protesters. Sidran stubbornly refused to do what most municipalities do as a matter of course: drop charges against people arrested for simply exercising their free speech rights in a public place. This has guaranteed that protesters will tie up the courts for months to come, that public money will be spent on cases that the city can't and shouldn't win, and that, with each court case, evidence and arguments will be presented that the city would probably rather bury than see aired in public.

On top of that, two other important developments have followed from the WTO police riots: an investigation by Amnesty International into the abuse of protesters on the streets of Seattle and in the King County Jail, and a class-action lawsuit by the ACLU challenging the constitutionality of Schell's declaration of emergency and the exclusion zone which effectively became a "no-protest" zone. Aside from negative court decisions, these two lawsuits have the potential to pull the focus away from the safer issue of general "police preparedness" and shine a spotlight on the specific actions of police, jail staff, and city officials. More heads may roll.

But there's a danger here of a backlash; a groundswell of support could form for the police, Mayor Schell, and Mark Sidran. In fact, some signs of it are already apparent in the press and among those who turned out for a well-attended pro-police rally. As usual, the burden is on activists to

everything up with facts and indisputable evidence whenever possible) and to push

lawsuits, and the upcoming court cases. —Maria Tomchick

Youth Lead the Charge on the Front

The tremendous victory over the WTO in Seattle the week of November 29—December 3 buried once and for all the inane notion that those people born after the '60s are a bunch of apolitical slackers. Never again will we have to put up with our elders disparaging us for our purported apathy. From now on, we only need reply with the rejoinder "Remember Seattle!" That was our Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968.

Of course, things didn't go down the way they did in Chicago in '68. Business as usual went ahead in Chicago. The war party's candidate was given the Democratic presidential nomination and a motion by the Wisconsin delegation to postpone the convention for two weeks due to the events on the streets outside the convention was blithely ignored. Seattle '99 was a complete disaster for the genteel legions of free trad-

ers who came to the Emerald City to hash out the framework for negotiating further corporate global domination in the '90s. Upon their conclusion, the WTO meetings were acknowledged as a complete disaster for the "free traders" by both sides of the globalization debate. The 3,000-plus WTO delegates left Seattle having achieved none of the organization's stated objectives before the meetings.

Everybody has his or her own opinion on what the "Big Story" coming off of the victory in Seattle was. For example, CounterPunch (www.Counterpunch.org) co-editor Alexander Cockburn argues that it was the AFL-CIO's failure to direct its marchers towards the young people blocking the streets leading to the Paramount Theater on November 30. The support of 30,000 rank and file union members in the battle with the police could have possibly led to

THIS MODERN WORLD

THEY SMILE REASSURINGLY AND TELL YOU EVERYTHING'S FINE, THAT THE ECONOMY'S GOING GANG-BUSTERS AND A RISING TIDE LIFTS ALL BOATS—BUT YOU KNOW THAT SOMETHING'S WRONG HERE. YOU KNOW THAT 85% OF THE WEALTH IS CONTROLLED BY 20% OF THE POPULATION... THAT THE WAGES OF A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS ARE ACTUALLY LOWER, IN REAL DOLLARS, THAN THEY WERE IN 1973.



BUT WHAT CAN YOU DO? YOU DON'T MATTER. YOUR VOTE DOESN'T MATTER. YOUR PROTESTS DON'T MATTER. GO AHEAD, MARCH IN THE STREETS AND CHANT YOUR LITTLE SLOGANS. THE POLITICAL SOPHISTICATIONS AND MEDIA ELITES WILL SMIRK AT YOUR NAIVETE, YOUR MISGUIDED NOSTALGIA FOR THE SIXTIES, AND THEN THEY WILL STEER THE CONVERSATION BACK TO THE STOCK MARKET OR THE FABULOUS NEW RESTAURANT THEY'VE RECENTLY DISCOVERED. THEY'RE NOT WORRIED ABOUT YOU.



YOU KNOW THAT YOUR LEADERS HAVE BEEN BOUGHT AND PAID FOR, THAT CORPORATE MONEY SETS THE POLITICAL AGENDA, YOU KNOW THAT THE FREE MARKET HAS BECOME THE DOMINANT RELIGION OF OUR AGE... THAT ANYONE FOOLISH ENOUGH TO SUGGEST TEMPERING THE QUEST FOR PROFIT WITH A MODICUM OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OR THE ENVIRONMENT IS VIEWED AS A HERETIC—IF NOT AN UTTER LUNATIC.



AND YET... SOMETHING EXTRAORDINARY JUST HAPPENED IN SEATTLE. DEMONSTRATORS TOOK TO THE STREETS AND MADE THEIR VOICES HEARD—AND IT MADE A DIFFERENCE. THE MEDIA WERE FORCED TO ADDRESS ISSUES THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG, TO EXPLAIN WHY ANYONE COULD POSSIBLY BE OPPOSED TO UNFETTERED GLOBAL CAPITALISM. IN A FEW SHORT DAYS, THE ENTIRE DEBATE WAS ALTERED, PERHAPS IRREVOCABLY.



YOU KNOW THAT SOMETHING IS DEEPLY, FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG.



YOU KNOW SOMETHING'S WRONG. MAYBE IT'S TIME TO START MAKING SOME NOISE ABOUT IT.



Eat The State! GOES postal!

- ☐ Yes, I want my copy of *Eat the State!* delivered to me every week by a uniformed agent of the United States government. Here's my \$16 (20 issues/9 mo.); \$29 (40 issues).
- ☐ And furthermore, I'm sick of corporate media, and want to see an independent alternative live long and prosper. Here's my donation of _____.
☐ But please keep my name off any donors list published in ETS! Sign me "Anonymous."

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE _____ E-MAIL _____

Make check payable to Eat the State! and mail to PO Box 85541, Seattle, WA 98145.

EAT THE STATE!
P.O. Box 85541
Seattle WA 98145 USA
206-903-9461
ets@scn.org
<http://EatTheState.org>

EAT THE STATE! is a shamelessly biased political journal. We want an end to poverty, exploitation, imperialism, militarism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, environmental destruction, television, and large ugly buildings, and we want it fucking now. We are not affiliated with any political group or party. We publish EAT THE STATE! as a not-for-profit way of sharing information, resources, opinions, and hopefully inspiring ACTION in our community. Please help!

EAT THE STATE! is published and distributed free each Wednesday in Western Washington. We welcome articles, letters, comments, tips, and feedback. All rights are cast to the wind unless noted otherwise by author or artist. We'd appreciate it if you credit us, and let us know, when you quote or reprint our stuff.

Subscriptions by mail to EAT THE STATE! are \$16 (26 weeks) or \$29 (one year). Advertising is available via directory listings for community groups, display ads (businesses, groups, or events), or one-page inserts (groups or events); inquire for rates and conditions. In Seattle, EAT THE AIRWAVES!, with weekly political analysis, airs each Saturday, 8:30-9 AM on KCMU 90.3 FM.

EAT THE STATE! depends on reader and volunteer support to survive. We have no paid staff and are supported solely by volunteer labor, donations, subscriptions, in-kind donations, and ads from progressive groups and businesses. No grants, no corporate hush money, no trust funds, no 1-900 lines. It's pretty simple: if you like what we do, send us money so we can do more!

EAT THE STATE! is printed at Little Nickel on 40% post-consumer recycled newsprint, using soy-based ink.

Editors: Geov Parrish, Maria Tomchick. Calendar & History editor: Valerie Jean. Layout: Lance Scott. Advertising Coordinator: Mike McCormick. Production Coordinators: John Reese, Eddie Tews. E-Mail Subscriptions: Stefani Banerian. Web Coordinators: Tom Vaughan, Peter Sutherland. More distribution help: Rick Barrett, Mike Berry, Audrey, Brian Dellert, Michelle Jacobson, Michael Mossberg, Albert Kaufman, Valerie Jean, Stefani Banerian, John Reese, Eddie Tews, Matt Levinthal, Lori Morgan. Dozens of others regularly help put ETS! out. Business meetings are the first Tuesday of each month; all are welcome. We meet each Tuesday evening (7 PM, University Baptist Church, 4554 12th Ave. NE) to insert, mail, distribute, gossip, strategize, and make a mess. Please join us!

