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UPCOMING EVENTS

A GOOD TIME FOR A GOOD CAUSE

Dance Party with the Noisy Gators

(cajun/zydeco dance band with Tom Turino)

With winter pressing in there's no better time for a Dance Party with great food and friends. On Saturday, December 13th AWARE will host the Noisy Gators (one of C-U's best local dance bands). There will be lots of space to dance, food, drinks, and friends. And best of all, the proceeds from the Benefit will all be donated to help those who've been hurt by war - both here at home and in Iraq. Hope to see you there!

Where: The Offices of On the Job Consulting (OJC), 115 West Main, 2F in downtown Urbana (across from Cinema Gallery)

When: Saturday, December 13th, 8-11pm

Sliding Scale donation: \$5 - \$20+

All Proceeds benefit Oxfam Iraq (humanitarian aid to Iraqis) and the Red Cross Armed Forces Emergency Services Fund (help for veterans and military families).

Sponsored by AWARE (Anti-War Anti-Racism Effort)

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SCHOOLS AND PRISONS IN A
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An Interdisciplinary Conference hosted by the University of Illinois Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society
Thursday, Jan. 22-Saturday, Jan. 24, 2004

All activities are at the Levis Faculty Center and are free and open to the public.

For questions or to volunteer your time, please contact Stephen Hartnett at 217-333-1593 or hartnett@uiuc.edu

ZINE SLAM WITH IMPROV MUSIC

**Saturday, December 13 6:30 PM
at the IMC, 218 W. Main St. Urbana**

The IMC Librarians are hosting a zine reading featuring local and Chicago area do-it-yourself publishers. The reading will be accompanied by improvisational music featuring local musician Jason Finkelman. For more information contact librarians@ucimc.org

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SocialistForum: An Open Discussion and Action Group, Meets 3rd Saturdays of the month, 3-5 pm, at IMC, 218 W. Main St. (U)

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A Paper of the People

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The PUBLIC



When Civil Disobedience Becomes Bloody

Dec-Jan 2003-4 • V3 #10

by Laura Stengrim



Laura Stengrim is a graduate student at the U of I. The motivation for this article started while she was a college student in Minnesota and took several trips to Washington, D.C. There, she met members of the Jonah House, Dorothy Day House, and Catholic Worker Movement, many of whom participate in regular acts of civil disobedience as well as the high-stakes protests described here.

DOMINICAN SISTERS Carol Gilbert, Jackie Hudson, and Ardeth Platte are each currently serving time in prison for protesting the buildup to the United States' War on Iraq. Mary Lee Sargent only recently left Champaign-Urbana after a long career of feminist and gay and lesbian advocacy and has also served time. What these four women have in common, besides their time behind bars, is a blood sisterhood of sorts, a history of political commitment so guttural that it includes using human and animal blood to protest institutions such as the deadly U.S. military and stubborn state of Illinois which has yet to support equal rights for women. This article details the nuns' case and Sargent's actions in order to question the use of blood as a dramatic means of symbolic protest.

On October 6, 2002, the Sisters performed a Plowshares action at a Minuteman III missile site in Colorado. This style of direct protest is based on Isaiah's prophecy that to "beat swords into plowshares" is to demand peace at the source of violence, to create a disarmed world. Since 1980, there have been approximately 75 plowshares actions at U.S. and worldwide military sites such as NATO weapons centers. In Colorado, the sisters tapped on the missile silo with household hammers and marked the shape of a cross with their own blood. When alarms began to sound, soldiers ran to the bunker where the Minuteman III is stored and trained automatic weapons on the nun who had 45 minutes to sit quietly, sing, and pray before authorities even showed up.

After approximately six months in jail awaiting felony conviction, the three were sentenced to a combined total of 104 months in prison for trespassing, damaging property, and obstructing national defense. The sentences, sister Ardeth's 41 months being the longest, are moderate considering that maximum penalties were 30 years apiece. The damage, including the chain links cut to make an opening in the fence surrounding the site, amounted to a whopping \$1000, which is puny compared to the U.S. military budget or the cost of the war on Iraq.

Wearing white jumpsuits and calling themselves the "citizens' weapons inspector team," the sisters found some weapons of mass destruction that apparently do not qualify as such for the Bushies. In Colorado alone, there are 49 nuclear-armed missile sites, each having explosive power 25 times that of the Hiroshima bomb. Certainly one of the goals of the action was to call attention to military and presidential warmongering. Ardeth, in a letter dated November 12 of this year, explains that part of the blood action is to expose the bitter blood-letting of war, which Fox News does not show. The timing worked so that the sisters' trials were held in April 2003 during the War on Iraq, allowing anti-war activists to use their case to expose systemic perversion. The thought of treating elderly nuns as violent criminals is appalling proof of a cruel military-industrial complex.

Carol's and Ardeth's letters from Federal Prison Camps in West Virginia and Connecticut, respectively, indeed testify at times to enraging prison conditions, especially for women who are quite old. Carol is a sprightly 55 years of age, while Sisters Jackie and Ardeth are in their 70s. Nevertheless, a woman who

has taken vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and has been a member of the religious order for 38 years, who spends most of her time knitting and writing in silence, Carol is intimidated by guards "every chance they get." On September 19, 2003, she wrote, "I was told my attitude needs to be monitored by the guards and they want programmed leisure time." So she was programmed with a schedule of classes like "Anger Management." Each of these so-called programs brings revenue to the private companies administering them. Both Carol's and Ardeth's letters are overwhelmingly positive, making jokes about the prison wardrobe and profound statements about the surrounding mountains, crisp fall air, and anonymous women to whom they minister. Knowing fully the consequences of plowshares actions and having been convicted of numerous protest actions in the past, the women accept with humility whatever position from which they feel they can enact social change. Even from a prison cell.



Above: A Plowshares action at the Minuteman III missile site in Colorado. Below: ERA advocates pouring blood on the floor of the Capital in Springfield, Illinois.



Those of us who advocate nonviolent protest and acts of civil disobedience but not necessarily on theological grounds might question using blood as symbolic protest as going a step too far, as political extremism so adamant as to undermine its presumed peacefulness. In other words, when is blood too violent? Does it ever undermine itself? I once asked Phil Berrigan, infamous for burning a draft-card with napalm to protest Vietnam, about this. His answer was something to the effect that violence is in the eye of the beholder, that those who see blood as violent do not see what others understand as deeply religious. Yet those who advocate peaceful living through practicing Gandhian resistance with or without subscribing to the Christian tradition might react to blood as violating the body, as a violent tearing-open of the vessels that sustain our voyage towards peace. The plowshares argue that they would rather see their blood shed than that of innocents falling victim to war.

To understand how blood has been used to protest causes other than war, we have to go no further than our state capital, which was the site of a high-profile case in the early 80s. Mary

Lee Sargent, a former long-time (37 years) Champaign-Urbana resident, teacher, and activist who was arrested in July of 1982 for pouring blood at the state capital in Springfield upon Illinois' refusal to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Sargent and her comrades, unlike the sisters and Berrigan, used pigs' blood rather than their own. Part of a Champaign-Urbana area group of radical feminists called the Grassroots Group of Second Class Citizens, Sargent and others practiced a number of acts of civil disobedience against the state of Illinois that spring, including chain-ins, street theater, and taking over the floor of the House of Representatives. The most extreme action took place as the ERA was voted down in the Senate. Right after the votes were counted, the nine women who participated wrote the names of the Governor and anti-ERA legislators on the marble floor outside senate chambers using pig blood. Blood, according to Sargent, was used "to symbolize the death of ERA and the blood of women who suffer without legal equality."

Women Rising in Resistance was a continuation of the Grassroots Group founded in the early 1980s that served as a network for radical feminist activists. Lasting until the early 1990s, it promoted high-profile direct action and encouraged women to question their reluctance to take risks, because women have been socialized into passivity and have "lost their sense of adventure." The action in 1982 in Springfield, which gathered nation-wide media attention, communicated women's pain and symbolized back-alley coat-hanger abortions. "We wanted something really dramatic to happen," explained Sargent in a recent phone conversation. The act of "blood writing," she explains, was a nonviolent but nonetheless direct action against institutional oppression against women that served to grab attention, even frighten, men. Men, she claims, are not as used to blood because they don't menstruate. They are not as accustomed to the messiness of womanhood and motherhood.

