

Compiled between December 2003 and January 2004 as a result of innumerable hours torturing ourselves in front of computer screens, dwelling on the pain.

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The Miami Model.

A guide to the events surrounding the FTAA Ministerial in Miami, November 20-21, 2003

.A Collaborative Work.

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DENOUEMENT:

- Dear Professor

Meanwhile, a Roundup rain kills thousands in Columbia because cocaine and foreigners are easier to blame for our national insanity, our patriotic vanity, than the crazy corporate greed that drives us toward calamity.

I'm not the first to say it, and after me there will be more, but—

The drug war is a war against the Black, the Spanish-speaking, and the poor.

The FTAA takes jobs away, feeds multi-national corporations, starves people in 34 nations.

Prisons are an excuse for not providing jobs or education. Michael Jackson's incarceration is a distraction for the nation.

Saddam is caught, Osama is not, and the only weapons of mass destruction are in the hands of U.S.-funded terrorists with instructions to kill in Columbia, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Miami.

Professor, my plan was to go to college, get a good job, live a quiet life in Draper, but I can't stop thinking long enough to write this paper. I'm tired of the lies about the land of the so-called free. I can't swallow the system, and I won't let the system swallow me. For now, I have to focus on the fact that I'm afraid. As soon as all this bullshit ends, then I can focus on my grade.

Dear Professor,

My paper will be late. Allow me to explain the urgency of this insurgency.

You see, my brain is in a state of pure emergency: I've been distracted by the fact that riot cops are cracking heads and spraying poison in the faces of my friends who are black-bloc'ing or just plain walking down the streets of Miami, talking with their feet and with the beat of the samba band—then getting crammed into pens and jammed against the barricades, their legal protest parade sprayed with chemicals now banned for use by army motorcades abroad, but not on citizens within.

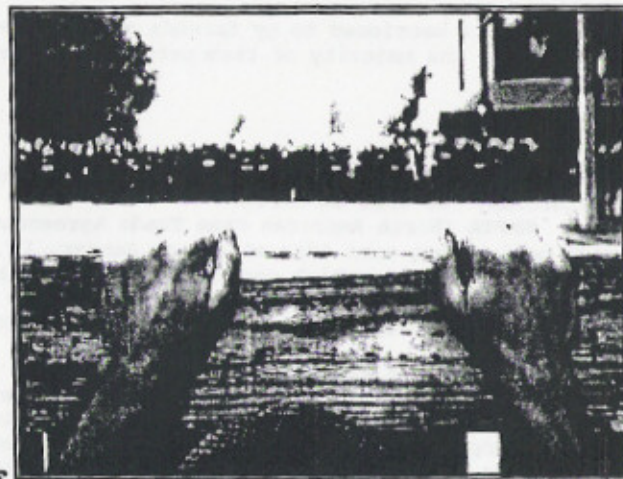
I find it odd—don't you—that undercover agents lost their patience with the peaceful crowd so they got loud and called for fights, then ran behind the lines at the first sight of a tear gas can. While rubber bullets pierced the skin of mourners of the death of free speech, right around the corner cops in baseball caps were lighting fires in the streets and blaming anarchists.

My fists are clenched, my cheeks are drenched with tears of rage, and I can't type another page while my friends are getting beaten and raped in jail for coming out against a plan to fail the entire hemisphere.

It's clear to me that justice is for those with cash enough to crush us in our streets and in our schools. Lady Liberty sold out to fools and turned the color of hundred dollar coke straws that grace the desks of those who pass the laws, and feign remorse, and wage the wars on folks who dare to think or to complain.

It's like when you're thirteen, and you go ghost hunting at the mansion they say is haunted....
...except all *these* ghosts have big guns.

It has now been a month since I hitchhiked 2000 miles across the country to sunny Miami, Florida. But even in retrospect I am haunted. When we arrived in Miami, we were different people than when we left. Opening the doors to the mansion, we knew there were monsters inside, but no one could predict just what would happen to us when we met them at the end of a long, dark hallway. Leaving Miami, our faces were white, our hairs stood on end, and despite the 85 degree forecasts, we got chills because the prophecy of a certain death had shone itself, and now our blood runs cold.



There were monsters in the streets of

Miami those late November days. I saw them. We all saw them. But strangely, just as if they were ghosts or vampires, they didn't seem to show up on camera.