EAT THE AIRWAVES!

The fastest-moving 30 minutes between 8:30 AM and 9 AM! Exclusively Saturdays, on Seattle's KCMU 90.3 FM.

Reclaim Our History

Dec. 22 1830: State of Georgia outlaws any Cherokee council meetings, unless they are giving land to whites. **1974:** Hopi and Navajo Relocation Act passed by Congress to get those inconvenient Native Indians at Big Mountain, Arizona, away from lucrative coal deposits. Big Mountain families continue resistance today. **1993:** Native Title Act restores some land and rights lost by Aboriginal peoples, Australia. **1997:** Paramilitaries associated with the ruling PRI party massacre 45 peasants, Chiapas, Mexico.

Dec. 24 1834: Elizabeth Chandler, slavery abolitionist, born. **1865:** Months after the fall of the Confederacy, Ku Klux Klan founded, Pulaski, Tenn. **1992:** In the last days of his administration, President Bush pardons six people in the Iran-Contra case, including former Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger.

Dec. 25 1611: European settlers destroy Apamatuks village in Virginia. Settlers erect town of Bermuda Hundred on the site. Merry Christmas. **1956:** A good Christian bombs the home of anti-segregationist Fred Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Alabama. **1972:** Earthquake destroys Managua, Nicaragua. **1990:** Mass demonstration in India, protesting dam construction, flooding 1000s of farms. Project is significantly reduced, proving the IMF and World Bank don't always succeed.

Dec. 26 1862: 39 Santee Lakota simultaneously hanged, the largest mass execution in U.S. history, Mankato, Minn. **1877:** Socialist Labor Party founded in the U.S. **1988:** Funeral of Chico Mendes, murdered for leading the struggle against destruction of Amazon rainforests, Brazil. **1992:** Women In Black begin campaign against wartime rape, Belgrade, Serbia.

Dec. 27 1900: Prohibitionist Carry Nation leads first bottle-smashing saloon raid, Wichita, Kansas. **1913:** Mass rebellion by IWW workers forces city to house 400 unemployed during winter, Edmonton, Alberta. **1914:** Founding of International Fellowship of Reconciliation, multi-faith peace group, Cambridge, Great Britain.

Dec. 29 1890: Several hundred Lakota men, women, and children massacred by U.S. troops at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. **1994:** A state court reaffirms fishing harvest rights of fifteen Indian tribes, rejects property rights advocates' case, Wash. **1970:** U.S. Congress passes Occupational Health and Safety Act (OSHA).

Dec. 30 1995: Anti-abortion gunman kills Shannon Lowney of Planned Parenthood and Lee Ann Nichols of Preterm, women's health care clinics, Brookline, Mass.

Jan. 1 1804: Haitian slaves, led by Jean Jacques Desalines, declare independence. Haiti becomes first free Black nation-state; U.S. refuses to recognize Haitian nation for over 70 years. **1863:** President Lincoln signs Emancipation Proclamation, freeing slaves in all rebel states. **1957:** Southern Christian Leadership Conference founded; Martin Luther King, Jr. becomes its president. **1959:** Cuban dictator Juan Batista flees the island; Fidel Castro's forces enter Havana the next day. **1983:** Women break into cruise missile base, dance on silos, Greenham Common, Britain. **1986:** Ten anti-nuclear activists arrested for trespassing at Nevada Test Site. Over 10,000 anti-nuclear activists arrested there in subsequent years.

the cancellation of Clinton's visit to Seattle the following day. This, he argues, was a way for AFL-CIO President John Sweeney to, as Teamsters' President Jimmy Hoffa, Jr. put it, "get labor a seat at the table (of the WTO)," a reward from Clinton for his good behavior.

The Left Business Observer's Doug Henwood respectfully disagreed with Cockburn in his December 1 commentary posted on his publication's website (www.panix.com/~dhenwood/LBO_home.html). Henwood argued that any showing in the week's festivities by organized labor was a good thing in and of itself. Besides, he opined, did you really expect John Sweeney to have anything to do with such a militant stand against Clintonism? The same AFL-CIO President who had recently endorsed the candidacy of the hideous Al Gore? Expecting 30,000 rank and file union members to engage in militant street protests against the WTO, while fun to contemplate, would be putting the cart before horse, Henwood argues.

Excuse my bias but I have to respectfully disagree with Cockburn and Henwood. While they both have cases for their arguments, this 28-year-old has heard one too many disparaging remarks by '60s protest veterans about the purported apathy of those my age and younger at past demonstrations. Democracy Now's (Democracynow.org) co-host Juan Gonzalez, a veteran of the protests at Columbia in 1968, got it right in his December 1 New York Daily News column when he opined that a new generation of young rebels came of age in Seattle on November 30 (the late Abbie Hoffman's 63rd birthday no less). Despite the no-show by the AFL-CIO, the martial law declaration by Generalismo Schell and the abusive barrage of tear gas, pepper spray, and rubber bullets from cops dressed like storm troopers, the young demonstrators refused to quit demonstrating. Their unstoppable energy paid off as Gonzalez noted in his December 3 column. He aptly and ironically compared the energy of the young demonstrators to the Energizer Bunny on Democracy Now! Exhausted police were finally forced to give

up the nazi-like gassing campaign and stand aside as the demonstrations continued on December 2.

If that wasn't enough, the hundreds of arrested demonstrators refused to cooperate with authorities, demanding they not violate their Constitutional rights. The demonstrators refused en masse to give out their names to any authority until they were given an opportunity to speak to an attorney and, not surprisingly, hundreds of their fellow demonstrators surrounded the King County Jail, demanding their immediate release. Not only did the youth contingent in Seattle give the WTO a much deserved black eye, they gave the entire nation a badly needed civics lesson after more than a decade of the fascist "War On Drugs."

And where was that other noted fossil, Jesse Jackson? Yes, Jackson was a no-show at the largest act of civil disobedience in a generation. Martin Luther King's heir apparent demonstrated his fraudulence once again. This was to be expected. King was not a politician. He was an activist for social justice. Jackson is just a politician in the Democratic Party, nothing more. While

Jackson's recent intervention on behalf of six expelled black high school students in Decatur, Illinois had the noble intention of bringing light to the unjust treatment of youth since the school shooting in Littleton, Colorado, it is far safer than militantly protesting Clintonism on the streets of Seattle. It is far safer to take on the school board in Decatur than it is the WTO. Of course, Jackson could do more to bring attention to the unjust treatment of youth by protesting the teen-hating policies of Clinton himself in front of the White House. Like Sweeney, the last thing Jackson would want is to be banished from Court by his Highness. Not surprisingly, Jackson is an unabashed supporter of Clinton's trade policies.

Those elements of polite society within the foundations, and NGOs urging only timid protest and embracing the enemy in Seattle were betraying the militant legacy of sit-down demonstrations by the labor and civil rights movements. The young street protesters in Seattle are the true inheritors of those twin legacies we owe so much to. Case closed.
—Rick Giombetti

The Historic Significance of Seattle

The failure of the WTO Ministerial meeting in Seattle was an historic watershed, in more than one way. Firstly, it has demonstrated that globalization is not an inevitable phenomena which must be accepted at all costs but a political project which can be responded to politically.

Fifty thousand citizens from all walks of life and all parts of the world were responding politically when they protested peacefully on the streets of Seattle for four days to ensure that there would be no new round of trade negotiations for accelerating and expanding the process of globalization.

Trade Ministers from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean were responding politically when they refused to join hands to provide support to a "contrived" consensus since they had been excluded from the negotiations being undertaken in

the "green room" process behind closed doors. As long as the conditions of transparency, openness, and participation were not ensured, developing countries would not be party to a consensus. This is a new context and will make bulldozing of decisions difficult in future trade negotiations.