When I asked Sargent why, if it was a symbolic gesture anyway, they used real blood, her response was that at that particular moment – the death of the ERA in Illinois – feminists needed to take dramatic action. The intention was to write, with the blood, not splatter it about. Media coverage would have it that the two gallons of pigs' blood were dumped everywhere. The women were charged with a felony destruction of property amounting to more than \$300 which was bargained into a misdemeanor. Sargent's advice is to consider the costs and consequences of direct action before engaging in it, to pick and choose; but her mantra seems to be that "we need to be really creative." In the early 1980s, the feminist movement was suffering the conservative backlash that continues today. It is more and more difficult to have a progressive mass movement when we are always on the defense, she says.

What might this mean and why does it matter now? Women, says Sargent, continue to suffer the effects of the 1980s backlash and, if you are keeping track of waves and ebbs and flows, have been lost among more and more talk about firefighting heroes and shadowy enemies. What all of these women express in their activism is that we need to pay attention to politics; we need to speak up; we need to recognize other women, whether in our cell bloc or cubicle. And sometimes we need to take creative action. Locally, this might mean re-interrogating the place of women and perhaps feminism within political conversations such as those occurring in this newspaper. Globally, it might mean re-opening conversations about gender and sexuality while protesting the ghastly effects of globalization, such as black-market trading of domestic workers and child prostitutes, the effects of AIDS on mothers and orphaned children in Africa, and large-scale human-rights abuses against women in the Middle East and Asia.



University Administration Challenges Court Ruling

by Walter Feinberg



Walter Feinberg is Professor of Educational Policy Studies and Criticism and Interpretive Theory at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

LAWYERS RETAINED by the University of Illinois administration are appealing a 2001 federal district court's decision that prohibits it from interfering with the free speech rights of faculty. The decision resulted from the administration's attempt to prohibit anti-Chief faculty from contacting high school athletes and informing them of their belief that the Chief is a racist symbol. The district court ruled against the administration on grounds that the prohibition was a violation of free speech. One of the grounds the administration had given for its action was that it was concerned that such contact would violate an NCAA's rule against officials of the university contacting recruits. However, this rule was obviously established to avoid undo pressure on athletes to accept an invitation to attend the university. Clearly, attempts by faculty to dissuade these students is not a breach of the spirit of the law. Once the district court rejected this reasoning, the administration's conduct became a clear-cut free speech issue.

The present appeal of the district court's decision is viewed with considerable concern by many faculty members, including some who have not taken a stand on the Chief. For example, the president of the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors, a group that has steadfastly refused to enter the fray about the Chief, has sent a strong letter to President Stukel documenting the organization's alarm about the effects of the appeal on academic freedom.

The administration's appeal is surprising because the reputation and the quality of the university is always at stake when it attempts to silence freedom of speech. It is conceivable that an overly cautious administration might have overlooked First Amendment and academic freedom concerns to adhere to a creative interpretation of NCAA rules. It is much

more difficult to understand how the administration can ignore the damage that this appeal will create now that the NCAA excuse is no longer available (assuming that the administration understands that the First Amendment trumps even the NCAA).

The wisest course for the administration would have been to accept the verdict and realize that world-class universities do not attempt to harness the speech of their faculties to prowess on the athletic field or to their financial bottom line. Incredible as it might seem, concern over financial matters is specifically offered in the brief as a justification for the administration's attempt to silence its faculty members. Great universities do not discourage dissent, even when it is about the merit of athletics, let alone about the merit of athletic symbols. Instead, this administration has taken the approach that brought discredit on our university in the 1960s when an earlier U of I administration fired Professor Leo Koch for expressing his views on sexuality in a letter to the Daily Illini. At that time the university was censored by the national AAUP and placed on its list of colleges and universities that had committed grave offenses against academic freedom. That censor was long remembered as a stain on the institution.

The present attempt to silence faculty, and the arguments that the administration has permitted its lawyers to use in court, have serious implications for the future of this university, the quality of faculty that it will be able to attract, and the way it is perceived by its peer institutions. Indeed, the brief before the appeals court virtually ignores the long tradition of academic freedom and claims that since the university is a government agency, it has "a freer hand in regulating the speech of its employees than [the government] has in regulating the speech of the public at large." This claim may be marginally plausible for legal hair-splitters, but it is inconsistent with every value of the academic community. If followed it would allow the administration to not only regulate political speech (an obvious target), but also to suppress publications of research findings that

might upset potential donors.

Perhaps the most alarming feature of the brief is the extent to which it equates the university with any other government agency and then asserts the same level of control over its personnel as any other agency. The administration seems ready to pull out all the stops to win a court case with a brief that is alarmingly insensitive to institutional culture, purpose, and history.

The brief also makes the point that the recruits need to be protected from the conflict over the Chief. This shallow and paternalistic argument devalues the intelligence of recruits. It stretches credulity to assume that a student who meets the academic standards of the University of Illinois would be unable to understand that a letter from a faculty member intended to discourage them from accepting an offer from the university's coach does

not carry with it the seal of approval of the university. While there are certainly circumstances where faculty might need to make a disclaimer about not speaking in any official capacity, it degrades both the athlete and the institution to insinuate that recruited athletes who meet the academic standards of this university would be unable to distinguish between a coach seeking to recruit them and a faculty member seeking to inform them.

The most sensible resolution to this issue before it goes any further would be for the administration to encourage a disclaimer on the part of anyone writing to recruits about the Chief (for as well as against) stipulating that they do not speak as the official voice of the university. Once this is done, the administration should quietly and discretely step away from a court battle that, regardless of who wins, the university can only lose.



The Koch Affair

Belden Fields



In his article, Walter Feinberg refers to the university's firing of Professor Leo Koch. Koch was fired by the president of the university, David Dodds Henry, during the academic year 1959-60. Koch was fired because he responded to a letter to the editor in the Daily Illini bemoaning the fact that there was so much "petting" (a 1950s

word for feeling the body of one's date) going on at fraternity and sorority parties. Koch argued that if mutually consenting students could have sex without being ostracized or penalized, one would not see this kind of activity at parties.

Unfortunately for Koch, a right-wing religious zealot had a daughter attending the university who sent her father a copy of Koch's letter. At the time, the university was seeking authority to launch a major bond issue (always the bottom-line in matters like this). The zealot contacted the administration, other parents, and law-makers in Springfield arguing that the university should not be permitted to issue the bonds so long as it had people like Koch on the faculty. He declared that Koch's letter was part of a communist plot to destroy the morals of American youth and he demanded that Koch be fired. Since Koch was a biology professor in what was then called the Division of General Studies, he was not

tenured. But he was still entitled to academic freedom and freedom of speech.

Both the ACLU and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) entered the case in defense of Koch. David Danelski, then a U of I political science professor whose specialty was constitutional law, was one of the lawyers who worked on the ACLU's legal brief against the university. Danelski later told me that he was called into the office of the chair of the political science department and told that he did not have a future at the U of I because of his work on the case. Danelski, a superior teacher whose course in constitutional law I had taken, felt he had to leave the university, much to the benefit of his subsequent students at Yale, Cornell, and Stanford. As usual, the abuses compound when someone abuses seeks remedy, and the university was the big loser.

In addition to the organizational support for Koch, students and at least one faculty member (Professor Harry Tiebout of the philosophy department) demonstrated for Koch's reinstatement. I was among them. We carried a coffin labeled "Academic Freedom" to the front of the University YMCA where we had a little rally and a symbolic burial. We felt it was too risky to have a rally on university property. Indeed, students were warned by the administration that there would be severe sanctions if they joined a traditional parade that used to march down Green Street with pro-Koch signs.

