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The opinions are those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the IMC as a whole.

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You don't need a degree in journalism to be a citizen journalist. We are all experts in something, and we have the ability to share our information and knowledge with others. The *Public i* is always looking for writers and story ideas. We invite you to submit ideas or proposals during our weekly meetings (Thursdays at 5:30pm at the UCIMC), or to contact one of the editors.

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RALLY: August 21st

Noon

Location: College Ct. off Lincoln Ave between PAR and FAR dorms (see map on other side)

When state legislators passed the State Budget on May 31st campus workers were optimistic. The University received a 2.76% increase in its overall operating budget and appropriations of \$641,354,200 for employees' wages. In total, the budget promised workers at the University of Illinois a 3% salary increase for 2008/09. Certainly not a cost of living increase, but competitive with other state institutions and much needed by many campus workers.

However, University of Illinois President Joseph White had different ideas about how to use the funds allocated for employees' much needed salary increases. Instead of giving employees 3 percent, White announced on July 24th that the University could only afford to give raises of 1.5% to 2%. Campus workers ask: "Where has the money gone?"

Campus Workers Unite!

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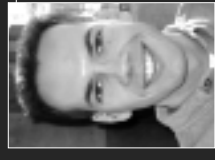
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YEP!!
 'DEMO'
 KRAZY



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The Effects Of Different Electoral Systems

By James Kuklinski

James Kuklinski is Matthew T. McClure Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois.

ELECTORAL LAWS AND SYSTEMS have political consequences. Some encourage greater citizen participation than others. Some complicate the voting task while others simplify it. Some provide greater representation of racial, ethnic, and gender groups than others. Some encourage greater accountability of legislators to constituents than others. Two different electoral systems can produce very different legislative bodies and thus different policies. Some electoral systems foster greater decisiveness in policymaking than others.

Single-member district majority (plurality) voting is the most familiar electoral system. Also known as “first-past-the-post,” SMDV is currently used to elect representatives to the Illinois House and Senate. All of the candidates appear on the general election ballot—the list is typically winnowed to two, one from each major party—and each voter votes for one of them. The winner is the candidate who receives the most votes, whether or not that candidate’s votes are a majority of the total.

SMDV places few demands on voters. Faced with choosing a state legislator, they vote for one (or none) of the two candidates, whose names are clearly displayed on the ballot. SMDV also promotes close ties between legislator and constituents, since the legislative districts are relatively small. Critics quickly note, however, that SMDV wastes all votes cast for the losing candidate(s). It also discourages voting among constituents whose party candidate stands no chance of winning, denies representation to third parties, and encourages gerrymandering, which in turn reduces political competition. Currently, more than half of all state House and Senate incumbents face no competition in either the primary or general election.

A variation of SMDV is instant run-off voting (IRV). Just as in plurality voting, all candidates are listed on the ballot. Instead of voting for only one candidate, voters rank the candidates in order of their preferences (“1” for first choice, “2” for second, and so forth). The counting also differs from SMDV. A computer tabulates the ballots. First, all the “1” preferences are counted. If a candidate receives over 50 percent of the first-choice preferences, he or she is declared the winner. If no candidate receives a majority of the first-place preferences, the candidate with the fewest votes is eliminated. The ballots of supporters of this candidate are then transferred to whichever of the remaining candidates was marked as the “2” preference. The vote is then recounted to see if any remaining candidate now has a majority of the votes. This process continues until one candidate receives a majority of the votes.

Advocates of IRV point to two advantages over SMDV. First, the winning candidate will have the meaningful support of a majority of the voters, which increases his or her legitimacy. Second, IRV ensures that an independent or a third-party candidate will not play spoiler and throw the election to one of the two major candidates who in fact was not the electorate’s overall choice. On the other hand, IRV is administratively complex. Summing the continuing votes to identify a winning candidate can lead to perverse outcomes when many voters do not identify second and third choices. Finally, IRV encourages candidates whose only purpose is to help another candidate defeat the presumed winner.

Adoption of IRV has been a source of considerable debate and controversy in Urbana. The controversy nicely illustrates the close connection between politics and choice of electoral system. A group of active Greens, with the help of some non-Greens, attempted to put a referendum on the November ballot regarding changing from SMDV to IRV. The Greens believed, probably correctly, that third parties would have a greater chance to win council seats rather than just play the spoiler role under IRV. The non-Greens who joined them simply felt that the IRV counting system would do better than SMDV at identifying the “true” winners in council elections. When the binding referendum was blocked, an effort was made to place an advisory referendum on the ballot. Amid claims that the incumbent city administration had packed the meeting with its own people, the advisory referendum was blocked by a vote of 43-98.

Cumulative voting has become a hot discussion topic in the United States, especially with respect to local elections. Illinois used CV to elect Illinois House members until 1982. During the 1977-78 biennial legislative session, lawmakers adopted pay raises for a wide array of state officials, including a 40 percent increase for themselves. Coming out of nowhere and at a time when Alfred Kahn, then-president Carter’s chairman of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, had established a ceiling of seven percent on salary increases, the increases incensed voters. Populist and current Illinois Lieutenant Governor Patrick Quinn led a drive that put a statewide referendum on the 1980 ballot reducing the size of the legislature and eliminating CV. Only 44 percent of those going to the polls voted on this so-called cutback amendment, but 69 percent of them approved it. The amendment went into effect with the 1982 election cycle. Currently, Illinois uses SMDV to elect both House and Senate members.

CV retains the first-past-the-post part of SMDV, but candidates run in multi-member districts. Voters have as many votes as there are legislative seats from their districts. Illinois voters, for example, had three votes because three candidates were elected from each district. They could cast all three votes for one candidate, split their votes for two candidates, or cast one vote for each of three candidates.

Proponents of CV see it as an especially effective way to ensure minority party representation. In Illinois, most districts elected at least one candidate from each party. Many also believe that CV increases the chances for racial and ethnic minorities to win representation, and thus see it as preferable to race- and ethnic-conscious districting. CV also makes gerrymandering more difficult. On the other hand, districts are much larger under CV than under SMDV, making it more difficult for constituents to develop ties with their representatives. If one defines electoral competition, simply, as the existence of more candidates than available seats in a district, then competition in general elections was no greater under CV than it has been under SMDV. However, there was more competition in primary elections. The large number of candidates running in a district, especially in primary elections, can overwhelm citizens’ capacities to make rational choices. Critics of cumulative voting as it existed in Illinois argue that party control over candidates was much tighter than met the eye.

Although most Americans might not know it, most democratic countries have adopted one or another form of proportional representation. PR operates on a simple principle: the number of legislative seats a political party or group secures should be proportional to the electoral support it garners among voters. So, if a political party or group wins 30 percent of the total vote, it should receive about 30 percent of the seats.

Party-list voting is an especially popular form of PR. Under PLV systems, legislators are elected in large, multi-member districts. Each party puts up a list, or slate, of candidates equal to the number of seats in the district. Independents can also run, and are listed separately on the ballot. On the ballot, voters indicate their preferences for particular parties, and the parties then receive seats in proportion to their shares of the vote. So, for example, in a five-member district, if Party X’s candidates win 40 percent of the vote, the party is allocated two seats.

PLV itself comes in two basic forms: closed list and open list. Under a closed-list system, the party fixes the order in which the candidates are listed and elected, and voters simply cast a vote for the party as a whole. That is, winning candidates are elected in the order that parties put them on the lists. Most European democracies now use the open list form. This form allows voters to express their preferences for specific candidates, who often are listed on the ballot in random order. So, in the same five-member district, if Party X candidates win 40 percent of the vote, and Joe and Mary receive the most Party X votes, they are elected.

PR and PLV tend to be friendlier than other systems to minority parties and to racial and ethnic groups. They also waste fewer votes than SMDV. The district elections tend to be competitive, encouraging turnout. PR and PLV reduce gerrymandering and appear to encourage greater discussion of issues. On the other hand, PR and PLV usually require several legislative parties to build governing coalitions. These coalitions can be difficult to forge and often are unstable. Some critics feel that these systems give minority parties too much power and allow them to make unjustifiable demands. Open lists often become highly complicated and thus difficult for voters to understand.

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Courthouse construction has begun... Whoopie!!

Illinois Native Son Richard Wright Turns 100

By Brian Dolinar



THE JOURNEY MADE by Richard Wright from son of a Mississippi sharecropper to internationally-known writer is a classic American success story. Born September 4, 1908, Wright would have been 100 this month if he had lived this long. Describing in vivid detail the psychological terror waged on African Americans, Wright's stories are still relevant for those working for social justice and human rights.

Wright was born just outside Natchez, Mississippi on a former slave plantation. There was a centenary celebration for Wright in Natchez this last February which I attended. In addition to meeting Julia Wright, his daughter who travelled all the way from Paris, France, I got the chance to take a bus tour to the old Rucker plantation. Just across the road from where Wright's family members are buried, a new private prison was being constructed—today's modern plantation.

*The crow flew so fast
That he left his lonely caw
Behind in the fields.*

Although his family moved out of the Mississippi Delta, memories of the Deep South stayed with Wright for many years. He used this material to write his first short stories like "Down by the Riverside," about the 1927 Mississippi Flood, which includes scenes strikingly similar to Hurricane Katrina. Wright told the complete story of his southern upbringing in his autobiographical *Black Boy*, a book which every youth today should read.