The rebellion on the streets and the rebellion within the WTO negotiations has started a new democracy movement—with citizens from across the world and the governments of the South refusing to be bullied and excluded from decisions in which they have a rightful share.

Seattle had been chosen by the U.S. to host the Third Ministerial conference because it is the home of Boeing and Microsoft, and symbolizes the corporate power which WTO rules are designed to protect and expand.

► FLYER INSERTS

Why have your group or upcoming event hustle all around town, putting flyers in bookstores, cafes, libraries, and other free literature areas, when ETS! already does it? We'll insert your existing flyer or run off copies of your camera-ready art and insert it. Full or half-size sheets only, please.

Insertions: \$20 per 1,000, up to 3,000 distributed, one-time insertion.

If you supply the paper:
Single-sided, 2.8¢ per page
Double-sided, 5.1¢ per page
If we supply the paper (100% recycled post-consumer fiber)
Single-sided, 4¢ per page
Double-sided, 6.3¢ per page

Add \$5 per 1,000 if we need to slice half-sheet flyers.

Visit Our New
Bakery Cafe
1604 N 34th

Certified Organic
❖ Baked Seven
Days a Week

The
ESSENTIAL BAKING
Company

HOT
MAMA'S
PIZZA

New York Style Pizza
700 E Pine
Capitol Hill, Seattle

FREE DELIVERY

322-6444

We deliver downtown!
Fax number: 322-7884

PIZZA • CALZONES •
SALADS • STIX • SODAS

Yet the corporations were staying in the background, and proponents of free-trade and WTO were going out of their way to say that WTO was a "member-driven" institution controlled by governments who made democratic decisions. The refusal of Third World Governments to rubber-stamp decisions from which they had been excluded has brought into the open and confirmed the non-transparent and anti-democratic processes by which WTO rules have been imposed on the Third World and has confirmed the claims of the critics.

WTO has earned itself names such as World Tyranny Organization because it enforces tyrannical anti-people, anti-nature decisions to enable corporations to steal the world's harvests through secretive, undemocratic structures and processes. The WTO institutionalises forced trade not free trade, and beyond a point, coercion, and the rule of force cannot continue.

The WTO tyranny was apparent in Seattle both on the streets and inside the Washington State Convention center where the negotiations were taking place. Non-violent citizens, including young people and old women, labor activists and environmental activists, and even local residents, were brutally beaten up, sprayed with tear gas, and arrested in hundreds. The intolerance of democratic dissent, which is a hallmark of dictatorship, was unleashed in full force in Seattle. While the trees and stores were lit up for Christmas festivity, the streets were barricaded and blocked by the police, turning the city into a war zone.

The media has referred to the protesters as "power mongers" and "special interest" groups. Globalizers, such as Scott Miller of the U.S. Alliance for Trade Expansion said that the protesters were acting out of fear and ignorance.

The thousands of youth, farmers, workers, and environmentalists who marched the streets of Seattle in peace and solidarity were not acting out of ignorance and fear, they were outraged because they know how undemocratic the WTO is, how destructive its social and ecological impacts are, and how the rules of the WTO are driven by the objectives of establishing corporate control over every dimension of our lives—our food, our health, our environment, our work, and our future.

When labor joins hands with environmentalists, when farmers from the North and farmers from the South make a common commitment to say "no" to genetically engineered crops, they are not acting in their special interests. They are defending the common interests and common rights of all people, everywhere. The divide-and-rule policy, which has attempted to pit consumers against farmers, the North against the South, labor against environmentalists, has failed.

In their diversity, citizens were united across sectors and regions. While the broad-based citizens' campaigns stopped a new Millennium Round of WTO from being launched in Seattle, they did launch their own millennium round of democratization of the global economy.

The real Millennium Round for the WTO is the beginning of a new democratic debate about the future of the Earth and the future of its people. The centralized, undemocratic rules and structures of the WTO that are establishing global corporate rule based on monopolies and monocultures

need to give way to an earth democracy supported by decentralization and diversity. The rights of all species and the rights of all people must come before the rights of corporations to make limitless profits through limitless destruction.

"Free trade" is not leading to freedom. It is leading to slavery. Diverse life forms are being enslaved through patents on life, farmers are being enslaved into high-tech slavery, and countries are being enslaved into debt and dependence and destruction of their domestic economies.

We want a new millennium based on economic democracy not economic totalitarianism. The future is possible for humans and other species only if the principles of competition, organized greed, commodification of all life, monocultures, monopolies, and centralized global corporate control of our daily lives enshrined in the WTO are replaced by the principles of protection of people and nature, the obligation of giving and sharing diversity, and the decentralization and self-organization enshrined in our diverse cultures and national constitutions.

A new threshold was crossed in Seattle—a watershed towards the creation of a global citizen-based and citizen-driven democratic order. The future of the World Trade Organisation will be shaped far more by what happened on the streets of Seattle and in the non-governmental organization events than by what happened in the Washington State Convention Center.

The rules set by the secretive World Trade Organization violate principles of human rights and ecological survival. They violate rules of justice and sustainability. They are rules of warfare against the people and the planet. Changing these rules is the most important democratic and human rights struggle of our times. It is a matter of survival.

Citizens went to Seattle with the slogan "No new round, turnaround." They have been successful in blocking a new round. The next challenge is to turn the rules of globalization and free trade around, and make trade subservient to higher values of the protection of the earth and people's livelihoods.

The citizens' Seattle round of the democratization of the food system synthesised common concerns of people from across the world to ensure that the way we produce, distribute, process, and consume food is sustainable and equitable. In the Third World and the industrialised world, common principles have started to emerge from peoples practices to ensure a safe and healthy food supply. These principles enable us to shift to nature-centered and people-centered food systems.

1. Diversity rather than monocultures to ensure higher output per acre.
2. Decentralization and localization in place of centralization and globalization.
3. Ecological processes instead of industrial processes of farming.
4. Food rights and food security rather than free trade as the basis of distribution.
5. Democratic control rather than corporate control of the food system.
6. Patent-free and genetic-engineering-free farming to ensure the respect and protection of all species and the integrity of ecosystems and cultures. This involves excluding life forms from TRIPS and Biosafety from WTO rules of free trade.
7. Cultural diversity in place of the ➤

One Planet

As the U.S. is preparing to hand over the Panama Canal to Panama, the leftist rebel group **The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)** is preparing to re-take the countryside near the Colombian border with Panama. On Dec. 13, the day before the ceremony to hand over the canal, FARC rebels overran a naval base and a police station just 15 miles from the Panamanian border—FARC's biggest victory in many months. Historically, FARC has used the region to run guns from Central America, but recently right-wing paramilitary groups supported by the Colombian military (and funded by U.S. "drug war" money) have slaughtered civilians and pushed the FARC out of much of the region. But now the rebels are back for round two. Notably, the Colombian government attempted to deploy their new rapid response force which they had unveiled earlier this month, but the "rapid response" troops arrived more than 24 hours after the rebels attacked. *From: "Rebels Hit Colombian Base Near Panama," Washington Post, 12/14/99, A31.*

Speaking of revolutionaries, more than 2,500 leftists assembled in Brazil for the **Humanities Against Neo-Liberalism summit** in early December. Held in the Amazon city of Belem, the site of a failed 1835 indigenous uprising against the Portuguese slave trade, the summit included Zapatistas, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and demonstrators fresh from the Battle in Seattle. Brazilian trade unionists, members of the landless peasants movement, and representatives of several indigenous tribes also attended the five-day summit to discuss peaceful strategies for building the Left; discussion of guerrilla warfare was prohibited. Brazil also proved to be a better host than the City of Seattle: the Belem authorities opened up school halls and local sports centers to house the delegates free of charge. *From: "2,500 revolutionaries converge on Brazil," Boston Globe, 12/6/99, A8.*

Seattle wasn't alone in protesting the WTO. On Nov. 30, an **anti-WTO demonstration in London's financial district** drew a large crowd as it moved to 10 Downing Street and then on to Houses of Parliament. Eventually the crowd swelled to over 2,000 people and included railworkers, healthcare workers, Zapatista supporters, anti-genetic-engineering activists, peace people, anti-capitalists, and a host of other activists. By the time the crowd reached the Euston railway station, however, riot police blocked their way, closed down the Euston Station during rush hour, and began to shoot tear gas and bust heads. Most protesters fled, but a large contingent of black-bloc anarchists fought back, throwing sticks and bottles and pushing the police line back; eventually they overturned a car and a police van, which they set ablaze. 40 people were arrested. Notably, Euston Station is the home of the Railtrack offices. Railtrack, a private company (one of many private companies that have benefited from the British government's push to privatize public transport), has been widely blamed for a number of fatal railway accidents in Britain, including the recent Paddington Station collision that killed 31 people. *Sources include: "WTO Foes Riot in London," Wired Magazine, 11/30/99 and "Anarchists Riot All Over World," The Daily Record, 12/1/99.*

Meanwhile, on Nov. 30 in **Glasgow, Scotland, a group of nearly 100 anti-WTO protesters invaded the head offices of the Clydesdale Bank.** Police were called, but they remained outside; the demonstration remained peaceful and there were no arrests.