This publication has been submitted with the goal of unmasking those monsters who have terrorized and who continue to terrorize the people of this country and the entire western hemisphere. As hard as they try, with their biggest guns and their most brutal tactics, we will continue to be "meddling kids" exposing the truth about the haunted mansion with the "no trespassing" sign. These issues have now become *Public Property*.

PART ONE:

The Free Trade Area of the Americas

THE FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS:

READING THE FINE PRINT AND UNDERSTANDING THE PRICE TAG

By Mallet

It's understandable that there hasn't been much corporate media coverage of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) Ministerial meetings in Miami, Florida from November 20-21, 2003. After all, if a corporation makes billions of dollars illegitimately and no one is around to hear about it, how can we make a sound?

The coverage the event did receive was both grossly biased and extremely minimal, conveniently creating a large public misconception about the intentions of the project. But that's understandable, too. I mean, with a name like free trade, what's not to like?!

When I mentioned to my friends or family where I was going in November, the majority of them promptly responded, "What's the FTAA?"

So!

What IS the FTAA?

The FTAA has widely been referred to by critics as "NAFTA on steroids." So what is NAFTA?

NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) is a free trade policy that went into effect on January 1st, 1994 (see: *the Zapatista Uprising*), which encompasses Canada, the United States, and Mexico in a free trading bloc that proved to be equally as profitable for corporations as it was destructive for everyone else.

The FTAA is an extreme expansion of this agreement, which, this time, promises to run amok throughout the entire western hemisphere (with the exception of Cuba). It seeks to become the world's largest free trading bloc by 2005, including 34 countries, 800 million people, and a combined GDP of \$11 trillion. The headquarters will be in Miami.

The worst part is that this agreement will not be decided upon democratically in Congress or even by any elected official. It will be talked about by mystery representatives behind closed doors, while a voiceless public remains in the dark due to incompetent media working in the interests of the corporations.

Economic Displacement

As we learned with NAFTA, economic disparities between countries are irresistible temptations to the big bad corporate wolves. Because a country like Mexico is poorer than the US, a company would naturally need to pay its employees significantly less if it were to move its factories south. The American company can also enjoy a lax application of workers' rights while in an economically depleted region.

These US-owned factories, also called "maquiladoras," pay Mexican workers 5% of the hourly US wage, provide no worker safety, and do not comply with environmental standards.

The most famous example of this worker exploitation and

UPCOMING MASS MOBILIZATIONS:

"Day X" Anniversary Anti-War Protests: San Francisco, Chicago, New York City, March 20, 2004
International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank Protests: Washington, D.C. April 23-24, 2004
National March for Choice: Washington, D.C. April 25, 2004
G-8 Protests: Sea Island, Georgia, June 8-10, 2004
Democratic National Convention Protests (DNC): Boston, July 26, 2004
Republican National Convention Protests (RNC): New York City, September, 2004

PAST MOBILIZATIONS (2003):

- CAFTA - Central American Free Trade Agreement, Washington, D.C., December 8-12, 2003 www.stopCAFTA.org
- SOA - School of the Americas, Fort Benning, Georgia, November 22-23, 2003 www.SOAwatch.org
- WTO - World Trade Organization, Cancun, Mexico, September 10-14, 2003
- GE FOODS - Genetically Engineered Foods, Sacramento, California, June 20-25, 2003 www.biotechimc.org



LEGAL FUND DONATIONS:

Please send money to United for Peace and Justice.
Online donations are possible at:
www.unitedforpeace.org/ftaadonate
You can also mail a check or money order to:
United for Peace and Justice/FTAA Fund P.O. Box 607,
Times Square Station, New York, NY 10108.
Please specify Legal Fund in the memo field.

OTHER RESOURCES:

Written Internet Words:

www.ftaaimc.org
www.stopftaa.org
www.smartmeme.org
www.saveourcivilliberties.org
www.democracynow.org
www.globalizethis.org
www.freespeech.org
www.crimethinc.com
www.infoshop.org
www.globalexchange.org

Music/Spoken Word:

Chris Chandler, political spoken word, anti-pundit:
www.primecd.com/chandler
Ryan Harvey, political songwriter, write
dare@ziplip.com or visit www.ryanharvey.cjb.net for
album information and show listings.

Videos:

Trading Free Speech for Free Trade
Facing Down the FTAA
WTO Protest, Cancun: Kilometer Zero ...and more...