Native Son, his most famous novel, is set in Chicago, a city that Wright knew well. The protagonist, Bigger Thomas, is a typical black youth struggling to survive on the streets of Chicago. In a harrowing series of events, he accidentally kills a white woman, is accused of rape, and is chased down by a police-led white mob. After a trial, Bigger is sentenced to death. Ultimately, the novel is an exploration of black oppression and an early call to end the death penalty. Wright himself was a prison activist, appeal-



Richard Wright 1908-1960

ing to the New Jersey Governor in 1941 for the release of black inmate Clinton Brewer.

Radicalized by the Great Depression, Wright had been a member of the Communist Party in Chicago and was nurtured by the John Reed Club, a communist writing cell. Also a founding member of the South Side Writers' Group, Wright was part of Chicago's Black Renaissance, along with other important figures like Horace Cayton, Margaret Walker, Katherine Dunham, Arna Bontemps, and Fenton Johnson.

Landmarks of Wright's era still exist on Chicago's South Side. The George Hall Branch Library, which just celebrated its 75th birthday, is at 44th and Michigan. Wright did research there while working on the Federal Writers' Project. The South Side Community Arts Center, founded in 1940 by Margaret Burroughs, is just up the street at 3831 South Michigan. Archives containing this history are available to scholars, students, and the public at the Vivian Harsh Collection (named after the head librarian of the original Hall Branch) at the Carter G. Woodson Regional Library at 95th and Halsted.

Wright left the United States in 1946 because of the persistent racial barriers he faced and the repressive political climate. Moving to France, he said famously that there was, "more freedom in one square block of Paris than there is in the entire United States of America!"

*Whose town did you leave
O wild and drowning spring rain
And where do you go.*

There was also a centenary celebration for Wright this summer in Paris, where he lived the last years of his life and is buried. It was attended by William Maxwell, professor of African American literature at the University of Illinois, who told me, "The Wright centenary conference in Paris was both inspiring and sobering. Julia Wright welcomed an international group of fans, critics, and organizers. But she also emphasized that the American Embassy,

the elegant site of several conference events, was ironically a location where Wright feared to tread. There he was regularly quizzed about his political beliefs when reapplying for his passport."

*I am nobody
A red sinking Autumn sun
Took my name away*

Blacklisted during the McCarthy era, Wright's books received little attention in the 1950s. Although he was an internationally known writer, he was shunned by his home country. He wrote over one thousand Haiku poems toward the end of his life that capture the emotional estrangement he felt.

FB Eye Blues

*Woke up this morning
FB eye under my bed
Said I woke up this morning
FB eye under my bed
Told me all I dreamed last night,
Every word I said.*

The malaise many of his biographers have attributed to these later years was partly due to his constantly being followed in Paris by the FBI and CIA. Indeed, the FBI file on Wright is 244 pages long. In 1960, Wright died of a sudden heart attack. He was 52 years old. One of his best friends, black cartoonist Ollie Harrington, questioned the circumstances of what he called a "mysterious death."

In the last years of his life, Wright had travelled to West Africa as a guest of independence leader Kwame Nkrumah. He reported on the 1955 Bandung Conference, an historic meeting of oppressed nations in Indonesia. Although he had denounced communism in the 1940s, a decade later he worked to free black Communist Henry Winston whose health had deteriorated while he was held in a federal prison. Throughout his life, Wright was a politically-committed artist who skillfully used his words as weapons.

*In the falling snow
A laughing boy holds out his palms
Until they are white.*

Democracy or Dictatorship in Venezuela

By Mark Weisbrot

IF WE READ THE NEWSPAPERS and watch TV in the United States, we are told that President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela is a "dictator," "authoritarian," "a threat to democracy" in his own country and the region, and "anti-U.S." But leaders who try to empower poor people are generally vilified in the media and hated by those in power. Martin Luther King, Jr. now has a national holiday named after him, but when he was leading marches in the Chicago suburbs or denouncing the Vietnam War, the press treated him about as badly as they treat Chavez. And King was seriously harassed, threatened, and blackmailed by the FBI.

The idea that Venezuela under Chavez is authoritarian or dictatorial is absurd, as anyone who has seen the country in the last nine years can affirm. Most of the press there opposes the government, more so than in the rest of the hemisphere – including the United States. Chavez and his allies have won ten elections, the most important of which were all <http://www.opinionjournal.com/extra/?id=110005518> certified by international observers. Several months ago, Chavez lost a referendum which would have abolished term limits on the presidency and ratified a move toward "21st century socialism." It should be remembered that this is a "socialism" that respects private property and the private sector – which is a larger share of the economy than it was before Chavez took office.

Nonetheless, after losing by a razor-thin margin, Chavez not only immediately accepted the results but last Sunday announced a shift of policy in line with the electorate's wants. He said that the government would slow its efforts at political change and concentrate on solving some of the voters' top-priority problems, such as crime and public services.

Chavez's relations with the Bush Administration and the rest of the hemisphere are also commonly misrepresented. The standard media description of the U.S. role in the military coup that temporarily overthrew Chavez in 2002 is that the Bush Administration gave it "tacit support." But "tacit support" is what the Administration gave to the opposition oil strike in 2002-2003, which devastated the economy in another attempt to overthrow the Venezuelan government. In the April 2002 coup, the Administration actually funded opposition leaders involved in the coup, <http://www.cepr.net/content/view/649/45/> according to the U.S. State Department. White House and State Department officials also <http://www.cepr.net/content/view/649/45/> lied to the public during the coup, in an attempt to convince people that the change of government was legitimate.

Rather than apologizing for supporting these attempts to overthrow and destabilize Venezuela's democratic government, the Bush Administration went on to fund further

opposition efforts, and continues to do so today – including <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/01/AR2007120101636.html> funding of the recent student movement in Venezuela, according to U.S. government documents. Is it any wonder that Chavez does





For Economic Democracy

By Belden Fields



ONE OF THE GREAT FALLACIES in the United States is the separation of the economic from the political and the belief that democracy applies only to the "political." This is both an ahistorical view and one that ignores some underlying values of democracy and their necessary applicability to the economic domain, which is really a domain that both classical economists and socialists used to call "political-economy."

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The word "democracy," comes from the Greek word "demos," meaning the people. It actually referred to the people who were not slaves. The males among these people worked "freely" in the sense that they were not slaves and were not subject to hierarchical structures like later medieval serfdom or the contemporary corporation. During the period of Athenian democracy they also exercised considerable political power and actively engaged in political deliberation.

Aristotle, who like Plato opposed democracy and saw it as a perverse form, saw democracy as specifically a class form of governance. It was a form in which the poor, who also happened to constitute the majority, ruled. While Aristotle's ideal preference for a political system was a monarchy ruled by the wisest, his more practical side told him that the best one could hope for in real life would be a balance between the wealthier citizens and the poorer ones manifested in a middle class. This he called a "polity." Many conservatives, harkening back to the Federalists in our national history, view the United States in such terms. They thus refer to the United States as a republic rather than a democracy. And, in their minds, it is a republic that has expanded the power of the poor by giving them the vote. So now, as opposed to our early period as a nation, we have realized equality as citizens and free choices as investors who can vote on corporate officers and some corporate decisions if we have the money to invest, as well as free consumers who can vote with their dollars constrained only by how many dollars we have to spend. Isn't this grand and as democratic, if not fully so, as anyone could reasonably expect? Additionally, many Western development theorists and practitioners from the 1960s on, saw this as the ideal for countries in the South. While the developmentalists' austerity strategies inflicted great pain (see Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine*) on the poor in the short-term, it was argued that they would build up the middle class in the long-term and have an economic trickle-down effect on the poor. This was what an international economic order called "Free Trade" with its international institutions like the World Bank (originally created to help European Development after World War II, the IMF, and subsequently, the World Trade Organization were supposed to do—i.e., lead the world toward Aristotle's polity and away from populist movements and leaders

who were too dangerously democratic.

UNDERLYING VALUES

Let us take a closer look at some of the underlying values of democracy and reflect on how they apply to the specifically economic side of political economy.

1. Power and Empowerment

One rationale for democracy is that it gives people at least a potentially effective say in how their lives are to be governed. This is what I have called in my book on human rights "co-and self-determination." In other words, an underlying value of democracy is that people have a right to participate in the determination of what kinds of institutions and processes are going to be ruling their lives. This is nothing other than the right to participate in the exertion of power. This is the supposed basis of universal suffrage. But universal suffrage masks collective interests. It leads us to think only of the perceived interest of the individual. But power in society is collective. Aristotle recognized this by classifying political systems according to economic classes. And many modern political scientists have accepted "the authoritative allocation of resources" as the very definition of politics, making the separation of economic and class interests from it completely arbitrary.

Once a political system becomes dominated by those who control a disproportionate share of the wealth and resources, which is what capitalism produces, it can no longer be accurately called a democracy. Nor can it accurately be called a balanced republic in which the middle-class is dominant. It becomes a plutocracy, or in Aristotle's words an oligarchy, in which those who dominate the economic side also come to dominate the political side of political-economy. The only way to redress this is to democratize the economic side by introducing collective ownership and self-governance among people who actually do the work of the society, using this as a base from which to end the present domination that corporations and wealth-holders have over the political side. Without this democratic use of power, we are condemned to remain within a power structure that will frustrate our democratic aspirations.