On Dec. 11, **several hundred Mexican university students turned out to bash the WTO** at the U.S. embassy in Mexico City. Students demanded the release of all the demonstrators arrested in Seattle during the WTO protests and the release of Mumia Abu Jamal. They burned a U.S. flag, threw rocks at police guarding the embassy, and had a pitched battle with riot police in the Zona Rosa tourist district—undoubtedly forcing many Christmas shoppers to cower in their hotels. Nearly a hundred students were arrested; a support demonstration will be held in Seattle Dec. 22. (See calendar.) *From: "Police clash with demonstrators at U.S. embassy," Tribune News Service, 12/12/99.*

Sonia Picado, the head of the U.N. Commission of Inquiry in East Timor, has admitted: **"The killings in East Timor were systematic.** Every day you find bodies. So many people have died, including women and children." Both Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos Horta—winners of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to gain independence for East Timor—have demanded a U.N. tribunal to try Indonesia's generals for human rights violations. Don't hold your breath. The Indonesian government has stated that it won't allow any of its military officers to be tried in another country, fearing that this would set a nasty precedent for gangsters like Suharto (Indonesia's Pinochet). Meanwhile, the Indonesian government's own Committee for the Investigation of Human Rights Abuses in East Timor has drawn up a list of 60 generals that it believes were involved in the post-election bloodbath, including the puppet-master General Wiranto. It remains to be seen if any of them will go to trial. As Bishop Belo commented: "I do not have confidence in Indonesian institutions." *From: "Proof of 'systematic killings' in Timor, Independent (UK), 12/9/99 and "Calls for UN tribunal on Timor," BBC News, 12/10/99.*

—Maria Tomchick

► global monoculture of fast foods and industrial food chains.

8. Small farms and small farmers in place of corporate farms and absentee land owners. This involves protection of existing small farms and land reforms to redistribute land.

9. Fair trade, not free trade, to ensure farmers and producers get a fair return. Trade as a means rather than end, with global trade subservient to values of ecological sustainability, health, and social justice.

Against all odds, millions of people from across the world have been putting these principles into practice. The post-Seattle challenge is to change the global trade rules and national food and agricultural policies so that these practices can be nurtured and spread, and ecological agriculture, which protects small farms and peasant livelihoods and produces safe food, is not marginalized and criminalized. The time has come to reclaim the stolen harvest and celebrate the growing and giving of good food as the highest gift and the most revolutionary act. —Vandana Shiva

On Outrage at the Police

Hundreds of people—locals and non-locals, protesters and bystanders—have testified to the tremendous brutality demonstrated by law enforcement officers during the WTO Ministerial. With an apparent sense of impunity but carrying out no evident strategy, Seattle, King County, and Federal agents repeatedly fired nerve gas, rubber bullets, concussion grenades and pepper spray into dense crowds throughout the downtown core and Capitol Hill.

While this explosion of force was unique in volume, it was essentially routine in nature. Itchy trigger finger is not a new ailment just now spreading to the Sound; it's been afflicting cops for years—in Seattle as well as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

So how was WTO week different? It seems that the political character of police targets was unusual. But such distinctions rely on a conception of "political" as something necessarily abstract and disembodied—labored tears for sea turtles as

pointed, political; inchoate rage against an occupying army as petty, personal. This is ludicrous. While some strategies may be wiser than others, and while issues of organization are worth debating, we must understand and insist that all resistance is always political.

The Ministerial was certainly exceptional, but not an exception. Random arrests, false accusations, rough handling—this is what police do. It's quite literally their job. WTO police victims were lucky enough to have access to large and credulous support networks who shared their conviction of righteousness. Unfortunately, this sense of outraged justice was terribly out of tune to begin with.

The real difference of WTO week was about race and resources as much as it was about power and politics. During the Ministerial, far from the communities of color where they usually concentrate their firepower, the police acted out against people who thought the

police would never act out against them.

So we should not be shocked by police rioting, and we should not feel justice has failed us; we should have already understood that indiscriminate brutality has long been a standard feature of law enforcement. (We should even wonder if there was *ever* a time when the criminal justice system was *not* brutal by design.) Rather than feeling outraged, we should feel *enraged*; there was no promise broken, only a mission fulfilled.

We lived exactly the arbitrary intolerant sort of crackdown that always comes when the people threaten the corporate state in any way, planned or spontaneous, organized or chaotic. The same kind of arbitrary and intolerant crackdown that killed Michael Ealy last year rained down on many more of us last week.

Do not misunderstand: It certainly is time for a change, time to rise up against a terrorizing police force and the whole of the prison-industrial complex it protects and serves. But let's not be deluded by self-important naivete—it's been that time for years, not days. —Sage Wilson

A Whiff of Democracy in Seattle

Democracy was certainly in the streets of Seattle, and a whiff—perhaps carried by tear gas—even made it into the convention center where trade ministers from the World Trade Organization (WTO) member states met.

Many factors contributed to the collapse of the WTO talks—an effort to expand the scope of the trade agency's authority—but there is no question that popular protests played a central role.

Tuesday saw at least 40,000 people take to the streets to protest the corporate tilt of the WTO. A stunning coalition of teamsters, consumers, sea turtle protection activists, religious people, women's groups, environmentalists, students and anti-corporate youth and many, many others joined to "Just Say No to the WTO."

Approximately 10,000 people—primarily students and youth—joined together in an extraordinarily well-organized and highly disciplined direct action to block every access way to the convention center, stopping most of the official and negotiating activities scheduled for the WTO meeting's first working day.

Notwithstanding city efforts to clamp down on all public dissent in the downtown area, protests continued throughout the week, with thousands demonstrating at separate environmental, farmer, steelworker, and women's marches and rallies. Always on display were focused attacks on the WTO and strident criticism of the corporations that have drafted and lobbied for its anti-people rules.

On Friday, perhaps 10,000 joined in a labor-led march—organized on about 24 hours notice—to again protest the WTO and the city's infringements on civil liberties through the creation of a "no protest" zone.

Inside the convention center, where negotiations began on Wednesday after riot-gear-equipped police and national guard forces cordoned off the downtown from most protesters, turmoil was building as well.

When separate working groups negotiating over a wide array of sectors failed to produce compromise agreements, the United States sought to forge a deal through the WTO's heavy-handed old-style tactics.

Charlene Barshefsky, the U.S. Trade Representative, and the rest of the U.S. negotiating team picked a handful of countries to commence negotiations in a closed "Green Room." The idea was for the arbitrarily selected bunch to work out a comprehensive deal, and then present it to the entire WTO membership as a *fait accompli* for adoption. But even the Green Room gambit failed, and the talks ended in complete disarray.

FOCUS ON THE CORPORATION

The complexity of trade negotiations—with compromises made in one sector dependent on unrelated compromises in another—means no single factor can explain the talks' failure. But it is possible to identify many of

the key negotiating reasons for the collapse:

- The European Union and the United States could not work out an agricultural accommodation, with the EU's commitment to export subsidies a critical stumbling block.