The national AAUP found that Koch's firing was a severe

infringement of academic freedom. When President Henry refused to relent, the university was placed on the AAUP's list of universities and colleges that were flagrant violators of academic freedom. The list was regularly published in the AAUP's reports to its members. After several years, the local chapter of the AAUP decided to pressure the national organization to remove the university's name from the embarrassing list. They argued that the U of I was not as bad as the others on the list, and that the university had agreed to purchase an insect or butterfly collection from Koch. By that time, I had returned to the university to teach and was an active member of the local chapter. I opposed the local's position, but the leadership of the local was adamant. They were successful in getting the national AAUP to take university off of that list even though the university had not extended to Koch the only adequate remedy, reinstatement and recognition of his rights under both the U.S. Constitution and the canons of academic freedom. This had an enormous impact upon me as a young assistant professor, and was one of the reasons for my leaving the local AAUP chapter to participate in the formation of a different organization that would not be so compromising, the Union of Professional Employees (UPE). I am very pleased that the local AAUP chapter has now taken such a forthright position in defense of faculty rights.

Belden Fields graduated from the U of I in January 1960 and has taught political science there since 1965.



Enough Dancing Around the Chief Issue

The *Public i* offers its readers the two articles that follow on the issue of the Chief. Usually the paper does not publish two articles on the same subject in the same issue. Because of the importance of the issue locally and nationally, because Chancellor Cantor and Trustee Carroll have been so badly pilloried by our commercial daily paper, and because these articles take two very different approaches to the subject, we are devoting space in this double issue to them both. David Prochaska's article is interpretive in nature, analyzing the meaning of the Chief to proponents and opponents within our community. Jeremy Engels's article analyzes the meaning of the Chief within the context of the historical rhetoric and actions of our nation's (white) leaders. We believe that both of them add depth to the discussion of the appropriateness of a dominant group presuming to express the nature of a group that has been dominated, and in this case subjected to genocide.

A "Tradition" of Adoration?



Jeremy Engels is a graduate student in the department of Speech Communication at the University of Illinois. He is interested in the historical emergence of democracy in America and also the way that Americans today argue and enact democracy.

ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, a new day for the University of Illinois could be imagined: a day without the Chief as mascot. However, as we all know, Frances Carroll withdrew her resolution, and the Chief lives on, until at least March or July when the Board of Trustees will again discuss the issue. The point of this article is not to recount the history of the Chief; this has been done admirably by Carol Spindel and David Prochaska. The point is, rather, to offer an honest assessment of the arguments made by both proponents and opponents with the hope of offering a basis for further dialogue about the Chief.

The main argument gracing countless editorials made in support of the Chief is a nebulous appeal to "tradition." Now, any good student of democratic deliberation could simply dismiss this argument away as a fallacy, a logical blunder. Tradition, in and of itself, is not an adequate justification for anything. To hang one's argument on the banner of tradition is an appeal to tradition fallacy. Even a brief glance at U.S. history demonstrates this. It was tradition for many years in the United States to keep a large section of the population in bondage as slaves and only three-fifths a person. This tradition was overturned by Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, but segregation continued well into the twentieth century. An appeal to traditions of colonizing and enslaving African Americans, like the Ku Klux Klan makes, as a justification for continued segregation should seem ludicrous, unwarranted, absolutely absurd. So, too, should an appeal to the tradition of the infamous "rule of thumb" custom in nineteenth century America, by which it was condoned for a husband to beat his wife with a stick no wider than the diameter of his thumb. At one time, however, these traditions were not absurd. We are living in a similar time with traditions related to Native Americans.

This is not to argue that students at the University of Illinois consciously desire to dehumanize Native Americans. Perhaps some do, but by and large the students here are concerned, passionate defenders of a tradition they believe is not racist but righteous. Almost always, these students have good intentions. However, disregarding their intentions, we cannot ignore the grave fact the Chief dehumanizes Native Americans, as

Charlene Teeters was quoted as arguing in the October 17, 2003 *The Paper*: "When people call us 'chief, brave, squaw or redskin' they are trying to dehumanize us. We are not names people have given to us. We are human beings." Here, we find the main argument for retiring the Chief. As Frederick Hoxie, acting director of the Native American Studies Program on campus, points out, the Peoria tribe, direct descendents of local tribes, have requested the Chief be retired. Thus the Chief does not honor these Native Americans. Shouldn't we listen to their objections?

Of course, as one who has faith in democracy, I believe that if we do listen, support will wane. Supporters of democracy endear themselves to the almost certainly naive belief that the best argument will win out. As we have seen with the Board of Trustees' vote on November 13, having a good argument is not enough just by itself. Politics and politicking, money and manipulation: these are the conditions of an embedded power we must acknowledge. Nevertheless, I still believe a good argument, though not sufficient, is a necessary step towards change. To make such an argument, I will turn to history. The Chief is a deeply historical issue, and it should be debated as such. Here we must ask, "what does this tradition stand for?" because it is woefully obvious that supporters of the Chief lack historical perspective on the issue.

To understand Native American history in North America, we must understand that early white Americans saw themselves as colonizers of the whole, vast continent. Thomas Jefferson, third president and principle architect of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which was the United States' first in a long line of imperial documents (today's variants being NAFTA and FTAA) argued, in a November 24, 1801 letter to James Monroe (America's fifth President) that it was destiny for white men to multiply and "cover the whole northern, if not southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with any satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface." The blots and mixtures were the hated Native Americans. As a British traveler in 1784 muttered in disbelief: "The white Americans have the most rancorous antipathy to the whole race of Indians: and nothing is more common than to hear them talk of extirpating them totally from the face of the earth, men, women, and children." Those Americans who did not hate Indians still dehumanized them by arguing their inferiority. Our stuffy second President, John Adams, dehumanized Native Americans in an April 11, 1805 letter to Benjamin Rush, arguing that Indians "by disposition" are cruel and

blood-thirsty, and that "Negroes, Indians, and Kaffrarians cannot bear democracy any more than Bonaparte and Talleyrand."

Most troublesome about these Presidential statements is their canonization in American policy toward Native Americans. Everyone knows about Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Trail of Tears abused Cherokees walked in 1838. Yet few know that one of the Declaration of Independence's charges against King George III was blatantly dehumanizing to Native Americans: "He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of the ages, sexes, and conditions." This is the same document that is held up as the American beacon of freedom: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." But we are not all equal, and we never were, as the first Secretary of War under the Constitution, Henry Knox, argued in his report of June 15, 1789, to the United States Congress. This report advised President Washington about conducting diplomatic relations with Native Americans:

"When it shall be considered that the Indians derive their subsistence chiefly by hunting, and that, according to fixed principles, their population is in proportion to the facility with which they procure their food, it would most probably be found that the expulsion or destruction of the Indian tribes have nearly the same effect: for if they are removed from the usual hunting grounds, they must necessarily encroach on the hunting grounds of another tribe, who will not suffer the encroachment with impunity. Hence, they destroy each other."

We must remember that this is the historical context in which Native Americans have existed in the United States. It would obviously be disrespectful to honor a mascot or symbol, such as the Confederate Flag, reminding African Americans of their past as slaves. However, it is less obviously disrespectful to sanction a mascot that that mocks Native Americans because many of us do not know our history well enough to know that it does this. Hopefully this will change. If we let the nasty, brutish moments of American history inform our arguments, they will clearly point to one solution: retire the Chief.

For a history of the Chief, see:

Carol Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the Controversy over American Indian Mascots* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

Illiniwek, Again (sigh)

David Prochaska is a professor in the U of I's History Department. This article is based on his essay, "At Home in Illinois: Presence of Chief Illiniwek, Absence of Native Americans," pp. 157-185 in Charles Springwood and Richard King, eds., *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy* (University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

THE RECENT FUROR over Board of Trustee Frances Carroll submitting then withdrawing her resolution to get rid of Chief Illiniwek (but not the "Fighting Illini") has put the ongoing controversy back on the front burner of political discussion. No new arguments have been heard, but what has

changed is the particularly venomous personal attacks on University of Illinois Chancellor Nancy Cantor. Here I wish to make two points.