2. Freedom

In a democracy, all should be free to pursue their self-actualization to the degree that their aspirations, talents, and good fortune permit. While the actual system of political-economy in the United States does not afford workers the kind of freedom in the work place that we are advocating as necessary for a real democracy to arise, I am not advocating that one class or one segment of the society monopolize all power. The Bill of Rights and subsequent amendments to the constitution are extremely important documents, the freedoms, due process, and equal protection guarantees of which are crucial to the underlying values of democracy. But they have been distorted by the interests of

wealth in this society as manifested by actions of all branches of our government, even the Supreme Court that is supposed to interpret the Constitution. Thus we have situations in which the corporation is treated as a legal person with the same rights as individuals, while most other collective and social human rights are denied, and attempts to limit the amount of political contributions are treated as violations of the right to freedom of expression giving further political advantage to wealth. Increasingly, the Supreme Court sides with corporate over worker rights and interests, thus rendering workers less and less free to even litigate abuses within an already extremely constraining work context.

3. Equality

Capitalism is inherently inegalitarian because it leaves everything to the market.

It is based upon self-interest and greed, and indeed a number of capitalist writers make the argument that greed is good. Since goods are always scarce when compared with desire, there is bound to be an inequality. And that inequality is legitimate because there is no other social value, such as social solidarity, that can challenge market or exchange outcomes.

We are now seeing the results with remarkable clarity. The freedoms accorded to corporations and financial institutions have resulted in the disastrous situations of high unemployment, wages below a living level, homelessness, massive home foreclosures, inaccessibility to health care and insurance, scarcity of food, and environmental degradation that limit the freedom of most of us while those responsible for this in both political and corporate structures are doing just fine thank you. They escape accountability with bail-outs ("too big to fail") and huge salaries, bonuses, and severance packages while millions of people are hurting. This undercuts the claim that this corporate-financial-free trading structure is the most efficient system possible and that there is no alternative possible.

The other alternative is a truly self-governing society that recognizes that democracy applies to both the economic and the political sides of the same system of political-economy, that we cannot have democracy in the political system without democracy in the workplace. There is not enough space in a newspaper article to discuss specific structural proposals for redressing this. For some specific alternatives in both theory and practice see Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel's, *Looking Forward*, Robin Hahnel's *Economic Justice and Democracy*, Robert A. Dahl's *A Preface to Economic Democracy*, Alasdair Clayre's, *The Political Economy of Co-operation and Participation*, Edward Greenberg's *Workplace Democracy: The Political Effects of Participation*, William Whyte's *Making Mondragon: the Growth and Dynamics of the Worker Cooperative Complex*, and my own *Rethinking Human Rights in the New Millennium*, Ch. 5.

Democracy in Venezuela

Continued from previous page

not have kind words to say about Bush?

Chavez is not the Bush Administration's only target in the region. Just this week Evo Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president and another anti-poverty crusader, repeated his denunciation of Washington's support for right-wing opposition forces in Bolivia. Most of South America – including Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Uruguay – has left-of-center governments who understand that the Bush Administration's hostility toward Venezuela is really about the U.S. losing illegitimate power over sovereign governments, in a region that Washington considers its "back yard." They have – including <http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSN2536376520071125> President Lula da Silva of Brazil – consistently defended Venezuela.

In Venezuela, the economy (real GDP) has grown by

87 percent since the government got control over its national oil industry in early 2003; poverty has been cut by half, most of the country has access to free health care, and educational enrollment has risen sharply. Venezuelans have repeatedly elected Chavez for the same reasons that Americans are voting for Barack Obama – they see him as representing hope, and change, in a region that needs both.

<http://www.cepr.net/index.php/mark-weisbrot/> Mark Weisbrot is co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, in Washington, D.C. (www.cepr.net). http://www.cepr.net/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1426&pop=1&page=0&Itemid=45#

The Devil's Highway: A True Story

A book talk by Luis Alberto Urrea

September 12, noon talk at the University YMCA, 1001 South Wright Street. 5pm reading and book-signing at Pages For All Ages in Savoy

The Devil's Highway tells the 2001 story of 26 men who attempted to cross the Mexican border into the desert of southern Arizona, through the deadliest region of the continent. Only 12 men emerged. It was the single largest tragedy in the growing exodus of Mexican immigrants into the United States. This book tells the story from many different perspectives and with compassion for all involved: the survivors, the coyotes (those who get paid to lead people across the border), and the border patrol.

To join a book club that is reading the book contact Rev. Mike Mulberry mailto: m.mulberryatcomcast.net



A Brief History of Instant Runoff Voting in Urbana Municipal Elections

Gary Storm, Member, Urbana Citizens for Instant Runoff Voting

IN SPRING 2007, A GROUP OF URBANA CITIZENS decided to examine the vitality of our local electoral system. The health of a democracy can be measured by the number of candidates who run for office, the number of candidates who challenge incumbent office holders, the number of parties that run candidates in elections, the diversity of perspectives on issues expressed during campaigns, and the extent of voter participation in elections. On all of these fronts Urbana has experienced significant declines during the last four election cycles 1993- 2005. During this period only 18% of primary races and 55.5 % of general election races were contested; no third party candidates ran for office; 20.7 % of register voters turned out for the 2005 mayoral primary race; and voter participation in general city elections steadily declined from 34.4% (1993) to 21.4% (1997) to 18.8% (2001) to 12.5% in 2005.

The group learned that instant runoff voting (IRV) has invigorated local democracy in Takoma Park, Md; Henderson, NC; and Burlington, Vt. Exit polls showed that a very high percentage of first time IRV election participants understood the system “well or very well” and preferred IRV to the city’s prior system. IRV also tended to encourage more candidates to run for office, reduced the number of uncontested races, resulted in more parties submitting candidates for election, broadened the number of perspectives expressed on campaign issues, and increased voter participation in the electoral process. “This is just what Urbana needs,” they concluded, and formed a grassroots organization called Urbana Citizens for Instant Runoff Voting.

UC-IRV created a brochure and web site (www.IRVforUrbana.net). Delegates met with the Mayor and City Council individually to express concerns about the single plurality voting system used in Urbana municipal elections and the desire to replace it with IRV. They did not ask the civic body to initiate this change but instead opted to circulate a community-wide petition calling for a “binding” referendum on IRV to be placed on Urbana’s upcoming general election ballot. The group would have an opportunity to educate citizens about IRV as they circulated petitions.

Members of UC-IRV met with Champaign County Clerk Mark Sheldon who provided them with petitioning process guidelines. He conveyed that the IRV system is easy to understand and use and that his office could prepare the ballot-counting software at no expense to the city. Unfortunately, Sheldon misinterpreted the state election code and underestimated the number of signatures required to place a binding referendum on the ballot. He told UC-IRV that 766 signatures were required when the true number was just over 2000. 766 was the number of signatures required for a non-binding or advisory referendum.

Over the following three months IRV advocates representing a variety of local political parties collected signatures door-to-door and at a variety of community venues. They obtained over 1,000 signatures and filed the petitions in the City Clerk’s office as was required.

One day before the petition “challenge period” ended, Al Klein, Vice-President of the local Democratic Party, challenged the petitions on three separate grounds: an inadequate number of signatures were collected; the language of the petition was vague and confusing; and a fundamental change in the election system could not be made through a citizen petitioning process. An Electoral Board was constituted to review these challenges; its members were the Mayor (chair), the City Clerk, and a City Council member—all Democrats. The Board ruled in favor of Klein solely on the basis that inadequate signatures had been collected. Refusing to rule on the other challenges, the Board left it unclear whether future petitions could be challenged on one or both of those grounds. Later the same day, Klein told a representative from UC-IRV that he would use “every legal means available” to block such a referendum in the future, raising the specter of expensive legal battles if UC-IRV persisted.

At this point, UC-IRV proposed that the Mayor and/or City Council appoint a task force of key city and county officials as well as citizens to identify the legal and techni-

cal requirements necessary to place a binding IRV referendum before the voters. This proposal was rejected by the Mayor and several City Council members. They argued that all the work should be done by UC-IRV itself. UC-IRV worried that without participation by key city and county officials, a petition would be vulnerable once again to legal and/or technical challenges.

It was only after the above initiatives had been rebuffed that UC-IRV decided to use the Annual Township meeting to place an “advisory” referendum before the voters. The decision was based, in part, on the success that other local grassroots groups had experienced with this process during the past two years. This included local anti-war activists placing advisory referenda before the voters in 2006 that resulted in strong votes to “bring the troops home from Iraq immediately” and to “impeach Bush and Cheney.” Publicity given the referenda in the press helped generate the community’s response. While a binding referendum was preferable, UC-IRV reasoned that an advisory referendum would at least get IRV and the broader issue of electoral reform into the spotlight for community review and discussion.

Learning of these plans, local Democrats rounded up a group of party loyalists to attend the Annual Township meeting and block any advisory referenda from being placed on the ballot by controlling the meeting’s agenda. Not expecting opposition to a “non-binding” referendum, UC-IRV had not made a similar effort to gather supporters and was narrowly defeated at the meeting.

Frustrated but not dissuaded, UC-IRV discovered that any group of citizens can call a Special Township Meeting to deal with an issue of concern to citizens of the Township. Furthermore, the agenda for such a meeting can not be altered once the meeting is scheduled. The request for the meeting was filed appropriately and a meeting to consider placing an advisory IRV referendum on the fall ballot was scheduled for June 30, 2008.