See: www.freespeechstore.org or email Andrew Dieringer
at: andy.freespeech.org
Or email Tony Shawcross at: tony@denverrevolution.org

Also see: www.ftaaimc.org or www.tacitconsent.com for
video clips

Photos: www.ftaamiamiphotos.com, www.ftaaimc.org

Online Police Reports:

<http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/local/7477524.htm>

abuse is the case of Coca-Cola in Colombia. To prevent their employees from unionizing for better wages and working conditions, the bottling company simply hired paramilitaries to kill off those pesky union leaders. Eight leaders have been killed in the last ten years. (see: [boycott Coca-Cola](#), www.killercoke.org)

As if NAFTA didn't already have a paralyzing effect on the people and economy of Mexico, the FTAA plans to extend their campaign of destruction to 31 other countries. This will be 31 times more devastating than NAFTA was.

The United States is undisputedly the wealthiest country in the hemisphere (or the world for that matter). It's GDP of \$10 trillion is more than all the western countries combined. So if NAFTA brought American corporations to Mexico to make bigger profits, the FTAA will bring a domino effect of that same idea down the line to even poorer countries. Mexico, with a poverty rate of 42%, will turn around and send corporations to Venezuela with a 49% poverty rate. Venezuela will turn to Colombia (55%), who will turn to Central America (combined poverty rate of 64%), who will turn to Haiti (73%), and so on.

Nations like the Bahamas, with an already relatively high poverty rate of 33%, receive 70 percent of their revenue from customs duties and imports, which would be eliminated in a free trade zone. This would be absolutely devastating to their economy as a whole. As you can see, the poor will just get poorer, and the myth of economic growth makes itself painfully known.

Privatization

In addition to economic displacement, the FTAA will bring us the folly of privatization. This is a scary subject because privatization automatically brings an end to democracy, a treat the United States is rapidly and willingly abandoning.

Privatized services include but are not limited to: mail, public transit, healthcare, prisons, water, education, police "protection," library services, unemployment checks. Even mindless services that we are used to the government doing for us, like trash bin removal, will become privatized, and therefore, very costly. As you could probably guess, the corporate interests would be in profit, not people. This means that buses would stop running on unprofitable routes. Rates would skyrocket.

Who knows how much it would cost to mail a letter.

Or have you noticed how difficult it is now to get health-care? If you're not a profitable client (i.e. if you're unhealthy) no HMO will want to carry you.

Prison corporations could convince politicians to outlaw more activities, even stooping as low as criminalizing homelessness or poverty (the US has a 13% poverty rate) because more prisoners means more profits.

FTAA provisions that call for the removal of all "barriers to trade" would allow dangerous chemicals to get into our water without us knowing. Privatized water corporations have already restricted the collection of rain water in some parts of South America because it infringes on money-making.

And don't expect any extra curricular activities in schools, as they are costly extras. Students who do not improve the school's image will be readily cast aside.

Probably the most terrifying part of privatization is the Chapter 11 clause, which gives corporations and investors the unconditional right to sue governments they believe to have inter-

"What happened to you Lily?!" I screamed to her, "What happened?" She broke her dead stare, and a tear rolled down her cheek. Then another. Before I knew it, I was holding her as she was sobbing on my shoulder.

Four days went by, and she didn't say a word. I got to the point of pure depression, and all of her friends decided to find out exactly what was going on. I got home from work and sat her down. I remember it so clearly, it still haunts me. The words from my mouth accidentally came out bluntly as I looked her in the eyes and said, "You have to tell me what happened. We can't live like this."

She stared at me for almost ten minutes before making even a slight movement. Then, in a second, she changed. She jumped up, threw her glass of water hard against the wall, sat back down, and stared straight into my eyes.

"I was raped, Tiger, happy now, I was fucking raped, I was..." she stopped and started crying.

I tried to comfort her but she pushed me off with all her strength. I almost didn't know what to do. I wasn't even sure what happened at that point. I called Ben over. He was her best friend, and I thought he might be able to help. Four hours later he came out of her room and told me to go on a walk with him.

We walked a few blocks before he told me to sit down and listen. He looked angrier than I have ever seen him. With that, he told me everything.

When Lily got arrested at the solidarity action, she was put in a holding cell by herself. As soon as he said that, I knew what was coming. Lily was raped by a cop, and it wasn't just once.

We got back to the house, and I ran to her room, but rather than seeing her crying on her bed, she was lifeless on the floor. I screamed to Ben to call 911 as I realized blood was coming out of both of her wrists. She spent only one day in the hospital. One day! For some reason, the doctors thought she was okay to go home. They made a big mistake. It was only two days later that she tried it again. This time, she took 87 pills of Aspirin. I once more came into the room to find her lifeless on the floor. She had blood coming from her mouth, and again I yelled to Ben to call 911.