In the first place, one of the key features of the pro- versus anti-Chief Illiniwek debate over the last 15 years is the extent to which both sides talk past one another. "Honored symbol," say pro-Chiefers; "racist mascot," say those on the other side. How can Chief Illiniwek be both a "positive" and "negative" representation, positive for some, negative for others? Look at it this way. Chief supporters focus on the specific "text" of the Chief—the dance—while opponents situate the Chief in a larger native American context, pointing out that the Chief performs a secular dance routine but in primarily religious regalia, that the Chief wears Plains Indian Sioux clothing in former Woodlands Indian Illiniwek country. If the Chief "text"—the halftime dance—is viewed superficially, in isolation, then it may seem at first that it is a positive not negative representation, neither humorous nor caricatural but solemn, serious. But this is erroneous.

Here precisely is where paying closer attention to context helps clarify matters. A single, isolated synchronic snapshot of the Chief may be seen as "positive," but tracing changes over time, diachronically, in the Chief image reveals a much more "negative" context—just look at Illio, the University yearbook, year by year since the 1920s. In recent years pro-Chief forces spearheaded by the University have had to engage in more or less continuous "damage control." The orange and blue block "I" has been banned from the Chief's chin. In 1989 Squanto—depicted as a cartoon caricature with a hooked nose, feathers in his headband and holding a soil augur—was "retired" as the Agronomy Department logo. By 1990 cheerleaders and fans were prohibited from wearing "warpaint" at games. In 1991 the Chief was banned from making appearances in the Homecoming Parade and pep rally. In 1993 Chief Illiniwek was banned from use on Homecoming parade floats. That the Chief is mutable has also effectively undermined the fewer but still-heard pro-Chief claims to Native American "authenticity."

Now put the Chief's halftime dance—the text—in the larger context of "playing Indian." Boy Scouts, Eagle Scouts, Order of the Arrow, Order of Red Men, Campfire Girls, Woodcraft, Boston Tea Party. What is "playing Indian," "playing native" all about? It is about play, yes, in the sense of dressing up, masquerade. But it is also about appropriation, in the sense of taking on another's identity. The implication here is speaking for another, silencing the personal expression of another. And make no mistake about it: such appropriation is predicated on power, the power to appropriate; power is the necessary prerequisite for appropriation. Cultural appropriation of this sort—white guys presuming to speak for native Americans—is often counterpart to physical expropriation. When the "Chief" was invented in the 1920s, the final defeats of Native Americans and the closing of the frontier were still recent history. With the threat of the "savage" Indian eliminated, it became possible to express imperialist nostalgia for the "vanishing Indian."

When is playing Chief Illiniwek mimicry and culturally derogatory, and when is it, if ever, imitation, the sincerest form of flattery? Consider the Koshares described by

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Ghettopoly: What Is Your Role in It?

by Xian Barrett

Xian Barrett is an Academic Professional at the University of Illinois and has resided in Champaign for over 13 years. He has written on issues of race for a number of publications including *Asianathlete.com* and *the Kumamoto Japan International Magazine*. His White half likes to level racial slurs at his Chinese half in a "time-honored traditional" way. He can be reached at xianb8@yahoo.com

IT'S THE KIND OF OPEN-AND-SHUT RACIAL ISSUE that comes along frequently. What kind of racist nut would create a game called "Ghettopoly" and fill it to the brim with every conceivable racist stereotype about ghetto life? In the game, "playa's" must choose between playing as a 40 ounce of malt, a marijuana leaf, an "oozie", a pimp, a basketball, crack cocaine, or a hoe. They then try to jack, steal, and deal their way to riches in a format similar to the classic Monopoly game. The cultural references are obvious and offensive principally to African Americans, but also target other groups such as Latina/os and Asian Americans. Once the game began to be sold widely at Urban Outfitters, response was swift. Protests and boycotts abounded and Urban Outfitters, Yahoo.com, and Ebay soon halted distribution of the game. The creator, David Chang, a 28 year-old Pennsylvania man whose family emigrated from Taiwan to the U.S. when he was eight-years old, was vilified as a racist. Hasbro Inc. filed a suit against Chang for creating "irreparable injury" to their monopoly franchise with his game's "highly offensive, racist content".

While it is easy to proclaim that Chang has gotten his just desserts and commend the banishment of this racist product, are Chang and his game really just bad apples to be cast away so that we can resume our travels down the path of racial harmony? Or is the outrage and toppling of Chang merely another cog in the machine of American racism? Chang's inspiration for the game didn't come from some developed hatred for African Americans, Latina/os, Asian Americans or other ghetto inhabitants. He wasn't some misguided student who strayed from America's teachings of diversity and racial understanding. His inspiration for the game was watching MTV

and mainstream depictions of ghetto life.

Chang was a good student, who learned the lessons of contemporary American racial politics well and applied them cleverly for his own personal gain. He said that he created Ghettopoly "not as a mean to degrade, but as a medium to bring together in laughter" and that the goal was to laugh "at ourselves and how we each utilize the various stereotypes." His mistake was not that he held these mainstream beliefs, but that he expressed them in a way that highlighted them. The ugly stereotypes Chang displays are the cornerstone for much of our government's public policy toward the ghetto and the prevalent intellectual disdain toward hip-hop culture that says: people of color are fine as long as they are educated and indoctrinated to write, speak and behave in "acceptable" ways. In showcasing these views through his work, Chang allowed himself to be the most convenient scapegoat both for minority groups looking to hold someone accountable for this daily racism inflicted upon them and also for those complicit with racism who perpetuate these stereotypes, but like to view themselves as non-racists.

You see, this was business as usual in America; an individual acts with the backing and blessing of institutional racism. The minority community is understandably upset. The individual gets crucified. The institution is vindicated and the minority community is appeased. So we're supposed to just shake our heads sadly at Chang's response on his website: "Ask yourself; Is Jay Leno a racist because he made a comment about Asian people eating dogs? How about Snoop Dog, on his TV show on MTV, is he a racist too?" It may be a poor defense that doesn't justify his racist game, but aren't these still good questions? Even if the answer is "Yes, and David Chang is a racist too" then why is he the only one getting punished and are we going to do anything to change that?

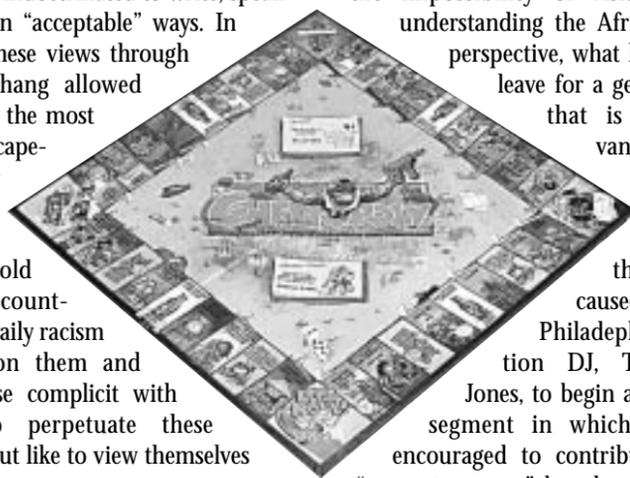
He asks whether it was his skin color or the content of his speech that made people so angry. I suppose the answer depends on the person, but the simple difference in treatment that he receives is some evidence of racism that we are all being complicit with. The only way it will ever change is if all of us interested in racial equality become less self-interested. It shouldn't take a personal tie to a particular situation to change it.

The first petition I found protesting the game contained this text, "Designed by an Asian American, (someone who would not be knowledgeable of the TRUE African American perspective), it features all of the stereotypical messages & images that have suppressed blacks for decades." In assuming the impossibility of Asian Americans understanding the African American

perspective, what hope does that leave for a general empathy that is necessary to vanquish bigotry?