This action by UC-IRV led the Mayor to undertake retaliatory action. Knowing that no more than three advisory referenda could be placed on the upcoming fall ballot, she convened a meeting of the Township Board on June 16 and proposed three advisory referenda of her own. Uncomfortable with placing three referenda on the ballot that evening and thereby denying UC-IRV the opportunity to make its case at the upcoming Special Township Meeting, members of the Town Board approved placing only one referendum on the ballot leaving space for two more.

After the Mayor’s failed attempt to sabotage the Special Township Meeting ahead of time, local Democrats, spearheaded by the Mayor herself, once again cranked up their political machine and rounded up approximately 100 party loyalists and other sympathizers to attend the meeting. At the meeting, they voted, first, to limit debate, and second, to defeat the placing of an IRV advisory referendum before Urbana voters at large.

This action by a small but organized group of party followers disenfranchised Urbana citizens as a whole by denying them an opportunity to vote on electoral reform in the fall. By preventing the referendum from being on the ballot, the action also undermined the efforts of UC-IRV to generate wide community discussion of electoral reform before the election some four months away. Finally, it denied the City Council an opportunity to get a reading on how the community at large feels about the need for electoral reform.

These last points cannot be emphasized too strongly. By bringing issues affecting the welfare of the public to the forefront of community attention, referenda, binding or advisory, provide a strong spur to public education. Voters become motivated to learn more about the issues because they will have a chance to vote on them. Without an opportunity to vote, they have less incentive to invest the time and energy required to develop positions on the issues. Unfortunately, the press, too, typically has less incentive to cover the issues. This makes the job of raising public consciousness more difficult for advocates of change. Those in positions of power who resist change know this and thus often oppose referenda where the peo-

ple themselves have an opportunity to express their will directly. Is it because local Democrats worry that IRV or some other electoral reform will threaten their influence and power that they have opposed public referenda on IRV? This is something the reader should consider.

In an editorial published in the *News Gazette* on July 4, the editors stated that “it’s time to bring the curtain down on special meetings of Cunningham Township” and “packing audiences to produce desired results...” Later, the editors suggested that if advocates of IRV are serious about this idea, “they’ll start a petition drive and drop this game-playing with township law.” It is clear that the editors did not know the full history of UC-IRV’s efforts to achieve a referendum. UC-IRV had already conducted a petition drive, had the initiative blocked, and been threatened with expensive legal challenges if they tried to do the same again!

The last step, to date, in this saga occurred on July 7 when the Mayor of Urbana initiated action to formally eliminate any chance for a citizen’s group to introduce advisory referenda on the general election ballot in November. She did this by again calling a meeting of the Township Board and recommending that two advisory referenda be placed in the remaining slots on the ballot. One dealt with national health care policy and the other with the system of elections used in Cunningham Township (i.e., Urbana). The latter asks voters, “Do you support keeping the current system for local elections so that each voter casts one vote for the candidate they prefer and the candidate who gets the most votes wins?”

When presented with the mayor’s recommendation, Township Board members did not insist on community-wide discussion and debate of the issues addressed before placing the referenda on the ballot as they had with UC-IRV; neither did they make any provision for scheduling such discussions and debates to educate the public after the referenda were placed on the ballot—during the upcoming 2-3 months. Instead, they simply voted unanimously to support her request, and the referenda were placed on the ballot.

UC-IRV plans to continue its efforts to encourage the public to learn more about the current electoral system and how local democracy might be enhanced by replacing this system with instant runoff voting. Readers who are interested in becoming involved should contact the committee at voteIRV@comcast.com. To learn more about IRV itself see www.fairvote.org. Please consider joining UC-IRV or attending events it sponsors in the coming months.

International Day of Democracy

On November 8th 2007 United Nations declared 15th of September International Day of Democracy “to focus attention on the promotion and consolidation of democracy at all levels.” This date was suggested to the General Assembly by the Inter-parliamentary Union to honor the Universal Declaration on Democracy which was drafted on September 15, 1998. Many groups have been organizing activities on or around this date to expand and deepen the discourse on the concept and practice of democracy.

As several articles in this issue of the *Public i* suggest, developing and maintaining truly democratic and pluralistic governing institutions require the active involvement of a well-informed citizenry in politics. This in turn can happen only if grass-root organizations and independent media persist in their work to scrutinize all branches of government and educate and mobilize the public.

Giving Democracy the Old College Try

By Brian J. Gaines



IS THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE (EC) democratic? Yes, insofar as it is a means by which the declared preferences of the voting public are translated into selection of an elected representative. If the crux of democracy is that policies or representatives who make policies are chosen by a broad electorate in free elections, the EC clears the bar.

The E.C. is nonetheless a target of much criticism, and there are at least four prongs to the attack that it is insufficiently democratic. First, the public's role is indirect: we, the people, do not actually choose presidents, but only slates of anonymous ciphers to whom the actual job of choosing a president falls. Second, the complex design wherein the presidency is won in a vote by 538 electors, themselves chosen in 51 elections (in 50 states plus DC) confers unequal voting power on American citizens. Third, the EC system is not guaranteed to be decisive, and tie-breaking procedures are even more indirect, taking place in the US House (for President) and US Senate (for Vice President). Fourth, the 2000 election reminded us that our current system allows a candidate who won fewer votes than a rival to secure the presidency.

The first point is true, but its importance is unclear. People almost universally talk as though they are voting directly for presidential candidates. Only pedants say, "I'm voting for the slate of electors pledge to choose Obama (McCain)." Commentators, pollsters, pundits, academics, and probably even electors talk about candidates winning vote and states. Shouldn't we be bothered, nonetheless, by these anachronistic middlemen? The gravest danger, from the democrat's point of view, is "faithless" electors, individuals pledged to back a given candidate who surprise the nation by voting otherwise. There have been 158 faithless electors, but only 9 (out of 8,048) in the last 60 years. In the hyper-close 2000 race, Bush beat Gore by 5, rather than 4, electoral votes because a Democrat from DC abstained, a symbolic protest she would surely have foregone had the electoral vote been tied or had Gore won by one. In 2004, one Democratic Minnesota elector voted for John Edwards for president, apparently by mistake.

Optimists note that those chosen to be electors are generally party loyalists, and that the very rare divergences from pledged votes have not mattered in modern contests. No one seriously argues that today's electors should be accorded discretion to vote as they like, without regard to their state's popular vote tallies. Pessimists fume that cabals and bungles are possible as long as electors are human, and that the very existence of the electors is an affront. On balance, though, they seem more a curiosity than a threat. Some states constrain them to vote as directed with legislation, and a more radical reform would be to automate the College so that electors are tabulation devices, not humans (such a change probably could not pass constitutional muster absent an amendment).

On the second point, the appeal for votes to "count equally" is mostly illusory. True, there are substantial discrepancies in number-of voters-per-electors across states: in 2004, values ranged from about 75,000 in DC to nearly 300,000 in Wisconsin. Such variation arises from multiple sources, including: large turnout differences; a bias favor-

ing small states in the EC, due to every state being apportioned one elector per Senator; apportionment of House seats (and, thus, electors) never matching population shares exactly, since the House is fixed at 435 members whose districts cannot cross states lines; and the fact that apportionments are adjusted only once per decade, even though populations shift constantly. But electoral rules that accommodate some malapportionment of this sort are common elsewhere, and were typical in the US before *Reynolds v. Sims* and related cases of the mid-1960s. Moreover, computing "power" for individual voters is more complicated still. Realistically, it depends on the size of the state voting electorate, the closeness of the state contest, and tricky permutations involved in constructing all possible winning coalitions (combinations of states). DC is the most over-represented presidential-election unit in the simple count above, but it is also lopsidedly Democratic, and DC voters are the least powerful by some calculations.

In any case, in large-scale elections, all votes are exceedingly unlikely to matter, in the sense of making or breaking a tie. A rational cost-benefit-oriented voter expecting even a few thousand others to turnout would never bother to cast a ballot. Voting is largely an expressive activity: we vote from a sense of duty, because we were asked to do so and would feel guilty about not following through, or because we enjoy the sensation of being part of a movement. A voter who thinks her ballot will be decisive is kidding herself, even if she lives in a small, evenly split state like New Mexico or New Hampshire.

The third complaint is more worrisome. It has been 184 years since the House chose a president, but foes of the EC like to highlight the near-misses, elections in which the EC could have failed to pick a winner had a few thousand voters chosen differently. There is little doubt that most Americans would be aghast to see a presidential election resolved by the US House; but it is hard to know just how alarming are these counterfactual histories.

The elite-level tie-breaking procedure of the EC is unattractive, but non-resolution is possible even in a national plurality election. An exact tie in popular vote is not necessary for deadlock: if a result is close enough for a recount, a battle distinct from the initial contest ensues, over how to deal with the inherent messiness in large-scale elections that is usually safely out-of-sight. Democrats will recall Florida in 2000 with rage, and the US Supreme Court's role in the resolution. But recounts almost always turn up messes. In 2004, for example, Republicans in Washington saw a series of recounts marred by irregularities (e.g. the late appearance of new ballots, somehow overlooked in earlier tabulations) turn a win by their gubernatorial candidate into a loss.

It is thus well to remember that the Electoral College is not uniquely prone to chaos. In a national direct election, if the margin were sufficiently close, there would be no limit to the domain of the conflict: we could see Florida-style recounts and court fights in 50 states (3,000 counties). Granted, we've had few presidential elections with extremely close national vote totals, and simple mathematics ensures that very, very close totals are much more likely in individual states than in the national sums. Still, the "recounts everywhere" scenario, though quite unlikely, is a serious worry on par with those counterfactuals wherein

The Beauty of the Compact?