- Many Third World countries revolted against the negotiating process, and their complete exclusion from the Green Room discussions. More than 70 developing countries, primarily from Africa and the Caribbean, declared on Thursday that they would not sign a final declaration negotiated in a process from which they had been excluded.

- Many Third World countries resisted the U.S. call for formation of a working group to study the relationship between trade and labor issues.

- A compromise deal that was floated early Friday morning would have entailed politically unacceptable compromises on the key issues of concern to U.S. labor unions—anti-dumping (rules permitting countries to block the import of below-market-cost imports) and some progress on rules to promote adherence to core labor standards.

On each of these issues, the street protests helped heighten contradictions and conflicts. The simple fact of preventing negotiations on Tuesday helped impede agreement in the agricultural sector. As a delegate from Zimbabwe explained, the street demonstrations emboldened the Third World negotiators to object to the exclusionary processes inside the WTO. And the demands from the U.S. labor movement—backed by mobilized rank-and-file members—stiffened the U.S. negotiators so that they at least refused to cave in on their minimalist labor rights demands.

For now, street heat has stifled the corporate elite. Just as they blocked delegates from entering the convention center, so they blocked the corporations' attempt to extend the WTO's reach even further into nation's economies and societies.

But as spectacular as was the Seattle victory, achieving the second half of one of the week's primary slogans—"No New Round, Turnaround"—will be even more daunting. Launching a new WTO negotiating round is nowhere near as important to corporate interests as maintaining existing WTO rules and the prevailing model of corporate globalization.

Still, a little bit of democratic empowerment can be a dangerous thing. If the broad coalition that came together in Seattle can stay together—a big "if"—it may eventually be able to force new rules for the global economy, so that trade is finally subordinated to the humane values of health, safety,

Eat These Shorts!

A few ETS! Kitchen notes: We've been overwhelmed with WTO material for the last two issues, and want to thank all those folks who took the time to send us their articles and accounts. By next issue, we'll be back in the mundane world of Seattle politics more squarely, but again this issue wanted to share some of the global and personal perspectives we've gotten on the truly remarkable events of Nov. 30-Dec. 3.

We also wanted to clarify, just in time for holiday gift-giving: We've changed our subscription rate structure to reflect the fact that we're no longer publishing weekly, and aren't sure when (or if) we'll go back. So it's now structured by issue, with the rates being \$16 for 20 issues (about nine months, if we stay biweekly) and \$29 for 40 issues. It's still a great deal, as well as a cool way to support your favorite (we hope) independent news and opinion source. —Geov Parrish

Here's an announcement for demonstrators, shoppers, commuters, and Capitol Hill residents who were hit by the police assault during WTO week. **If you got a dose of tear gas on Dec. 1, you should be concerned.** If you have not done so already, wash your hair and all exposed clothing *in detergent*. Not that eco-friendly stuff; this requires seriously powerful detergents to break down the residue of the gas, which can otherwise remain indefinitely. Also, people who received indirect exposure by treating others who were exposed or handling clothing doused with the gas should do the same. Dr. Kirk Murphy of the Direct Action Network's Medic Team (206-396-3983), and Physicians for Social Responsibility in Los Angeles (310-458-2694 or psrsn@psr.org) are both compiling evidence to determine if nerve toxins were used or if the military-grade tear gas that was used on Dec. 1 (after the Seattle Police Department ran out of its stockpile) may have contained toxic agents. If you've had any of the following symptoms, contact them immediately: abrupt onset of menstruation, vomiting/diarrhea, temporary impairment of vision, confusion, brief unconsciousness, convulsions, or delayed burning. You should, of course, seek medical treatment immediately. In addition, call Jeff Duchin, the head of the King

(continued on p. 6, bottom)

Victory in Seattle

Beyond the wildest hopes of the street warriors, five days in Seattle brought us one victory after another. The protesters—initially shunned and denounced by the respectable “inside strategists,” scorned by the press, and gassed and bloodied by the cops and national guard—shut down the opening ceremony, prevented Clinton from addressing the WTO delegates at the Wednesday night gala, turned the corporate press from prim denunciations of “mindless anarchy” to bitter criticisms of police brutality, and forced the WTO to cancel its closing ceremonies and to adjourn in disorder and confusion, without an agenda for the next round.

In the annals of popular protest in America, these were shining hours, achieved entirely outside the conventional arena of orderly protest, white paper activism, and the timid bleats of the professional leadership of big labor and environmentalists. This truly was an insurgency from below in which all those who strove to moderate and deflect the turbulent flood of popular outrage managed to humiliate themselves. The contradiction between the demure agenda of the genteel element and the robust, tear-it-all-down approach of the street legions was already apparent by Tuesday.

All day long, Tuesday, November 30, the street warriors in downtown Seattle vindicated their pledge to shut down the first day of the WTO talks, in itself a rousing victory. Locked-down Earth-Firsters, Ruckus Society agitators, anarchists, and other courageous troublemakers hopefully awaited reinforcement from the big labor rally taking place around the Space Needle, some 15 or 20 blocks from downtown. As the morning ticked away and the cops got rougher, the street warriors kept asking, “Where are the labor marchers?,” expecting that at any moment thousands of longshoremen and teamsters would reinforce them in the desperate fray.

But the absent legions of labor never showed. Suppose they had. Suppose there had been 30,000 to 40,000 protesters around the Convention Center, vowing to keep it shut all week. Would the cops have charged such a force? Downtown could have been held all night, and perhaps President Bill would have been forced to make his welcoming address from SeaTac or from the sanctuary of his ardent campaign funder, the Boeing Company. That would have been a humiliation for imperial power of historic proportions, like the famous greeting the Wobblies organized to greet President Woodrow Wilson after the breaking of the Seattle General Strike in 1919 when workers and their families lined the streets, block after block, standing in furious silence as the President’s motorcade passed by. Wilson had his stroke not long thereafter.

This might-have-been is not posed out of churlishness, but to encourage a sense of realism about what is possible in the struggle against the trading arrangements now operative in the WTO.

Take organized labor, as embodied in the high

NATURE & POLITICS

command of the AFL-CIO. Are these people truly committed to the destruction of the WTO? Of course they aren’t. It was back in February of this year that the message came down from AFL-CIO HQ that rallying in Seattle was fine, but the plan was not to shut down the WTO. Labor’s plan was to work from the inside. As far as any street action was concerned, the deals were cut long ago. Labor might huff and labor might puff, but when it comes to the WTO, what labor wanted, in James Hoffa’s phrase, was a seat at the table.

And what would this seat at the table turn out to be? At Seattle those labor chieftains were willing to settle for a truly threadbare bit of window dressing, in the shape of a working group which would, in the next round of WTO talks, be sensitive to labor’s concerns. Here’s the chronology: The present trade round would have pondered the working group’s mission and composition and made recommendations for the next round of trade talks. Then, when the next round got under way, the working group would perhaps take form. Guess what? It’s at least 2014 AD before the working group is up and running.

Sweeney’s AFL-CIO isn’t against the WTO. Sweeney himself is physically fading into the woodwork. One well-informed friend used the brutal comparison (in health terms) of Boris Yeltsin. Gerry Shea, Sweeney’s head of government affairs and the man essentially running the show at 16th Street in Washington, has no ideological posture on the issue and listens closely to his old friend David Smith, who heads the AFL-CIO’s public policy department and who is a zealous free trader, cerebellum thickly stuffed with neo-liberal hokum.

There are unions—the autoworkers, steelworkers, teamsters, machinists, UNITE—which have rank and file members passionately concerned about “free trade” when, as in the case of the teamsters, it means Mexican truck drivers coming over the border at \$2 an hour. But how many of these unions are truly ready to break ranks and holler “Death to the WTO?” For that matter, how many of them are prepared to think in world terms, as the capitalists do? Take the steelworkers, the only labor group which, in the form of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, took up position in downtown that Tuesday morning (and later fought with the cops and endured tear gas themselves). But on that same day, November 30, the Moscow Tribune ran a story reporting that the Clinton administration has effectively stopped all cold-rolled steel imports from Russia by imposing penalty duties of 178%. Going into winter those Russian working families at Severstal, Novolipetsk, and Magnitogorsk are facing tougher times than ever.