Perhaps this is the same line of thinking that caused the 103.9 FM Philadelphia radio station DJ, Tarsha Nicole Jones, to begin a "Chinkopoly" segment in which callers were encouraged to contribute their own "property names" based on racial stereotypes of Asian Americans. Asian Americans who called in to complain were ridiculed. Another popular response was "Why doesn't he make Chinkopoly?" as if denigrating one's own race makes it ok to denigrate others. As usual, the greater trend of people of a minority group being held responsible and attacked for the actions of a member of their group continued.

So while Chang's reflection of hip-hop culture is certainly racist, that doesn't necessarily make his detractors any more enlightened in the field of social justice in this country. Chang even refers to Hasbro's suit on his site by encouraging readers to learn more about the history of Monopoly (and Anti-Monopoly) as an example of a major corporation trying to maintain control over the profit derived



from a traditional game. Do the racist elements to his game give us a right to root for a major corporation trying to crush a little entrepreneur? Why is so much less being done to attack Urban Outfitters? Not only did the chain carry Ghettopoly, but they've sold a "Chinaman" Halloween costume that stereotyped those of Asian descent and have contributed thousands of dollars to the campaign of Senator Rick Santorum, who made headlines for his equation of homosexuality with incest and bestiality. As groups mobilized against Chang and wrote letters to Hasbro encouraging them to sue, thousands upon thousands of game units were sold at Urban Outfitters stores or via the internet. Even after the controversy peaked and the game was pulled, Chang's site continues to be backlogged with orders for the game, and demand for the game has pushed some retailers to sell the game for upwards of eighty dollars.

Who are these people so eager to purchase the game? Are they supposed to be some kind of racist nuts too? I don't think cutting the supply of Ghettopoly will inflict some sort of drastic change on their conceptions of race. What about all of us who were proud of ourselves for recognizing the racism inherent in the game, but had no constructive response to the greater problem at hand? Do we seriously believe that learning and avoiding actions on the list of the "101 things that make you a racist" will actually prevent our complicity in deep-rooted American traditions of racism and bigotry? Patting ourselves on the back each time one of these racial incidents occurs and we respond "correctly" doesn't remove our role as accomplices no matter how many times we tell ourselves that it does. So in a way, I want to thank David Chang as he has given us yet another opportunity to see that racism is not some sort of dying fad. He has reminded us that, in our society, color of skin is a large determinant of the legitimacy of speech on racial issues and that as usual, the fairer fare better. He has demonstrated that people of color and those empathetic with us are more likely to destroy each other than actually address any of the deeper social constructs of race. We need to work to change that. So will we learn his lessons and begin work on the tremendous task at hand, or will we sacrifice him in our role in maintaining the racist status quo?

The next time we encounter a social red flag like "Ghettopoly" let's focus our outrage on building rather than destroying.

Topfreedom: The Debate with a Bust

by Robin E. Jensen

Robin Jensen is a graduate student in the department of Speech Communication. She studies issues pertaining to gender, social justice, rhetoric, and visual communication.

ON THE SMOLDERING SUMMER EVENING of June 21, 1934, everything seemed normal at Coney Island in New York City. The beach was crowded with men, women, and children dipping into the water after a long day at work. Somewhere in this scene, a group of men decided to remove their bathing tops and perform calisthenics on the beach. The next day, *The New York Times* reported the scandalous incident. This was the second day in a row that men had refused to cover their chests in public. The men were arrested and rushed to the county courthouse. Fortunately, Magistrate William O'Dwyer saw nothing wrong with shirtless men in the public sphere and released them without penalty. To this day, the ease with which these men earned the right to go topfree stands in stark contrast to the efforts put forth by members of the opposite sex. For instance, approximately sixty years later a woman went to jail for going bare-breasted while hiking in an isolated area of the Osceola National Forest. She was also forced to endure five

months on probation, fifty hours of community service, and payment of \$600 for various fines and fees. Canadian Evangeline Gordon suffered a similar, if less extreme, fate in 1998 for swimming topfree in a city swimming pool. At 64 years old, she was deemed a "threat to society" and, therefore, forced to spend two days in jail.

Clearly, most women in the United States and Canada have yet to earn the same right that men earned back in 1934. (I say "most women" because in several places including New York State and the city of Moscow, Idaho, they have earned the right to go topfree in public). In order to expose this long-overlooked form of gender discrimination, feminists around the world have joined the Topfreedom Movement which holds that women should have the right to go without a top at any time or place that men have this right. Topfree groups including The Topfree Equal Rights Association, or TERA, and Topfreedom USA are built around the tenets of liberal feminism aimed at creating equality for men and women alike. In an effort to reappropriate women's bodies back to the women that physically inhabit them, members avoid the connotation-laden and heavily stigmatized label "topless" in favor of the term "topfree." One

of the core beliefs in the Topfreedom Movement is the idea that women should be able to choose whether to wear a shirt or to go topfree at parks, swimming pools, and other informal areas. Many female proponents of topfreedom, myself included, have never (and may never) removed their shirts in a public setting. Their goal is not to encourage or require women to remove their shirts, but rather to provide women with the same opportunities that men enjoy.

Topfreedom fighters are often asked why, in an age of international terrorism, war in Iraq, AIDS, and poverty, their movement is worthy of our attention? Yet perhaps the real question we should be asking is why our country is devoting so many of its resources to controlling women's breasts when other issues so desperately need attention? What does our society gain from the regulation of women's bodies? Before addressing this significant question, it is important that we discuss the breast's position within modern society and the arguments currently keeping it covered.

In North American culture, the female breast is over-laden with contrasting and paradoxical meanings. The breast has consistently played a central role in the perception of women as divine idols, sexual deviants, consumers, mothers, citizens, employees, and medical patients. It is both a symbol of the scared role of motherhood and, at the same time, of the erotic. For the most part, the status quo has been to treat women's

(continued next page)

National



chests as inherently different from men's chests and therefore worthy of different treatment in the public sphere. As a guest columnist for *USA Today* argued in the July 6, 1989 edition of the newspaper, "Bare-chested and bare-breasted are not the same," and should not be treated as if they are the same. Others argue that allowing women to be topfree in the public sphere will lead to increased cases of sexual assault and will be harmful for children. Yet women's breasts are not part of the human genitalia and, thus, are sexual only in the way that a woman's legs or arms are sexual. Just as men are expected to control themselves in the presence of women's legs, arms, and necks, they can also control themselves in the presence of women's breasts. Similarly, given the fact that most babies are initially nourished by breasts it is ridiculous to claim that exposure to those same breasts is in any way harmful to children. Advocates of the status quo allege that topfreedom goes against common courtesy and community standards, but I fail to see how forcing a woman to degrade herself and her child by breast-feeding in a restroom or to expose her body only in areas that profit from her exposure is anything

but an insult to a community.

This last argument touches on one of the main reasons that modern society refuses to relinquish control of the female breast. Our society has produced a political economy of the breast where the female body is sold as a commodity. This profit-driven system requires that women's breasts be strictly regulated and restricted to certain areas so that they can be sold and exploited in magazines, on television, and in various adult establishments. If women were allowed to have control over their own bodies, covering or uncovering their chests whenever they pleased, certain consumer markets would suffer financial losses without this huge source of revenue. If the general public was privy to the reality of what the average female body actually looks like, as opposed to the images of glossed-over models and actresses that people see so often in the media, perhaps our society would appreciate women of different shapes and sizes and begin to respect older women in the same way that they currently respect older

In North American culture, the female breast is over-laden with contrasting and paradoxical meanings.

men. If women were to view the truth about themselves and the women around them, perhaps they would stop worrying so much about their supposedly inadequate appearances and compete for the educational opportunities, jobs, and privileges that their male counterparts tend to take for granted.

Women's health and overall well-being also suffers in our current system. Requiring women to cover their breasts in situations where men are not required to do so teaches women that their bodies are unacceptable and objects of which they should be ashamed. Correspondingly, topfreedom advocates argue that when women are ashamed of their breasts they are less likely to breast-feed their children, perform breast self-examinations, and get regular mammograms and check ups from a physician. Fortunately, as women develop the sense of bodily agency that the Topfree Movement advocates, they will be better equipped to avoid feelings of body shame and be able to take care of themselves. Surely there would be a marked decrease in the

number of cases of eating disorders, low self-esteem, depression, and breast implant disasters in a world where topfreedom is the norm for both genders.