One ingenious scheme would establish national plurality elections for the presidency without passing a constitutional amendment. States might be able to pass legislation dictating that electors be awarded to whichever candidate secures the most votes nationwide, contingent on other states doing the same. States are, of course, perfectly free not to award their electors on a winner-take-all basis. Maine and Nebraska are presently the only anomalies, but other states could choose to award electors in some other way. Colorado had a ballot initiative to award electors proportionally in 2004, controversial both because it was to be retroactive (i.e. to apply to the 2004 vote) and because the Constitution empowers the "legislature" to determine how electors are appointed. The measure was, in any event, soundly defeated. It is difficult for any state to move unilaterally away from winner-take-all, since proportional allocation makes a state less likely to garner attention from presidential candidates. Contingent legislation cleverly solves that problem. It does not, of course, resolve the difficulties of computing a national-vote sum. Already, Maryland, New Jersey, Hawaii, and Illinois have passed such laws. Legal experts are divided on whether The "Compact Clause" of the Constitution (Art. I, §10, clause 3), which specifies that "No state shall, without the consent of Congress...enter into any agreement or compact with another state...", means Congress would ultimately have to approve such a deal. But the movement steams ahead. Robert Bennett's *Taming the Electoral College* (Stanford University Press) provides a thorough discussion of this and other possible EC reforms.

the House might have had to choose the winner if a few states had voted differently.

"But Gore won more votes!" It is arbitrary, rather than non-democratic, to employ an electoral system that does not necessarily select the candidate who won the most votes. When both candidates know in advance how the election will be determined, there is nothing undemocratic about not being majoritarian. Gore wasn't even the only modern VP to be foiled by the EC: Nixon outpolled Kennedy in popular votes while losing the presidency in 1960 (a point obscured by most textbooks, which assign to Kennedy votes cast for electors who openly opposed him and cast their ballots for Harry Flood Byrd).

Ultimately, there is no such thing as a perfect, error-free electoral system. Specialists have proven complicated theorems establishing that all voting rules are prone to some manner of manipulation. The Electoral College is quirky, creaky, and can fail. But that's also true of democracy, alas.

Two Video Documentaries About Abortion Rights:

At the Independent Media Center, 202 S. Broadway
Friday, September 19, 7 pm

The Coat Hanger Project, by Washington DC-based Angie Young focuses on the current state of the US pro-choice/reproductive justice movement 35 years after *Roe v. Wade* and specifically targets the post-1973 generation. And, *Abortion Democracy: Poland/South Africa* by Berlin-based Sarah Diehl compares and contrasts abortion policy in the two countries and argues for a liberalization of abortion laws.





Electronic Voting

By Andrew O'Baoill



Andrew Ó Baoill is a graduate student in the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois. He has published on the topic of electronic voting, and in 2004 led a group, *At What Cost?*, that was part of a successful grassroots effort to oppose the introduction of electronic voting in Ireland. He is also station manager of WRFU, the community radio station operated out of UC-IMC.

THE IMAGES ARE FAMILIAR: election-workers slowly, methodically, holding ballot papers up to the light, squinting, announcing their considered judgment — this one “Bush”, that one “Gore” — with party lawyers sitting by ready to debate ‘pregnant’ chads, while the world looked on, somewhat bemused that the election to the United States’ highest office, one with access to almost unlimited technological resources, should come to this. The spectacle was presumed to represent a failure of American democracy: in previous (presumed successful) elections, the various television networks had been able to ‘call’ the election some time late in the evening, making the actual counting of votes, as far as many were concerned, merely a side issue, a matter of crossing the t’s and dotting the i’s. Yet here were votes on which the fate of the entire nation hung, and the intent of many voters was both unclear, and taking an (unacceptably) long length of time to determine.

In the end the Supreme Court stepped in, stopping the recounts. The public began to accept the ‘compassionate conservative’ from Texas as the 43rd President. And Congress passed the ‘Help America Vote Act’ (HAVA), which promised funding to election officials for the purchase of new equipment, as well as creating national election standards in a number of areas.

There were other problems with the voting system that could have been targeted: the partisan processes that govern Congressional districting, or the electoral college itself, which muzzles and distorts the popular vote. It was the spectacle of the slow, tedious, recount in Florida, however, which drew most attention from politicians, stung by the barbs of late-night comedians.

Many Americans still don’t know that a full recount in 2001 — paid for and overseen by a consortium of major media outlets, such as the New York Times — disclosed that Al Gore would have won Florida, and consequently the electoral college, had the count been allowed to continue. An increasing number, however, are awakening to the fact that the electronic systems that many districts have since introduced would prevent such an independent audit from being performed today. And many now realize that the tedious process far from being a sign of failure is an example of the core elements of democracy in action: a bureaucracy, open to inspection by all, attempting to implement the will of the people.

It is this — transparent implementation of the public will — that ensures the legitimacy of democratic institutions. Electronic

voting systems — in which voters enter their choices directly into electronic computers, through keypads, screens, or other interfaces — are resistant to independent public oversight for a number of reasons: auditing of the code used to control computer activity is a difficult and specialized task; intellectual property law is often used to stifle and prevent any independent oversight of systems; and some jurisdictions place legal barriers on audits or recounts. This last is particularly insidious — the fear, sometimes stated explicitly — is that an audit will show flaws or stolen elections, which authorities fear would damage faith in the electoral system. Worse, perhaps, is that whole-scale election theft can be much simpler, and more difficult to detect, than in analogue systems.

There are some advantages to electronic systems. They can provide improved access for certain voters, such as the blind, through alternative interfaces. User interfaces can provide on-the-fly checks for under- and over-voting. There are, however, other ways to provide these benefits, and increased usability is of little benefit if it is accompanied by a decline in confidence that one’s voting intentions are reflected in the vote that is eventually counted. It is now widely accepted by activists that the only way to provide trustworthy electronic voting is through regular recounts and Voter Verified Physical Audit Trails (VVPAT), where the electronic record is supplemented by a paper copy, produced by the machine and approved by the voter, with the paper copy trumping the electronic record in any subsequent recount.

For many people, one of the most dis-

turbing aspects of electronic voting has been the close links between voting machine manufacturers and the Republican party. Among the most prominent examples are ES&S and Ohio-based Diebold. Senator Chuck Hegal (R, NE) was chairman and CEO of ES&S (a fact he repeatedly omitted from FEC disclosure forms) until shortly before his unexpected election in 1996 — an election conducted mainly on machines provided by ES&S. In 2003 the Ohio-based CEO of Diebold, one of the leading providers of electronic voting machines, circulated a letter to potential Republican donors, promising that he was “committed to helping Ohio deliver its electoral votes to the president next year.” Ohio subsequently became a key state in Bush’s 2004 victory.

Several groups have published guides on actions individuals can take to ensure a fairer election this year:

2008 Pocket Guide to Election Protection by Bev Harris, available online: <http://www.blackboxvoting.org/toolkit.pdf>

Count my Vote: A Citizen’s Guide to Voting by Steven Rosenfeld, from Alternet Books.

Media Reform: Taming Corporate Media

By Ann Hettinger and Patricia DeWalt

NOT SO LONG AGO, mainstream media provided a valuable and reasonable source of news and information. News organizations large and small supported independent journalism and held the public trust to empower citizens with knowledge and protect against government corruption and abuse of power. Over time, rich and powerful corporations partnered with politicians to gain increasing legal and economic influence. Large corporations began to gobble up independent news organizations at an alarming rate, eventually creating the giant, multi-headed media beast that now dominates broadcast and print media. Corporate media controls much of the flow of information, filtering and distorting the news to suit its own purposes, frequently offering mindless infotainment in the place of substantive content, and subverting the role of media watchdog that is essential to a free society.

Distinguished journalist Bill Moyers has said, “Democracy without honest information creates the illusion of popular consent while enhancing the power of the state and the privileged interests protected by it. Democracy without accountability creates the illusion of popular control while offering ordinary Americans cheap tickets to the balcony, too far away to see that the

public stage is just a reality TV set. This leaves you (the public) with a heavy burden—it’s up to you to fight for the freedom that makes all other freedoms possible.”

This summer, 3500 media activists and concerned citizens demonstrated their willingness to take up that burden when they converged on Minneapolis in early June for the 2008 National Conference for Media Reform. People came with a passion for the cause. From the opening plenary to the conference close, a sense of mission and community charged the environment. Well-known activists, writers, and media personalities filled the roster of presenters, along with many not-so-well-known progressive leaders, all dedicated to preserving a free and democratic society through free and independent media.

In the opening plenary session, Prof. Lawrence Lessig, founder of the Stanford Law School’s Center for Internet and Society, inspired a packed auditorium with an exposé on the Constitutional foundations of a free press and a free and open Internet. Following a day full of workshops and presentations, attendees had the opportunity to view and discuss *Body of War*, a poignant documentary produced and directed by Phil Donahue and Ellen Spiro. It tells the story of twenty-five year-old

Thomas Young who was inspired to join the military after watching George W. Bush speak amid the rubble of 9/11. Thomas went to Iraq. In less than one week, he was shot and paralyzed. The documentary chronicles Thomas’ return home and the struggles he faces as a paralyzed vet and outspoken critic of the war.