The Moscow Tribune’s reporter, John Helmer, wasn’t in doubt why: “Gore must try to preserve steel company and steel worker support.”

As the preceding item suggests, there’s no such thing as “free trade.” The present argument is not about trade, for which (except for maybe a few bioregionalists in Ecotopia) all are in favor in some measure. The argument is about how trade is to be controlled, how wealth is to be made and distributed. The function of the WTO is to express in trade rules the present balance of economic power on the world held by big corporations, which see the present WTO round as an opportunity to lock in their gains, to enlist its formal backing in their ceaseless quest for cheap labor and places to dump their poisons.

So ours is a worldwide guerrilla war, of publicity, harassment, obstructionism. It’s nothing simple, like the “Stop the War” slogan of the 1960s. Capitalism could stop that war and move on. American capitalism can’t stop trade and survive on any terms it cares for.

We truly don’t want a seat at the table to “reform” trade rules, because if we get one, then sooner or later we’ll be standing alongside Global Exchange’s Medea Benjamin proclaiming that Nike, which pays its workers less than 20 cents an hour, has made “an astounding transformation,” and in Seattle actually defending Nike’s premises from well-merited attack by the street warriors. Capitalism only plays by the rules if it wrote those rules in the first place. The day the WTO stipulates the phase-in of a world minimum wage of \$3 an hour is the day the corporations destroy it and move on. Anyone remember those heady days in the 1970s of the New World Economic Order when Third World countries were going to get a fair shake for their commodities? We were at a far more favorable juncture back then, but it wasn’t long before the debt crisis had struck, the NWEEO was dead, and the mildly progressive UN Commission on Trade and Development forever sidelined.

Publicity, harassment, obstructionism ... Think always in terms of international solidarity. Find targets of opportunity. South Africa forces domestic licensing at cheaper rates of AIDS drugs. Solidarity. The Europeans don’t want bio-engineered crops. Fight on that front. Challenge the system at the level of its pretensions. Make demands in favor of real free trade. Get rid of copyright and patent restrictions and fees imposed on developing nations.

Take Mexico. Dean Baker, of the Center for Economic and Policy Research reckons that Mexico paid the industrial nations last year \$4.2 billion in direct royalties, fees, and indirect costs. And okay, let’s have real free trade in professional services, with standardization in courses and tests so that kids from Mexico and elsewhere can compete with our lawyers, accountants, and doctors.

A guerrilla war, without illusions or respectable ambitions. Justice in world trade is by definition a revolutionary and utopian aim.

—Jeffrey St. Clair and Alexander Cockburn

SHORTS (continued from p. 5)

County Dept. of Epidemiology at 206-296-4774 to become part of the official, governmental documentation of these cases.

—Maria Tomchick

Post-WTO, it’s going to be an uphill battle countering the distortions so widely accepted as fact by the mainstream media. For example, **the estimates of damage downtown have risen to absurd levels.** While the Puget Sound Business Journal initially put the figure in the “hundreds of thousands,” the numbers quoted in the daily newspapers have climbed with every passing day. First, it was a couple hundred thousand, then it was over \$1 million, then \$1.2 million, then \$2 million, and now it’s commonly quoted as \$3 million in damages and as much as \$44 million in lost sales. By January it could

be as high as half a billion dollars, with no one challenging the veracity of such blatant exaggeration. And I’m sick of hearing and reading that protesters “destroyed” or “trashed” downtown. For a couple of days Seattle slightly resembled Flint, Michigan, or downtown Tacoma in the mid-80s (after several manufacturers closed down or moved plants overseas). Get over it. —M.T.

While I’m not a particularly enthusiastic fan of property damage, **the whining** by the likes of Paul Schell (“This is not the way a civil society conducts its business”), Gary Locke (the “disgusting” actions of a few tainted the commendable behaviour of the vast majority), and the local news; all bemoaning Tuesday’s vandalism which (to hear them tell it) forced the police to crack down, and which (unfairly, considering that it was undertaken largely by ruf-

fians from out of town) tarnished the city’s image; **rang tremendously hollow** for a couple of reasons.

First off, the police deployed the armored vehicles and brandished the tear gas and pepper spray containers well before noon, and were dousing the throngs gathered at Union and Pike streets long before night fell. Without having been provoked, at that. Moreover, word had hardly just filtered down to the streets that the mayor was imposing a 7 PM curfew, when the fuzz began—no later than 5:30—to hastily take over the downtown streets. At least from my perch at Third and Pine, the crackdown was without warning, and was conducted with shocking recklessness: the police were firing tear gas cartridges *directly* at people, and wantonly spraying rubber bullets any which way, barely pausing to gather their collective breath at each intersection before cutting loose again. All of this,

of course, is in contradiction to official insistence that police action on Tuesday was aimed overwhelmingly at, and begun only in response to, looters. Nobody should be too surprised that the TV news was lapping up the lies like candied milk. But it *is* another textbook example of the media’s terrifically amusing short-term memory problem. As in, it ain’t got any.

Secondly, the non-stop barrage of high-horsed distinguishing between those who chose to protest peacefully, and those who did not, coupled with Schell’s and Locke’s professed embarrassment at the vandalism, belies not only the show of force used in taking control of the city, but the preferred methods of empire generally. How soon we forget the nearly two million Iraqis killed this decade. Or the four million dead Indochinese. Or the several hundred thousand slaughtered East Timorese. The list of horrors perpetrated by and/or with the

approval and assistance of The United States extends sickeningly on and on, as we know. And while the carnage wrought in imposing the World Economic Order hasn't, natch, been carried out exclusively in the name of the WTO, that's really beside the point. It has been carried out at the behest of international capital, for the serving of which the WTO (and the whole of the lot of agents and bodies advancing similar designs) was expressly created. For the vast bulk of the world's population (to whom a few broken windows and overturned dumpsters must seem awfully trivial), hearing or getting wind of Schell's grand proclamation that "this is not the way a civil society conducts its business" was surely rather an odd proposition, to put it extremely mildly. —Eddie Tews

For a **reality check**, here's a few facts from the Puget Sound Business Journal (12/3-12/9/99, pg. 1) that haven't crept into other media reports: most downtown businesses near the convention center (especially the chain stores) had purchased plywood prior to the morning of Nov. 30, but had not covered their windows because they wanted to maintain an illusion of "business as usual." The chain stores, including The Gap and Old Navy (which had been the target of protests earlier in the week), naively decided to remain open—possibly in the stupid assumption that demonstrators would magically put down their signs, unlock their U-locks, and transform into hordes of rabid Christmas shoppers. You'd think they would get a clue. But no. While many smaller stores posted signs in their windows reading "we're locally owned," "we're union," "we're based in Seattle," etc. and were not touched by protesters, the chain stores were clueless ... especially Nordstrom, which has a history of protests staged both *inside and outside* its downtown store. Animal rights activists (protesting the sale of fur and leather), union organizers, groups protesting racial discrimination in hiring and promotion practices, homeless advocates, and people pissed off about the Pacific Place parking garage have all picketed the downtown Nordstrom store. Yet Nordstrom was open for business on both Nov. 30 and Dec. 1, as if nothing unusual would happen to them. All the talk about police preparedness seems silly, when the city warned businesses to take precautions, but none of the big chain stores bothered. —M.T.

One of the funniest incidents in the aftermath of WTO finger-pointing has been the fight between Mayor Paul Schell and King County Sheriff Dave Reichert. First Reichert criticized Schell for apologizing to protesters for Seattle police kicking the shit out of them. Then, **Schell accurately called Reichert a lunatic** after the sheriff staged a phony film of himself pursuing downtown looters, which KING TV happily broadcast. Ironically, Schell, whose arrogance and vile temper are well known, confronted Reichert at Boeing Field during a reception for the arrival of Nelson Mandela. He told Reichert: "I won't come out publicly against you, but I am going to get you personally. I will personally destroy you." Reportedly, a usually-macho Reichert had to be protected physically from Schell, who repeatedly stepped in his path as he tried to flee the confrontation. If Schell wanted to prove he's not capable of ordering the kind of violence that the police exhibited during the WTO week, so far he's failed miserably. —M.T.