Ultimately, the Topfreedom Movement is about exposing and deconstructing a cultural assumption that has done much to make women's lives more difficult than need be. The notion that women and men are equal and therefore deserving of the same rights and opportunities for choice is central to the tenets of our democratic society. The laws that prohibit women from taking off their shirts when men are free to do so are not only discriminatory but harmful to our entire social order. With the Topfreedom Movement, American women are finally approaching a level of equality and liberation that has never been available to them in the past.

For more information, visit these websites: <http://www.tera.ca/index.html>, <http://right2bare.tripod.com/right2bare/index.html>, <http://www.topfreedom.com/index.html>, <http://www.topfreedomusa.0catch.com>, http://www.geocities.com/womens_choice_org/topfreedom.html.

Media Reform Explodes onto American Political Scene

by Ben Scott & Sascha Meinrath



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THERE IS NO LONGER ANY DOUBT that the fall of 2003 was a watershed moment for the media reform movement. The campaign to reverse the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) disastrously anti-democratic relaxation of ownership regulations has catalyzed a set of deeply felt but unarticulated public concerns into a full-fledged, citizen-driven, social movement. This is not just about ownership structures in the media system – our fight against corporate media monopolies has revealed a deep crisis in the media system at a number of levels: poor quality journalism, standardized cultural fare, declining diversity and localism in our community news coverage, and the near total absence in the media of many public voices. The severity of these problems has energized the national movement to democratize media policy debates and spurred a growing awareness of the need to find ways to help people learn about the media system. By any standard, this is an historic moment.

The pace of growth in the media reform movement has been exceptional, building from a principled but marginalized set of public advocacy groups in Washington, to a coordinated movement of nationwide civic organizations with specific goals and unified strategies. We have translated the enormous public response to the problems in the media system into action on Capitol Hill. This is a remarkable development – it often takes years for a new issue to incubate and grow into a political force strong enough to get Congressional attention and move lawmakers to pass legislation. Media reform jumped to the front of the line in the course of a single summer – catching everyone by surprise and awakening Congress to the urgency of the matter in unprecedented fashion.

So what happened? We accomplished something that few issues in recent memory have managed – we went from totally off the political radar to the floor of the US House and Senate in a matter of months. What is more, we did it in the teeth of opposition from the Republican Party leadership in the Congress and the White House.

How? We successfully insisted that media reform is not a

partisan issue. If you do not have a free, fair, diverse, and locally attentive media system, it is bad for democracy. Conservatives, liberals, moderates, and progressives have all joined together to form a coalition of strange bedfellows to demand reform. In a series of letters, bills, resolutions, and votes, in both the House and the Senate, we demonstrated that a clear majority of Members of Congress support media reform. In the Senate, our efforts aided the passage of a Congressional resolution of disapproval of the FCC's ownership rules on September 16th by a wide bipartisan margin, 55-40. In the House, we encouraged a strong vote on an amendment to a spending bill in July in which 174 Members voted to block the FCC rules. Although that vote failed, we have since scored a higher watermark – 205 House Members have signed a letter asking the Speaker of the House, Dennis Hastert (R-IL) to permit a House vote on the September Senate resolution. At least three dozen more are known to support the principle and would vote with reformers. Even the staunch defenders of Rupert Murdoch and monopoly media have grudgingly conceded that there is majority support for reform in both houses of Congress.

Were it not for an aggressive political blockade by the GOP leadership turning against both Democrat and Republican supporters of media reform, Congress would have reversed the FCC's rules months ago. Media has joined a short list of issues that have shaken up the Bush party line and divided conservatives. Media reform stands out primarily for the rapidity of its climb – the speed and authority with which we captured the high ground in the politics of the US Congress can hardly be understated. A wedge has been driven between the value conservatives and the business conservatives, opening up possibilities for legislative coalitions on public interest media policy for the future that have tremendous political capital behind them.

But why have we still not passed any significant reform legislation in this Congressional session? The US government is not a transparently democratic system. If you have been following this legislative battle all summer and fall, you are likely bewildered as to how we could win over and over again on so many different fronts (votes in the House and Senate) and still fail to capture final victory (a bill signed into law at the White House). Since the 2002 elections, NOT ONE single reform measure on ANY issue has passed out of the Congress that was not approved by the Republican Leadership.

What does that mean? It means we have not won yet. It means we stormed the castle walls and got turned back. But it also means that we have captured all the surrounding political territory. The national media reform movement has settled in for a siege. It is only a matter of time now before the issue of democratizing media policymaking will have its day. We need only be vigilant and keep the pressure on. We should be very enthusiastic. We have done a decade of political spadework in just under 6 months. And next year is an election year and the

political situation will be volatile. Media reform will be waiting to strike at the first available opportunity in 2004. And it will not just be ownership this time; it will be community radio, protecting our media system from destructive global trade agreements, and reforming the FCC so that the public is never again excluded from important policy debates.

All of these issues and our experiences in the last half-year were discussed and debated November 7-9, at the biggest events in the history of media reform in America – the National Media Reform and Be The Media conferences in Madison, Wisconsin. Between the two conferences, attendance topped 1700, including six Members of Congress, a pair of FCC Commissioners, activists from all over the country, artists, journalists, independent media producers, scores of other interested parties from organized labor (including AFL-CIO President John Sweeney), civil rights organizations, and social justice groups, as well as musicians (including Billy Bragg, Lester Chambers and the Tell Us the Truth Tour). It was a unique event that catalyzed a great deal of hopeful energy into concrete plans and networks of citizens committed to changing the media. Perhaps most importantly, it confirmed emphatically that the national media reform movement is not just a flash in the pan. It is a thriving, expanding social movement with far-reaching goals, incredible intensity, and broad public appeal. We are at the cusp of a turning point in the development of the media system – a bellwether moment in one of the most high-stakes political battles in modern American history. For more information about the conferences, point your browser to the following websites...

Coverage of Individual Panels and Workshops from the Conferences: Indymedia Summit:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/958/index.php>

Independent Media:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/956/index.php>

Organizing Alternative Media Centers:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/954/index.php>

Resisting Globalization of the Media:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/957/index.php>

Overview of the Issues:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/960/index.php>

Challenging Local Corporate Media:

<http://www.tnmc.org/feature/display/955/index.php>

Conference Critiques:

<http://arkansasdada.devel.indypgh.org/feature/display/2364/index.php>

<http://www.guerrillanews.com/media/doc3358.html>

Media Justice Manifesto:

<http://www.media-alliance.org/mediajustice.html>

National Conference on Media Reform audio/video recordings, photos, press coverage, etc.:

<http://www.mediareform.net/conference.php>

Be the Media Conference Participants. Blog:

<http://www.bethemediablog.net/>

HUMAN RIGHTS



You Have the Right to Remain Silent

By Meghan Krausch



On Nov. 20, I was among thousands of people gathered in Miami, Florida to protest negotiations for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). Estimates range from 5,000 to 20,000, but it is clear that however many people were there, the police presence was shockingly disproportionate (according to the *St. Petersburg Times*, there were 2,500 police on duty [Nov. 30, 2003]) In the downtown area, police clad in riot gear were visible on nearly every corner all week. Helicopters were audible 24 hours a day. Driving into town on Wednesday night, we were greeted by a helicopter slowing overhead as its spotlight shined on our car. A line of 20 to 30 police dressed in full riot gear stood guarding a McDonalds – the priorities of Miami officials could hardly be clearer. Each morning as I left the hotel, I grew used to feeling hunted. "Be aware of everything around you, don't get separated from your group, and don't let our group get separated from a group too large to be thrown into a paddy wagon at once," I thought. Above all, "Don't get snatched." I felt like I had to watch what I said whenever I was outside the hotel room (no cries of "smash the state" – joking or otherwise – outside the safety of the walls of our room), and I felt that I had to be suspicious of everybody I didn't know personally.