Bill Moyers opened day two of the conference with a grand Keynote presentation addressing the critical nature of the grassroots media reform movement and its historical and social significance. Workshops of the day covered issues such as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Internet freedom, Hip Hop culture, feminist media activism, and many practical workshops on topics such as lobbying and effective communication. The day closed with a fast-paced gala of multi-media presentations, music, dance and moving speeches by visionaries and leaders such as Naomi Klein, Senator Byron Dorgan, Arianna Huffington, and FCC Commissioner Michael Copps—a principled public servant who continues to stand courageously against the swell of corporate influence on federal communications policy.

By the opening of the final day, everyone was exhausted, exhilarated, informed, and inspired, but there was still more to

come. After morning breakout sessions, the conference closed with messages from Amy Goodman, FCC Commissioner Jonathan Adelstein, and a forceful presentation by visionary and social activist Van Jones, who called upon attendees to carry the passion and the message of the movement into their own communities, leading the charge for media reform and positive social change.

Who else will fight for the freedom that, as Moyers said, makes all other freedoms possible? Who else will dare to tame the beast? There is no one but us, the people—citizens who must protect and preserve the public interest and our right to a free and independent press. If you find your local news station is not accurately reporting the news, file a complaint with the station or with the FCC at esupport.fcc.gov/complaints.htm. Corporate influence led to a change in FCC license regulations from reasonably rigorous reviews once every three years to a “rubberstamp” review once every eight years; so, lobby your representatives for changes in FCC regulations that would increase media accountability. Educate yourself on the issues. freepress.net offers a wealth of information to get you started.



Local Racism, Global Politics, and a National Audience

By Kevin Hamilton

Kevin Hamilton has lived in Urbana since 2002. He teaches for and chairs the New Media Program for the School of Art and Design at University of Illinois. Kevin's artwork includes work in video, sound, photography and performance.

IMAGINE IF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS sponsored a frank and contentious discussion about race, education, war, and the responsibility of globally-minded activists toward injustices in their own backyard. Imagine if among the participants were local citizens, and not only academic workers or students. Now imagine such an event broadcast on national television, during prime time, for ninety minutes. This all happened, forty years ago.

On February 18, 1968, a short-lived experimental television program called the Public Broadcasting Laboratory came to Urbana-Champaign. The producers chose the South Lounge of the Illini Union to host a nationally broadcasted discussion about "campus unrest." The event came on the heels of a controversial campus recruiting tour by the Dow Corporation, producers of Napalm. At the University of Wisconsin, protests against Dow led to bloodshed. At Illinois, a peaceful student sit-in blocked access for job-seeking students, sparking controversy and eventually several disciplinary suspensions.

Perhaps it was Illinois' comparatively peaceful record of protest that led PBL to choose this campus as a site to assemble a panel of experts from around the nation. Gathered in the South Lounge that night were the presidents of Antioch College and San Francisco State University, student leaders from Berkeley and Tougaloo State, some Illinois administrators, at least 70 students from campus and a scattering of Illinois faculty.

Significantly, also in attendance was community activist John Lee Johnson. Thanks to him, the event didn't go quite as planned. As a result the nation witnessed an audience wrestle with some very tough questions. The young Johnson, just 27 at the time, waited about ten minutes through initial discussions about Vietnam, student activism, and education, then shouted his first question, "What about all the psychological napalm whites drop on blacks every day?"

The show's transcript then reveals a lively and confusing attempt to deal with the University's dependence on a race divide in order to function as a space, and as an economy. Project 500, the school's first attempt at integration, wouldn't happen for several months, yet one was likely to only find faces of color in service positions across the campus.

For even the most active anti-war protesters on campus, involvement in a climate of racism, even dependence on racism, was unavoidable — if invisible, until Johnson turned on the light. Without Johnson's intervention, the evening's conversation might have stuck to traditional arguments about the effectiveness of certain protest tactics, or about whether the rights of potential Dow employees were violated by the sit-in. Such arguments quickly resolve into clear sides for debate, positions easily identified, credited, discredited. Universities and television networks easily incorporate such conversations into programming. Each side simply gets their ten minutes, and then the topic is considered covered.

But the conversation that night in the Union reads instead as refreshingly confused. Positions slide and morph, people argue and miss each other, emotions ran high. After an hour or more, even Johnson and the small group of black students rose and left, Johnson parting with the explanation, "We can't make any sense of this."

National television viewers witnessed the complexity of a community grappling to understand its own racism, not as a taint to be identified and removed through corrected speech, not as a guilt to be absolved, but as an inextricable part of everyday reality: something to be worked against on multiple levels, alone and in groups, informally and formally, as teachers and students and administrators. Racism so deep that it takes time to even see, and longer than a lifetime to change.

Rare as such an event is even off-camera, for it to happen in front of cameras is still unheard of. Since I wasn't even born in 1968, let alone present for the changes taking place in this city, I can hardly speculate as to the broad impact of that evening's conversation. I find it instructive, however, to look at the subsequent paths of those in attendance.

John Lee Johnson, hopefully known already to this paper's readers, went on to a lifetime of service to Champaign-Urbana. As Champaign's first black Councilman, he fought for better public housing and more equitable elementary education. He worked through government, media, churches, whatever platform he needed. Johnson seemed to never stop working to improve the lives of people of color in Champaign-Urbana in palpable ways. That night in the Union probably registered barely a blip for Johnson over a lifetime of encounters with sympathetic allies in the University who were oblivious to their own racism.

One of the few professors in attendance that night was a relatively new researcher: an Austrian named Heinz von Foerster. After Johnson made his exit, von Foerster found the

microphone and analyzed the evening's fraught conversation in terms of his own area of expertise — cognition, consciousness, and information. Von Foerster was a leader in the new field of Cybernetics, a way of looking at the world in terms of systems, information flow, and feedback loops. For von Foerster, the failure to see or understand racism would almost certainly be understood as a problem in information flow. Heinz kept extensive notes on that evening's discussion. He saved every newspaper article on it he could find, and sent copies to the leaders involved. He corresponded with the show's producers, thanking them for the event.

Later that spring, Heinz began to plan the first of many experimental courses in "Heuristics," or the science of identifying and solving problems. These free form and largely student-run classes grew to be a popular and controversial staple of campus counterculture. As shelters for debate and discussion of the most pressing political concerns, von Foerster's courses remained admittedly safe within the walls of academic speculation. But they catalyzed the campus through the publication of hand-made zines and catalogs, the organization of disinformation campaigns within official campus administrative routines, and sponsorship of radicalized visiting speakers.

Though there's no record of such curricular experimentation for Heinz before that spring, we can't say for certain that Johnson's intervention directly sparked such a path. But when disparate worlds touch as they did that night on Public Broadcasting Laboratory, opposite Bonanza on channel 15 and Smothers Brothers on channel 3, we would do well to examine how different forms of political action reflect not only differing ways of looking at a problem, but distinct positions of privilege, different audiences, opportunities, and access points. When does one act from where one IS, and when does one strive to act from somewhere else, from another person's location and information? Which tasks demand which actions from which persons within a particular knot of institutionalized racism and inequality?

I have a proposition, a project in mind. New York's WNET still holds a recording of that night's conversation in the Union, locked away under expired broadcasting rights. What if we found a way to rebroadcast that program, forty years later, then held a broadcast conversation in response? How different would the world today look from that evening's picture? If you're interested, let me know—maybe you were even there? Let's get complicated again, confront the messy facts of our complicities in racist spaces. Let's find a conversation that's hard for any newspaper to sum up.

"Something Is Happening Here, What It Is Ain't Exactly Clear"

by Margaret Lewis

Margaret Lewis has worked for the University of Illinois for 15 years. She is currently the Vice-President of AFSCME Local 698, a campus union representing a diverse group of about 375 university employees.

THERE'S THE LEGISLATURE OVER there saying they want to give University Employees a 3% raise and actually making that a line item. There's Joe White in the University Presidents office over there saying, "Hey hey we've only got 1.5 % to spare for civil service employees. Oh by the way, we need faculty so 2% should be their share." I am not a mathematician, but I can see something is missing here, depending on who you are, either 1% or 1.5%. So where is the

rest of the money going? Let's guess.

It could be diverted to some pet project like the Global Campus, but wouldn't that be wrong since the money has supposedly been earmarked by the legislature for salaries?

Could it be devoted to the huge energy costs of the university? But... again, wouldn't that be wrong since the money was supposedly earmarked for salaries?

Best bet: it's being used to plump up the salaries of administrators.

University employees wrote to the legislature, contacted their representatives, and lobbied the legislature amazingly, the legislature seemed to be listening. What happened when we reached the campus? More of the same. Those who have *more* get more and the front line employee suffers. It's the corporate structure university style.

The campus unions have united over the last few years to question the increasing corporatization of the university and help each other in the difficult fight for raises that approach inflation. An actual inflation-matching raise hasn't happened for years for most groups of front line employees.

We all know times are tough. But I want to remind campus administrators that it is their job, not that of front line workers, to get adequate funding for the university. If anyone needs to suck it up and take a cut, it should be them. To expect employees facing a 25% increase in their home heating/cooling bills this winter to accept an insulting 1.5% non-raise without a fight indicates how out of touch with the rest of us they really are.

Continued on page 8





Class in Session

By John Marsh

John Marsh is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Coordinator of The Odyssey Project, and editor of You Work Tomorrow: An Anthology of American Labor Poetry, 1929-1941.