Amidst all the hype in advance of Jim McDermott's successful gambit to get Seattle to host the WTO, almost no press greeted another McDermott free trade disaster: **passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act**. In early November the Senate, for the first time, joined the House in passing the African NAFTA-style bill, presaging the same sort of economic "prosperity" that Mexico's already gotten. McDermott has gotten strikingly little heat for his role in both bringing the WTO to Seattle and carrying water for Boeing. —G.P.

Backtalk

ETS! encourages comments, feedback, tips, corrections, and info! Please keep them as concise as possible so we can print as many different voices as possible: ETS!, P.O. Box 85541, Seattle WA 98145, or e-mail ets@scn.org.

Greetings from Berlin

ETS!,

Wow!

Although I was not in Seattle last week—something happened to me just the same.

I was moved—really moved—by the last week in Seattle, although I'm halfway around the world. I am proud, excited, and just damn pleased that comfortable, happy, polite, latte-sipping Seattle (with the assistance of activists from around the world) got together for this demo of demos. I have been waiting and watching for the WTO meeting for the last year, but as I live in Berlin and could not afford the trip over, I had to observe and participate from afar.

WTO activities and festivities—more so the protests than the WTO meetings—were on the front pages of all newspapers in Berlin for a number of days, and of course on the radio and TV. More than that, people have been talking about Seattle. Almost everyone is surprised.

What? Martial law in Seattle? National Guard? 500 people arrested? In Seattle? The WTO gathering was shut down? Yes!

Seattle put itself, but more importantly the WTO and neo-liberalism in the news and on our tables for discussion.

The big media in Berlin, as expected, focused on the sensational. Clouds of tear gas. Crying downtown workers who could not go to work because of broken windows. Officers—police, national guard, etc.—in all sorts of scary, futuristic costumes with all sorts of scary futuristic weaponry. But also the GREAT street theater, giant puppets, and creative posters and banners. And, importantly, many questions were raised and many people provoked to do some thinking.

The best coverage of course was the alternative media—this time electronic. Thanks to the Independent Media Center for their tremendous Internet broadcasting, images, stories, etc etc. Electronic media networks—such as the ETS! news—carried these stories to me and around the world—much more so than the mass media was able to do or wanted to do.

As I suspect was the case with many, I was also kept posted by a number of family and friends through the wonders of e-mail. Thanks! And strangely enough I was able to hook up some folks in Seattle to other Internet sites and actions from afar.

The success(es) and results were not and

THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW

WELCOME TO "WHO WANTS TO BE A BILLIONAIRE!" OUR FIRST CONTESTANT IS ONE OF THE THREE FACELESS BUREAUCRATS WHO SIT ON THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION'S RULING TRIBUNAL--WEARING A DISGUISE TO PRESERVE HIS ANONYMITY, OF COURSE!

LET'S GET STARTED, ANONYMOUS BUREAUCRAT! FOR \$100, WERE THE PROTESTERS IN SEATTLE--



THE W.T.O. DOESN'T CARE ABOUT YOUR LITTLE RULES! THE W.T.O. MAKES ITS OWN RULES--AND THEY'RE NOT SUBJECT TO APPEAL! YOU KNOW THAT, YOU SCHMUCK--YOU SIGNED THE TREATY!

NOW HAND OVER THE DAMN CHECK--OR FACE HARSH SANCTIONS FOR EXPROPRIATING MY POTENTIAL PROFITS!



--(A) A BUNCH OF KNOW-NOTHING, ANTI-CAPITALIST SUBVERSIVES WHO PROVE THE NEED FOR A NEW SEDITION ACT--

--OR (B) AMERICAN CITIZENS CONCERNED ABOUT THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC EFFECTS OF A SECRETIVE GLOBAL BODY EMPOWERED TO OVERRULE ANY NATION'S LAWS IN THE NAME OF FREE TRADE?

WELL, BILL--THE ANSWER IS CLEARLY (A)! FINAL ANSWER?



WELL, FOLKS--IT LOOKS LIKE WE'VE GOT A WINNER! TUNE IN NEXT TIME--WHEN OUR CONTESTANT WILL BE RALPH NADER!

I'VE GOT A FEELING HE'LL FIND OUR GAME A LITTLE MORE... CHALLENGING...



YES, FINAL ANSWER. BUT BEFORE WE GO ANY FURTHER, I'M GOING TO HAVE TO ASK YOU TO DECLARE ME THE WINNER AND GIVE ME THE BILLION DOLLARS.

UM--THAT'S NOT REALLY HOW THE RULES OF THE GAME ARE SET UP--

Who Wants to Be a Billionaire



Who Wants to Be a Billionaire

Who Wants to Be a Billionaire



are not just in Seattle. Many I know in Berlin are inspired and ready to believe (again) that change is possible—through nonviolent, direct action. Many public events and discussions in Berlin over the last weeks and months have focused on the WTO, others are happening in the coming weeks.

The discussion is really just beginning. I feel a new energy, I suspect that people all around the world sense this as well.

Let's keep the good energy alive. Change is possible ... when the people get together ... and we are together.

Thanks to all of you in Seattle for putting yourselves on the line! Wunderbar! Power to ya!

Michael LaFond, Berlin, Germany

Shade-Grown Coffee

ETS!,

While drinking my shade-grown coffee and reading various newspapers this morning, I was shocked to read about lawless gangs of predominantly male, black-clad, emotionless bullies afraid to show their faces (for fear that they might be sued?) so they covered them up with gas masks, wearing funny looking, menacing, appropriate-for-Star-Wars-II-or-Halloween clothing, gang emblems displayed prominently on their clothing, carrying clubs and other weapons, beating up innocent bystanders, and engaging in drive by shootings during the WTO riots.

Then, I realized from looking at the photo, that the articles were talking about the police, you know, the folks who are

supposed to serve the people and protect the constitution (you know, that annoying piece of paper with references to the right of free speech and assembly.)

But as Dorothy Parker would have said, "How could you tell the difference?"

I couldn't.

Keith Gormezano, Seattle (who used to take pictures for the Iowa City, Iowa, police department and opposes all forms of police brutality)

Leaving It All Behind

I have a guest who came all the way from South Africa staying with me who works for a small NGO, not one invited to WTO. He has gone to all the marches and workshops. He was really surprised by the tear gas and rubber bullets. He thought he'd left that in South Africa years ago.

Victor Odilivak, Seattle

Come to SUPPER at
MAE'S CAFE



Fried CATFISH
Jerk CHICKEN
BBQ RIBS
Mushroom GUMBO
Red BEANS & RICE
Whiskey PECAN PIE

Plus a fine selection of
beer & wine

...not just for breakfast

MAE'S CAFE

65th & Phinney 782-1222

LEFT BANK BOOKS

A Not-for-profit Collectively Owned & Operated Project

Anarchist, Radical, Gay-Lesbian-Bi, History, Feminist
Studies, Beat Lit, Sci-Fi, Culture Studies & much more!

92 Pike Street — in the fabulous Pike Place Market across from the clock & the pig
622-0195 • Hours: Mon-Sat 10am-6pm, Sun 12-6pm

Activist Calendar

WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 22

Noon-2 PM, gather at Church of Mary Magdalene, 5th & Columbia; march to City Hall. "The Longest Night," Winter Solstice March for homeless women and children, calling for shelter for all. Sponsored by First Things First. Info: 206-956-9472.

4-7 PM, Mexican Consul, 3rd & Blanchard. Monthly protest against the low-intensity war in southern Mexico/ support the Zapatistas. Join us on the 2nd anniversary of the massacre of 45 people in Actetal, bring candles, flowers. Demo will also support 98 students arrested in Mexico City this month during rally supporting Seattle anti-WTO actions. Hosted by the Committee Against Repression & For Democracy in Mexico. Info: 425-235-7180 or ryjudge@u.washington.edu.