Perhaps you think I sound paranoid. I once thought that a lot of this was activist paranoia or the fears of those who had done something wrong. But planning to attend a protest isn't illegal, is it? I did not plan to do anything illegal, and there I was faced with lines of police officers standing at attention.



"WHO ARE YOU PROTECTING?"

In Miami, the status of our right to protest was thrown into stark relief. There is a lot of coverage about the extreme limitations being placed on our first amendment rights these days, but we seldom realize the extent to which the very terms of the debate have put us on the defensive. The corporate media proclaims most protestors to be peaceful but then focuses on a small group of "violent anarchists." Most people are left wondering why anyone would want to put themselves in the protestors' position, often condemning those who do attend as instigators. What we don't often ask is, why are the police there in the first place?

The major form of direct action that took place in Miami was an "unpermitted" march. The very concept of obtaining a permit from those one is targeting seems absurd. Most of the "extreme" direct action tactics in Miami were centered around destroying the fence that separated citizens from the hotel where the FTAA Ministerial meetings were taking place. It surrounded several blocks of downtown Miami, keeping everyone but the police and, I presume, certain approved people away from the trade ministers. The fence was not an important piece of city property targeted by anarchists as a symbol of their desire to smash the state but rather a piece of equipment designed to create an effective no protest zone. The constitutionality of such zones is dubious. The fence was not meant to keep anyone safe; its sole purpose was to keep voices from being heard. Had protestors managed to destroy the fence instead of being preemptively harassed, no one would have been harmed by its loss. If we had been allowed to walk up to the doors of the Intercontinental Hotel, would it have been more dangerous than allowing

people to walk down the streets freely on any other day?

Instead, it was citizens who were harmed. We were shoved back violently time and time again for coming within a four or five block radius of the hotel; we were attacked with rubber bullets, bean bags, paintballs filled with pepper spray, and tear gas for not dispersing quickly enough. And when we asked police officers how to comply with their orders we were refused an answer but were instead forced to keep running ahead of the police line. Dozens if not hundreds of people were injured. And what had we done? Gathered in the streets armed with our voices and opinions. When there's no choice left at the polls that doesn't serve corporate interests over human interests, what are our options? Stay at home and wait for the corporate media (Disney or Rupert Murdoch, take your pick) to tell us about the new hemispheric trade agreement that's already been signed – if it even makes the news at all? But even the right to stand in the street and disagree, a right so crucial to education and democracy, is being steadily taken away.

If the worst things that happened in Miami were property destruction (which was minimal, see the *Miami Herald*, Nov. 21, 2003) and people throwing rocks, what were the undercover cops there to prevent? Rocks can be dangerous, but I'm not sure that police equipped with full body padding, shields, helmets, and facemasks are at a lot of risk from hand-thrown rocks. Perhaps as a society we need to re-evaluate the danger of property destruction and the actual impact upon the owner and the public. Who suffered as a result of damage to a fence protecting no one? It was the decision to build the fence, and then to protect it at all costs that caused the suffering – of taxpayers who funded the enterprise, of protestors who merely asked to be heard, and of rank and file police officers who were placed in an artificially tense situation.



THE DEVIL IN DISGUISE

There were several reports of undercover police officers and, I suspect, many more undercover officers who did not reveal themselves. I witnessed a group arresting a man from the middle of a peaceful crowd. During the lull late Thursday morning, between a semi-spontaneous, "unpermitted" march that morning and the AFL-CIO led rally, many of us who were relaxing along Biscayne Ave witnessed what looked very much like an undercover snatch arrest. I heard a scuffle behind me and, as I started looking around, a small group of people struggling with one another came around in front of me. It was a group of about ten people all in casual clothing moving jerkily toward the police line. As it became clear that one group was trying to drag a young man with them and one group was trying to stop them, others from the crowd ran up to assist this man. A large intimidating figure dressed in unconvincing protestor clothing emerged and boomed "Get back!" at those of us rushing up to the scuffle. People were temporarily stunned, but soon someone yelled, "Help him!" and we began rushing forward again. A woman dressed in black clothing but with her face uncovered jumped in front of the group and shot a tazer gun into the air repeatedly while yelling at us all to stay back. I didn't realize until that moment that we were watching an undercover arrest and an attempted "unarrest." At this point the man was being dragged by his feet with his shoulders and head scraping the ground. I assume that he, and perhaps some of those participating in the "unarrest" were taken to jail.

One wonders what crime the man could have been committing without attracting wider notice in the crowd until his arrest. This type of behavior on the part of the Miami authorities creates a climate of fear. I am left to assume that the man was arrested for something he said in the presence of undercover police officers.

There have also been several reports of undercover or ski-masked police officers violently picking people up off the street. One woman reported that she had seen several men dressed in black with bandannas covering their faces jump out of a vehicle and attack two protestors leaving the demonstration on Thursday. She reported that the two were beaten and then thrown into the vehicle. One of these people was a legal observer wearing a bright green hat that said "Legal Observer." There are other reports of legal observers being especially targeted by such squads of police officers.

The implications of these incidents run deep. The chilling effect on dissent is more profound than the scars of police abuse or the danger of allowing unnamed police officers (who are nearly impossible to hold accountable) to make sweeping arrests. Surveillance criminalizes dissent by making people feel as though they can be whisked off to jail or placed on a "watch" list by taking one false step or expressing their opinions too frankly. These lists can be used to restrict access to jobs, travel, scholarships, and many other things, to say nothing of the absolute powerlessness that accompanies a trip to jail.

Placing undercover agents among community groups leaves the door open for agents provocateur. With 8.5 million federal dollars pledged for security in Miami, what happens if there is no reason to arrest anyone? Can John Timoney, the police chief in Miami, afford that risk? Isn't it at least possible that Timoney, in true Foucauldian fashion, used his power to ensure that the Miami Police Department and the other forces on duty had at least a small excuse to use their new security toys? Furthermore, it's a felony to point out a federal agent while they're on duty even if they are committing a seemingly illegal act like throwing a rock. Those of us who are targeted by such surveillance are left with very few tactics to combat it and even fewer to enforce any kind of legal checks on this system. How are we to build strong communities of resistance when so many people are afraid of having their faces recognized and their legal names known?



SO WHAT DOES ANY OF THIS HAVE TO DO WITH THE FTAA?

It's easy for the scuffle in the streets to overshadow the issues at hand. In fact, I'm not so sure that this isn't intentional on the part of the powers that be. Either way, it makes sense to examine the relationship between protesting and putting a stop to the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Most protestors have very personal reasons for attending a demonstration like the one in Miami, but I think one common reason would be to draw attention to the larger political issue. As pointed out in *The Nation* by Sarah Anderson and John Cavanagh (Dec. 1, 2003), nine years ago trade ministers from all over Latin America were able to move freely throughout Miami at one of the first meetings to shape the FTAA. Nine years ago, who ever heard of the FTAA? What about the World Bank, the IMF, or the WTO? I will not claim that today these institutions can compete with Michael Jackson for television news coverage, nor will I say that a significant proportion of the

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American population understands the neoliberal agenda and what it stands for. I will, however, point out that many more people have at least now heard these terms and a significant number of them are interested in why the WTO might be important to them.

Attending protests not only draws media coverage to the event, it forces everyone you know to ask why you are going. I know at least ten people who know a lot more about the FTAA than they did before because of my participation in the protests.

Several folks I talked to in Miami felt that the best thing that came out of the two days was the solidarity between union members and anti-capitalists. One woman told me a story about how she and her friends had been stopped by an intimidating man in a pickup truck, only to be offered food and a ride back to their hotel in appreciation of their role as protestors. I appreciated the exposure to a lot of different people and worldviews. Being in Miami gave me a sense of what an alternative model might look like.



THE RESULTS OF THIS MINISTERIAL AND THE WEEK IN MIAMI

Whether it was because of us or not, it is certain that the outcome of the meeting was not the result of the United

States throwing its weight around. The United States did not get its way, and by most accounts the meeting was a failure due to lack of enthusiasm for continuing economic liberalization in South America. Most notably, it's been rumored that the FTAA will not contain a provision like Chapter 11 of NAFTA, the infamous clause that allows corporations to sue regional governments for infringing upon their ability to make a profit.