Everyone knows that higher education and higher incomes go together—that is, the longer you stay in school, the more money you're likely to make. But the actual numbers, especially when it comes to poverty, are surprising. In 2003, according to a study by the U.S. Census Bureau, of people who had gone to college for at least one year, only 1 in 20 was living below the poverty level. In contrast, for people who had never gone to college, about 1 in 3 was living in poverty.

In other words, the conventional wisdom is astonishingly correct. Although it is no guarantee, and less of one than it used to be, the surest route to staying out of poverty is to go to college.

Perhaps that is as it should be, but one problem is that college enrollment and completion are not equal across classes. If you divide the United States population into five groups based on family income, in 2003, only 49 percent of high school graduates from the bottom two income levels enrolled immediately in college. In contrast, 80 percent of high school graduates from the top fifth of family incomes did so. And when one considers that poor students graduate from high school less frequently than non-poor students, the disparities between family income and college enrollment grow even larger. These differences do not owe entirely to ability, either. As the Spellings Commission on the Future of Education reported earlier this year, "low-income high school graduates in the top quartile on standardized tests attend college at the same rate as high-income high school graduates in the bottom quartile on the same tests."

In sum, without a college degree, there is a fair chance that you will live in poverty. Worse still, the poorer your family is, the less of a chance you have of going to college. In general, these mutually reinforcing trends are a recipe for the poor to stay poor and the well off to stay well off. As former Harvard University President Lawrence Summers put it, "I am worried that we will become a stratified economy, like many in Latin America where the prosperous and the advantaged stay prosperous, and the poor and disadvantaged stay poor."

One local program, The Odyssey Project, which I started in 2005 and continue to direct, is trying to do something about these dispiriting statistics and this potentially stratified economy. The Odyssey Project is a free, college-accredited course in the humanities offered to low-income adults in the Champaign-Urbana community. Adults 18 and older who live at 150% of the poverty level or lower can enroll in an intensive introduction to the humanities, including courses in literature, art history, philosophy, U.S. history, and critical thinking and writing. Classes begin in late August, end in early May, and meet in the evenings twice per week at the Douglass Branch Library in Champaign. The courses are taught by faculty from the University of Illinois, which, along with the Illinois Humanities Council, sponsors the program. Because of this support, The Odyssey Project charges students no

tuition and is able to provide books, childcare, and even bus tokens, free of charge. Best of all, students who complete the course receive six college credits, which they can then transfer to other colleges or universities, including Parkland College or the University of Illinois.

The goal, beyond introducing students to the lively world of the humanities, is to build a bridge to higher education for those who have never gone to college or who, for one reason or another, have had to drop out. Since the inaugural class of 2006-2007, several Odyssey Project graduates—although not nearly enough—have gone on to continue their education. I hope the course is helping low-income adults to make good on the intelligence and ability they have but haven't yet had a chance to realize fully.

As I am reminded every day, though, The Odyssey Project is not a cure-all. Even after taking our class, the barriers to higher education for students remain high, especially for low-income adults who have jobs and children and especially as tuition at two- and four-year colleges continues to rise. When I went to college, I was 18 years old and thought very little of taking out thousands or tens of thousands of dollars in student loans. And not only did I not have a family to take care of—I had a family taking care of me. Odyssey Project students do not have those luxuries.

And despite much talk along those lines, education is not a sufficient, not even a practical solution to poverty. The economy does not need very many more workers with university degrees than it already has. As Jared Bernstein, a senior economist at the Economic Policy Institute, has said, "Education is a supply-side policy; it improves the quality of workers, not the quality or the quantity of jobs. A danger of overreliance on education in the poverty debate is that skilled workers end up all dressed up with nowhere nice to go." Indeed, most of the jobs—over half—that our economy will create over the next decade will not require a college degree. What will keep those low-wage service and manufacturing workers out of poverty is not education but better economic policies: full employment, a more generous earned income tax credit, a solution to crippling health care costs, to name but a few. At best, The Odyssey Project can help to correct some of the disparities involved in who gets a chance to go to college and who ultimately gets the jobs that require a college degree.

Less practically, perhaps, but equally important for this humanist, The Odyssey Project gives students a chance to learn about themselves, their world, and their country's history. For most students, a college degree is a long way away. In the meantime, in terms of the everyday, The Odyssey Project invites students to engage what writers and artists and philosophers have thought and said about what it means to be human, to be mortal, to be in or out of love, to be the object or agent of racism, to live an ethical or excellent life, to work for a living, to be poor—our students rarely need to be told much about the last two, but still—and to test those ideas against their own. In general, the curriculum mixes the "great works" of Western Civilization with more contemporary readings. In the literature course, for example, students might begin by studying the sonnets of Shakespeare and then move on to the more politically charged uses of the mode that twentieth century poets like Edna St. Vincent Millay and Claude McKay have made. In the U.S. History course, which usually emphasizes history

told from the bottom up, as the saying goes, students also get to learn where the people of the United States have been, how we got to where we are now, and perhaps where we are going or could go as a result.

One place I hope we are going is to a more just society, where the class one comes from plays far less of a determining role in one's life than it does now. In its admittedly very small way, I believe The Odyssey Project is helping to bring about that better world.

For information on The Odyssey Project, call the Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities at 244-3344, write <mailto:jemarshatillinois.edu>, jemarshatillinois.edu, or visit the IPRH web site

SILENCE KILLS!



"Something Is Happening Here, What It Is Ain't Exactly Clear"

Continued from page 7

Since most of us have already discovered that the university speaks with two faces, we are going to start by helping people to start asking the questions we all need to ask (have answered?). Where is the rest of this money going and why isn't it going

into the pockets of front line workers?

A rally is planned for August 21st at noon on College Court, the street between the dorms Florida Avenue Residence Hall (FAR) and Pennsylvania Avenue Residence Hall (PAR).

Come on out if you care about

these issues. If you don't yet care come on out and find out why you should care. Cause "Something is happening here."

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Journey to the East

By Jelani Saadiq

Jelani will be entering th 8th grade this fall at Urbana Middle School. He has been studying martial arts for two years now.

This summer was special because I was given the opportunity to travel to China. I went with my martial arts school, Huang Lin Bao Jian precious sword martial arts Academy, to visit the famous Shaolin Temple. Demetri Daniels, the owner and teacher of the school, takes an annual trip to China and this year he allowed me and one other student to go with him.

I left on June 3rd from Chicago O'Hare and flew to Canada. We spent a couple of hours in the airport before we boarded our plane to China. We got on the plane very happy and charged up! Although the flight was 17 hours long with bad food and crowded seats there were a couple of good things about it. During the flight we pulled back the shade once and saw the ice caps of Greenland and another time we saw a sea of clouds that reminded me of a giant fluffy bed. When we got off the plane in Shanghai I was really happy to see Chinese people and the baggage claim because I realized that we had made it. As we headed to the Maglev train, which happens to be the fastest train in the world (431 km per hour), Demetri and Owen (the other student) were doing handstands on the moving walk way. Once we were settled into our hotel we headed to a famous restaurant called Hai Di Lao Hou Gou (pronounced "hi di laow hwa gwa"). It was really good but extremely spicy.

The next day we went to the Shanghai Bay. There we were met by people trying to sell us things because they knew we were tourists. The peddlers were extremely persistent. They followed us and even began calling my name after they heard one of my friends tell me to keep moving with the group. After escaping the mob of peddlers we went down the street and I was given the chance to try Chinese McDonald's, which did not taste much different than America's McDonald's. In the historic part of Shanghai, buildings looked more like the ones you would see on TV. As we walked, we decided to enter a tea shop where we talked to the owners Jack and Jackie, who were so nice that they gave me 300 Chinese Yuan worth of rock tea (tea known for its healing properties) as a gift. Soon after, we went out for dinner at a restaurant that President Bill Clin-

ton and Hilary Clinton ate at.

Xi'an, the original capital of China, was our next destination. The following day we went to the Muslim street where we were able to shop and eat. The Muslim street had many shops and vendors where I was able to buy hand made scrolls for a great price. The food there was really good and very flavorful. The people that lived in the Muslim community had the Quran translated into Chinese for their religious sermons. After eating and shopping it started to rain so we headed home to sleep.

The next and last day in Xi'an, we went to see the Terra Cotta warriors. If you do not know about the Terra Cotta warriors, they were warriors for the Emperor. An artist later created statues to represent the warriors and they were put under the ground for over 2,000 years. I think the Terra Cotta warriors were fascinating because they are hand-made human size statues that were made over 2,000 years ago and remain intact after all of those years.

When we left the Terra Cotta warriors we went to the station for our train to Zhang Zhou. The train ride was eight hours long. When we got off, we got a ride to Deng Feng. Deng Feng (pronounced "dung fung") is the home of the Shaolin Temple. Jet Li made a movie entitled, Shaolin Temple, that made it very famous. When we reached Deng Feng we were taken to the school where we would be staying and train. The name of the school is Song Shan Shaolin Shi de Cheng Guan (pronounced "song sh-an shaow-lin shi de ch-eng gwan"). It is owned by Shi De Cheng who is a 31st generation shaolin monk. I lived and trained in Deng Feng for a week. On the 8th day of my trip I woke up around 7:00 am to get ready for our eight o'clock class. Unlike my training here at home I had to run for 15 minutes before each class. Before we went running I would look up and stare at the mountain in front of the school which was the Song Shan Mountains. At the school we trained two times a day. It was difficult at the beginning,

but just as it became easier, we had to train with the skilled Chinese students. They were really good! Right after training we ate and then were able to visit other places in the city. We would sometimes go see a monk, a famous place, or go to a Shaolin martial arts store where I bought a martial arts outfit and gifts for other people. Then we would go back to the school for our next class and do the same thing again.