FRIDAY DECEMBER 24

Gibsons Bar, 2nd & Stewart. Benefit for the National Lawyers Guild WTO Legal Team. NLG provided training for legal observers, legal information for protesters, and legal services for people in custody. Music by many punk rock bands. Info: bp637@scn.org.

WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 29

Through-Tues. Jan. 4, Mexico. Join the Chiapas Media Project—help deliver video cameras and computers to the Indigenous communities of Chiapas. No experience with video equipment or computers is necessary. Scholarships available for youth of color under age 30. Info: cmp@vida.com or 773-583-7728.

Through Sun. Jan. 2, Las Vegas and Nevada Nuclear Weapons Test Site. Millennium 2000: Walking the Ways of Peace: presentations, workshops, procession, nonviolent direct action. Sponsors include Nevada Desert Experience, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA. Info: 702-646-4814 or ndc@igc.apc.org or <http://www.shundahai.org/nde>.

FRIDAY DECEMBER 31

5:30 PM, Westlake Park, 4th & Pine. Critical Mass, an organized coincidence of bicyclists who ride the streets of Seattle en masse. Come join the fun! Info: <http://www.oz.net/~nic/cm.html>.

7-8 PM, Green Lake Park, bus #26, 48. Circle Of Peace: circle the lake with people of all faith and spiritual traditions. Bring candles. Info: 206-323-4600 or DEnroth@aol.com or <http://www.unitedreligions.org>.

8:30 PM, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., bus #7, 9. Radical New Years Eve Party, presented by Radical Women. Buffet, salsa dancing, comedy spoofs, no-host bar. Info: 206-722-6057.

Martin L. King Memorial Park, Martin Luther King Wy S. and S. Walker St., bus #48. "Light Up the Dream"; The Martin L. King Memorial Park will be a blaze of light as we usher in the year 2000; join the "I Can Dream

Foundation" in their work to make the all of Martin Luther King's dreams for peace, racial equality, and economic justice a reality. The lighting of 2000 candles is part of a Peace Vigil to welcome in the new millennium. Hosted by the "I Can Dream Foundation", the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the family of the late Morrie Alhadeeff, many others. Info: 206-760-3263.

SATURDAY JANUARY 1

2-9:30 PM, Garfield Community Center. Celebrate Peace 2000, child-oriented entertainment, music, dancing. Info: Peace Action 206-527-8050 or bucherjohn@earthlink.net.

MONDAY JANUARY 3

6 PM, Ethnic Cultural Center, 3931 Brooklyn Ave NE. Seattle Colombia Committee meeting, working to end the violence against non-combatants caught in the middle of Colombia's civil war. We strongly oppose U.S. military aid to Colombia. Info: 206-923-2669 or oakleyruth@igc.org.

TUESDAY JANUARY 4

6 PM, locations vary, Seattle. GABRIELA Network-NW, a U.S .Solidarity Group with GABRIELA-Philippines, an alliance of over 105 women's organizations in the Philippines. Join solidarity work around Filipina and Asian women's issues, globally and domestically. Info: 206-824-8229.

7 PM, 4759 15th Ave. NE. Meeting of Citizens for Overt Action, help us challenge threats to democracy here and abroad by covert action. Info: 206-547-7735.

7 PM, University Baptist Church, 4554 12th Ave. NE. Monthly business meeting for Eat The Statel, the very publication you're reading right now! Come opine, meet, volunteer. How do we do it every week? With people like you! Come be one of us! Info: 206-215-1156.

7 -8:30 PM, CAMP, 18th Ave. @ Columbia, bus #2. Martin Luther King Jr. Celebration Committee meeting. Help plan January 17 events commemorating Dr. King and furthering civil rights. Info: 206-461-3865.

WEDNESDAY JANUARY 5

5:30 PM, Labor Temple, 2800 1st Ave. Jobs With Justice Seattle Organizing Committee meeting. Info: 206-441-4969.

7 PM, Labor Temple, Hall 8, 2800 1st Ave. Latino Workers meet, plan activism to achieve better wages, medical insurance, pensions. In Spanish , translation to English available. Info: 800-202-1433.

For an excellent and much, much longer compilation of upcoming and ongoing progressive events in Seattle, check out Jean Buskin's Peace Calendar: <http://www.scn.org/activism/calendar/> or e-mail her at bb369@scn.org.

VOLUNTEERUS CHOMPUS

This week's ETS! volunteer needs:

- Ad Salespeople • Regular environmental writer • Good graphics (cartoons, photos, artwork)
- Distributors for West Seattle, North Seattle, South County

Call or e-mail us: 206-903-9461 or ets@scn.org Or stop by, Tuesday nights at Univ. Baptist Church, 47th & 12th NE.

Activist Directory

Our activist directory lists groups doing good work in the Seattle area. Your group could be listed here for \$75 per six months; \$40 if your annual budget is less than \$100,000. Up to 30 word description of your group, with contact info. Reach thousands of people weekly who care about political change (and really good cartoons).

CISPES: The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

915 E. Pine, Room 301, Seattle, WA 98122
206-325-5494
seacispes@igc.apc.org

CISPES meets the third Monday of each month for general committee meetings. Since 1980, CISPES has been committed to solidarity efforts with Labor, Women's, and Political groups in El Salvador.

Citizens for Overt Action

PO Box 95482, Seattle, WA 98145
206-547-7735
frankz@scn.org

Seattle group exposing covert action and government secrecy. Meets first Tuesday each month, 7pm, 4759 15th Ave NE. Watch "Crack the CIA," Public Access TV Channel 29, 11am-noon Tuesdays.

East Timor Action Network (ETAN/Seattle)

423 N. 46th St., Seattle, WA 98103
206-633-2836
<http://www.scn.org/topics/activism/timor>

ETAN works for East Timorese human rights and self-determination. Our focus is on heightening public awareness of East Timor's plight and working to change U.S. policy. Meeting info: 633-2836.

Food Not Bombs

PO Box 45523, Seattle WA 98145
206-985-2247
fnb@scn.org

<http://www.scn.org/activism/foodnotbombs>

FNB is a direct-action volunteer collective that serves nutritious (& frequently delicious) vegetarian meals to people in need every week. We also provide food support to political actions and demonstrations.

Green Party of Seattle

PO Box 95515, Seattle, WA 98145
206-264-5110
sgreens@boutell.com
<http://boutell.com/seagreens>

A progressive alternative to the two corporate parties; rooted in ecology, social justice, nonviolence, and grassroots democracy. Part of a worldwide movement. We do both electoral and non-electoral work.

Nonviolent Action Community of Cascadia (NACC)

4554 12th Av NE, Seattle, WA 98105
206-547-0952
nacc@activist.com

A Seattle-based nonviolent direct action group that works on peace and social justice issues, including Hanford, Boeing, Art & Revolution, war tax resistance, and much more!

Northwest Animal Rights Network (NARN)

1704 East Galer, Seattle WA 98112
206-323-7301
narn@jps.net
<http://www.narn.org>

True compassion and goodness is best measured in someone by how they treat and regard those most at their mercy: the animals. Go Vegan/Vegetarian. Call for free info packet.

Pacific Crest Biodiversity Project

4649 Sunnyside Ave. N. #321, Seattle, WA 98103
206-545-3734
pcbpinfo@pcbp.org
<http://www.pcbp.org>

A grassroots organization to conserve biological diversity in the Northwest. Focuses on protecting watersheds and forests. Currently working to protect the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and Cedar River Watershed.

Seattle Council on Airport Affairs (SCAA)

3213 W. Wheeler St., #146, Seattle, WA 98199
chas@soda.accessone.com or 763-SCAA
<http://www.scn.org/activism/scaa/>

Eat the Sky! We are individuals and community-based organizations that are concerned about the increasing negative impact on the quality of life of this region by airport and aviation operations.