This is all good news, but I think it's fair to say that protestors were able to accomplish surprisingly little. I recognize that not everyone has the time, money, or privilege to be able to attend an anti-corporate globalization protest, but more of us who do need to show up. The more of us there are in the street, the stronger we are, the safer we are, and the more we can accomplish. If 100,000 people had come to Miami, we would have been able to make our own decisions instead of having the police department make them for us.

The legacy of Miami won't be understood until the last cases are working their way through the courts. A lot of tragic things happened that week; there are allegations that people of color were targeted for torture in jail as a way to manipulate a group into cooperating with the system, some evidence that transgendered people suffered sexual abuse at the hands of authorities so that they could be categorized as either male or female, and countless people who were doused in pepper spray as they were being arrested for failure to disperse.

But it wasn't all bad. At the Really, Really Free Market we bartered our skills and showed off our talents. At the convergence center, we learned to take care of each other and to listen to each other. As IMCstas, we learned to value our mission more than ever. In some minds, the FTAA protests in Miami were just another in a series of pointless conflicts between activists and the police. Personally, I came back from Miami stronger, wiser, more confident, and more convinced than ever of what needs to be done. And that's what we need to become a healthier society.

FTAA Facts

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) includes the 34 nations, besides Cuba, that make up the entire western hemisphere.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect in 1994 and serves as the basis for FTAA. Here is what the NAFTA years have seen:

- one million Mexican peasant families have been forced out of farming
- eight million Mexicans have fallen from middle class to poverty status
- income for self-employed Mexicans has fallen by 40%
- real wages in Mexico have gone down from \$5 a day, and the purchasing power for the minimum wage has dropped by half
- birth defects and environmental diseases like hepatitis are two or three times higher than the national average in border factory towns due to toxins, unsafe drinking water, and lack of proper sewage treatment
- wages for non-college-educated workers in the U.S. have decreased
- 1,000,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost in the U.S.

Negotiators agreed on a limited version of FTAA at the Miami meeting, which slows down the prospect for reaching a hemispheric trade bloc by 2005, as originally scheduled. The U.S. will still make mini-deal bilateral trade agreements and is working on a regional agreement with Central American countries (CAFTA).

The city of Miami raised a total of \$12 million to host the meeting of the FTAA, \$8.5 million of which came from Congress as part of the \$87 billion Iraq package. City Police worked with U.S. Marshals, the Federal Protective Service, and the Coast Guard to prepare for up to 100,000 protesters.

Sources include Global Exchange, Public Citizen, and the AFL-CIO.

-Laura Stengrim

Chief Illiniwek *(continued from page 3)*

Philip Deloria. The Boy Scout Koshare troop of La Junta, Colorado performed Indian dances, made replicas of Indian material culture, and built a museum for Indian cultural objects. In 1953 they prepared costumes needed to perform the Zuni Shalako dance. The Zunis protested the Koshares' plans. "After visiting the Koshare kiva, however, the Zuni people changed their minds. They decided that the scouts' precisely copied Shalakos were authentic and real, and they took the masks back to Zuni and built a special kiva for them" (Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 152). Contrast this with the scene in Jay Rosenstein's film *In Whose Honor?* (1996) in which the camera zooms in and pans across a woman at a pre-game tailgate party who is wearing a plethora of Chief paraphernalia—buttons, earrings and the like. She enumerates her various Chief gewgaws, ends by pointing to "my Chief earrings here," and not missing a beat continues, "I wear the Chief in respect." In short, she is so bound up in the expression of her identity in the guise of the Chief that it is clearly rich and meaningful for her, but the rights of historically subjugated native Americans to express themselves trump her right to play Indian.

The second point I want to make takes the form of an observation: in the heart of the heart of Chief Illiniwek country, there is literally nothing, a historical absence, a nonperson. Chief Illiniwek is a sign without a historical referent, a freefloating signifier in a prairie-flat land wiped clean, erased of Native Americans since the early 1800s. What then is going on when Chief Illiniwek is elaborated and articulated to the extent it is, when as many people get as worked up about it as happens in this case, when defense of the Chief goes to the extremes of defensiveness that it does here? Although pro-Chiefers want to reduce the controversy to a trivial—for them—matter of "political correctness" and exorcise it thereby, their actions in fact suggest that the Chief is a huge deal. Look in the phonebook and count the number of Chief-themed business names. Add up the number of ad slogans featuring the Chief. Calculate how big a store it would take to stock all the kinds of Chief paraphernalia marketed over the years from baby bottles to boxer shorts to toilet paper.

Far from a superficial issue of political correctness, Chief Illiniwek raises fundamental questions about power, individual expression, and especially identity. About the identity of those of us who live in Champaign-Urbana, but also in the surrounding region and beyond. About how a community is imagined, about who does and does not count as a member of a community. In policing the borders between those who agree with them and those who do not, pro-Chief supporters articulate who is and who is not a member of their imagined community. Border patrol takes the form of pitting an "us" against a "them." Opponents of the Chief are regularly termed "foreigners" and "outsiders," people who come in from an elsewhere to tell an "us" what to do. As outsiders, they just do not understand "our" Chief, say Chief supporters, yet they are trying to take something away from "us." We heard this line repeated again during the recent controversy over the Board of Trustees resolution, but it has been a constant reaction, a reflex defense. Defense: the whole tone here is defensive, as if the community were under attack, under siege, threatened with imminent invasion. This is why the us vs. them rhetoric is so shrill: because it matters so much.

COMMUNITY FORUM

CCHCC is Jewel of Community

I feel privileged to have read Claudia Lennhoff's statement on the current projects undertaken by CCHCC. Similarly I feel privileged to have read Lennhoff's written material and whatever else has been written about her from Internet searches. (By the way, the CCHCC data collected through the Internet and other sources are part of a more comprehensive research project on the promise and prospects of health care grassroots movements towards the actualization of a single payer health care system in the United States. CCHCC was selected for this project because it is the oldest continuously operating organization of its kind in the United States.)

Under Lennhoff's most able leadership CCHCC is soaring to new heights. I do not, or even pretend, to say this lightly. Most social movement efforts and the organizations that represent them have to endure a substantial number of challenges not only to survive but also to reach the point where their work will be heard and taken into account by policy decision makers, the news media, and philanthropic foundations. Indeed, as a public health policy researcher, I cannot think of any other organization that has done so much to benefit the community in which it operates, and as of late, to benefit the entire nation (medical debt campaign, for example). I can say with certainty that the models and campaigns of organizing and advocacy developed by Lennhoff and CCHCC will play a seminal role in the ongoing national struggle towards a just, fair, accessible, and affordable health care system.

But what is so impressive about CCHCC is that over its 26 years of existence and service to the community and the nation, it has taken

a multi-issue strategy to the betterment of life of its constituents (via gun control campaigns, via dental access campaigns, Medicare justice campaigns, and so on). It is through such a multi-issue approach that people become empowered to see and experience the benefits of an inclusive decision making process. In addition, CCHCC's campaigns seem to be premised on the recognition that working within the local political structure is much more effective than working exclusively through the national political structure (CCHCC's work exemplifies the fact that the only viable arena of American politics is local politics.)

The significance of understanding and working within the local political arena was demonstrated (a) in research that was published in the January 2003 issue of the *American Journal of Public Health*, and (b) in tobacco control research. As we have learned from the tobacco wars, local politicians are much more accountable to their constituencies than national ones. With accountability comes sunshine, and it is sunshine that grassroots organizations like CCHCC are striving for and are bringing to the community and the nation.

It would be no exaggeration to state that CCHCC is the jewel of the Champaign-Urbana community, and an emerging powerhouse in the efforts to eliminate health care disparities and other related injustices, locally and nationally. I am looking forward to reading more about this great organization, and the work of its charismatic Executive Director (Claudia Lennhoff) and her staff. Thanks so much for sharing!

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