The following day after our 8:00 o'clock class we went to the Shaolin Temple. There we saw Ta gou's school that has over 10,000 students. Ta gou is a martial artist who has 2 schools: one by the Shaolin temple and one more in Deng Feng. He is a very famous martial artist and has one of the largest schools in the world. At the Shaolin Temple we saw a performance by some of the monks. They did Shaolin forms and iron body. Iron body is a combination of techniques that makes their muscles and bones stronger and skin tougher, to the point that the monks can break bricks with one hand or even his head without it hurting extremely bad.

The rest of my trip was full of fun, fights and long flights. My trip to China helped me accept who I am. I had a good time being myself and not what people wanted me to be. This experience opened my eyes to a different way of life and a different way of looking at things. I am glad this trip helped me be a better me.

I really want to thank every one who has been in my life that helped me get to China. Thank you to my family and friends that also helped me make this journey. I really had a good time and would like to study Shaolin more in China in the near future. This trip to me is like children who enjoy going to Six Flags and want to go back year after year.



Fresh organic fruit

Different Electoral Systems

Continued from page 1

Imagine, by way of conclusion, that Illinois suddenly replaced SMDV with PLV to elect its state legislators. In reality, of course, this is not a likely event. Too many political actors hold vested interests in the current electoral system. Nevertheless, what changes would most likely occur over the long-haul?

One can only speculate, of course, but the number of parties slating candidates for office would almost certainly increase. Some parties presumably would be to the left of the current Democratic Party, some to the right of the current Republican Party. Often, no party would win a majority of legislative seats, thus requiring several parties to form governing coalitions. The racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the state legislature would increase. Conceivably, some parties would become closely associated with one or another social group. Legislators from any particular party would rarely deviate from their party's policy positions. Arguably most important, the legislature would pass policies that differ from current policies—it is impossible to predict precisely what those differences would be—and the almost-total power that the four leaders of the state legislature currently hold over its members would end.

How cities, states, and nations elect their public officials matters greatly, perhaps more than any other single institution. Not surprisingly, therefore, rapid societal

changes and the accompanying changes in political stakes have brought the discussion of electoral change to the fore. It is a discussion that citizens should take seriously.

Amerika Has A New Contender In The Celebrity Run-Off To Become The Next Master Of The Free World...





Targeting the Innocent

By Cody Bralts



HIGH-SCHOOLS OFTEN ARE TEEMING with young people who, when done with high-school, want to “achieve something big in their lives.” To many, that means joining the armed services. But when should the line be drawn for recruiters who enter our public educational facilities? Reports of recruiters targeting people as young as 14 and 15 years-old at Urbana High School have raised speculation if the military is targeting younger people because they are facing record lows in signups. Military recruiters being given blatant and unrestricted access to students, without notification to parents and without counter-recruitment material available to students, has become the norm at UHS. In the guidance office at UHS, booklets proclaiming the benefits of joining the armed services are seen throughout the office, yet the guidance office still lacks basic counter-recruitment literature, something that should be necessary to create a balanced opinion at the school.

One must ask the question if Urbana High School is deliberately ignoring counter recruitment material offered by anti-war groups, such as the Anti-War Anti-Racism Effort (AWARE), or is the administration simply lacking the basic principle of giving students the adequate resources to make their own decisions? This past school year, students eating in the lunchrooms at UHS were exposed to recruiters giving out free prizes and other incentives to interest freshman and sophomores. Glynn Davis remembers last year when they were in the lunchroom: “The way the men went about engaging the students was to host push-up contests. The winner receiving a prize of cups and gift cards.”

When I was a freshman myself, the recruiters had tried the controversial tactics on my friends and myself. After seeing this, I notified local activist and former school administrator Durl Kruse about the predicament occurring in the lunchroom. Kruse then talked with Dr. Laura Taylor, principal of UHS, about the issue. Dr. Taylor told him that she had no idea it was ever occurring and would put an

end to it. But, stories by students of aggressive recruiting further lay out the issue of accountability. The school board has failed to recognize the questionable misconduct that has taken place at UHS.

It is becoming increasingly known that military recruiters use outlandish statements to entice students into joining. Using a free ride through college as leverage to get young people to join, and the promise of getting a job thereafter, are the biggest talking points used by recruiters. But the growing homeless rate of veterans has only contradicted that promise. The legality of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan also brings up the issue of whether recruiters are forthcoming about the premise of going to war in the first place. Another major issue is stop-loss, which has recently become widely known as the “backdoor draft.” Stop-loss allows the military to involuntarily keep a soldier in service longer than they originally signed up for. Along with the threat of PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), and other mental problems that have become common as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq progress, the military fails to let young and often innocent students know about these significant issues. Due to the *No Child Left Behind Act*, the government, and subsequently the military, are given contact information for every student attending public high school.

The premise of the public educational system is to provide an unbiased haven where young people can go to learn teachers and from each other. The presence of military recruiters only debunks that idea. As a 16-year-old, I not only find it appalling, but saddening that the military is resorting to targeting young minors, who, like me, often lack the judgment and the experience to make life changing and, to be frank, extremely dangerous decisions. Students should be allowed to find their path on their own terms while in school, to find where their passions lie, and not be preyed upon by United States Military.



Youth and Surveillance

By Glynn Davis

IT IS OFTEN SAID that Urbana Middle School, as well as Urbana High School, are both quite similar to what some people would call “prison,” because of the tight security measures enforced upon the students. For example, facilitators walk through the halls with large walkie-talkies, various “security stations” are placed in each hallway to check roaming students for passes, and in the middle school, a new addition has been added this year: surveillance cameras.

Students are taking opposing views on the matter. “I believe security cameras are essential in schools, and, possibly, we don’t have them in enough locations,” says Rita Haber, a sophomore at Urbana High School. “For example, I’ve noticed that the second floor hallway at Urbana High School is the hallway with the most fighting and bullying, as well as where the highest level of public display of affection (PDA) occurs. It doesn’t have security cam-

eras or hall monitors so much of this goes by unnoticed.” Another student, Katie Heinricher, says, “I don’t think that cameras in school do that much. No one who really wants to skip school is going to stop and look for a camera before leaving. Also, when fights break out, no one is watching for a camera. It is usually pretty obvious how fights start and camera footage seems unnecessary. With other things such as PDA, what’s the point? The staff isn’t going

to go up to a girl and say, ‘We saw you kissing in the hallway on our security camera.’ Cameras are good in theory, but in reality, they don’t help that much.” We must ask ourselves: Do these cameras actually influence a student’s decision, or are they simply a waste of money for the school?



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4th of July Parade, or Army™ Recruitment Seminar

By dezyp



Dezyp was a fifth-grader at Leal Elementary School in Urbana and will be entering Urbana Middle School in the fall. He plays cello, and would like to be an aerospace engineer when he grows up.

THIS YEAR'S 4TH OF JULY PARADE was not what I expected. I remember that in the past the parade was for kids. It was mostly about marching bands, community groups, guys in the little cars throwing out candy and stuff like that. This year's parade seemed more like a recruitment tool for the military. There were at least 200 or 300 soldiers marching in uniform. Most of the floats were promoting war in some way, and the crowd helped make the parade even more militaristic by standing and cheering each time a soldier came by.

My dad and I were the only people on the Michigan or Pennsylvania block that stood up when the Iraq Veterans Against the War came by, and a lot of people gave us mean looks when we did. At least there was an anti-war float, even if it was the only one. However, there were at least 20 pro-war floats. Many of the kids were age 6 or younger, and at that age they are very impressionable. So, the message the parade was giving them is that 'war was good.' In 12 years these kids will be old enough to make decisions, and if they are surrounded by the message that 'war is good' then they will promote war too, when they are older.

Many of the floats were really ridiculous, and scary. There was an anti-abortion float. It compared how many American babies weren't born because of abortions to the casualties of every war from World War II to the current Gulf War. They left out the Central American wars of the 80s, and they also left out how many foreign people died in each war. For example, in the Vietnam War, they said that around 80,000 people died. In reality, more than a million people died, if you include the Vietnamese.

When the "Guns Save Lives" float came by with the Statue of Liberty holding an illegal assault rifle, I was really mad. The Statue of Liberty is a welcoming symbol of freedom, and normally people don't welcome each other with a deadly weapon. In front of it was a mounted machine gun on an army Jeep™ that they shot blanks off of over and over again.

This year's parade was mostly celebrating the military, war, guns, and nationalism. It seemed to me like the military was showing off its stupid gun collection, and trying to impress and brainwash young children like Adolph Hitler did. I'm not saying the army is using Hitler's plan, but it had that same feeling. They also shot off every other gun like crazy. Overall, it seems like the army went to an all time low by showing off their guns to little kids, and basically trying to start recruiting them *now*, to get them to join up when they turn 18. This "parade" wasn't like a celebration, it was more like propaganda.



PTSD: Our Troops, Our Community

Sunday, Sept. 7, 2:00-4:00pm at the Urbana Free Library auditorium.

What is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and how does it affect soldiers and veterans, their families and our community? How widespread is it? How can it be treated, and what services are available? How do veterans with post-traumatic stress re-integrate into our community?

Please come hear our panel address questions like these and questions you bring.