On the way to the hospital, Lily's heart stopped. For 3 seconds she was dead. If we had found her 20 minutes later, they would never have been able to bring her back to life. Thankfully, they did. Although Ben and I had made a promise, I knew we had to break it, and we told the doctors she had been raped. We didn't say who. What was the point? No one would ever believe us.

So this is where we are now. One protest may have cost her life. I know she will never be the same. I will never be the same. The bright, happy, full-of-life girl I once knew is gone forever. The group we all knew as family, broken up. The friendships we once had have now dissolved, and we can't even look into each other's eyes. It's all gone.



and therefore, illegal. This could very easily become a gateway for genetically engineered foods to make their way into countries that restrict them. Also sneaking through could be poisons dangerous to our health or even our lives.

Intellectual Property Rights

Do you recall a couple years ago when there was that ongoing debate about Napster? "Is it fair to share music...or 'steal' it, if that's what you want to call it...?" Since then, there have been numerous other online file sharing forums, and the debate rages on. However, the FTAA will exacerbate the extent of copyright laws and intellectual property rights considerably. This means that music-pirates (whether selling bootleg tapes on the street corner or downloading obnoxious pop songs to your computer) could do time in jail.

And intellectual property rights don't end with music copyrights or other art. The FTAA extends patent protection to organic material like genetically altered seeds and to pharmaceutical drugs, as well. So if farmers don't kick the habit of saving seeds from last year's harvest to plant for next year, they could find themselves in big trouble. Or, generic companies that supply poor countries with cheap, lifesaving drugs, such as the AIDS treatment in Brazil, may have to go through costly drug trials as a way of making competition with the bigger pharmaceutical companies "fair."

Let's review: you work or will work a job. You don't want to pay inflated prices for common services. You live in the environment. You probably listen to music. If, for some reason, you don't feel like the FTAA will in any way affect you, I've got to say, you're living in a dream world.

What About Our Friends in Miami?

The trade talks were held in Miami so trade ministers could have a sort of 'open house' of the proposed city for the FTAA headquarters. But why here? Miami is one of the poorest cities in the country. The whole thing is basically divided into two categories: tourist attractions and ghettos.

Advocates of the FTAA estimate that the agreement would bring 89,000 more jobs to the area, \$13.6 billion in economic growth, and better sex for everyone (well...at least if you're a CEO).

However, the largest local employer is the government (the school system, Miami-Dade County, state and federal agencies, Jackson Memorial Hospital, local colleges, and the municipalities). According to the Beacon Council in 2002, the ten largest public employers accounted for about 128,000 jobs. Meanwhile, the ten largest private employers accounted for only 52,000 jobs (less than half!). So it could certainly be argued that if all those public services were to be privatized, tens of thousands of jobs would be eliminated, and those that remained would receive significantly less pay.

Local businesses would become obsolete, and Florida's agricultural industry, as was left painfully visible in NAFTA's trail of destruction, would also become an easy target. Florida depends on its sugar and citrus industries for revenue, but may very well lose that to countries south.

In addition to the loss of business, a trend of suburban

planning is taking hold with a deadly grip, replacing farmland and installing nightmarish, unaffordable housing-doppelgangers; "perfect" neighborhoods for "perfect" people...the kind that don't object to corporate conspiracy. Too bad no one in Miami will be able to afford to live there.

And the Winner Is...

The FTAA did not collapse. Rather, they are going ahead with what is being referred to as "FTAA Lite," a watered down version of the original monstrosity.

"FTAA Lite" removes the Chapter 11 clause about suing national governments, in addition to several other sections of the agreement including bits about agriculture and investment policy. The trade ministers do plan, however, to continue talks in September 2004 (look out for dates and location so we can keep fighting the good fight).

Brazil was having a hard time during the meetings because it hopes to become the economic leader of South America, and the proposals of the FTAA would create a major roadblock for that goal.

Ministers also found it difficult to come to a resolution because of the dreadful relations between the United States and Latin American countries. Let's be honest: we haven't been too kind to them in the past.

George W. Bush, attempting to win the Latino vote in 2000, promised to take the region seriously. But less than a year later, New York was attacked by scary foreigners, and suddenly Bush's priorities changed. Hell-bent on retaliation and preemptive strikes toward other countries, he didn't so much appreciate the anti-war stances of Mexico and Chile. So the US threw a fit and burned some bridges leading south. Now that an election year is once again upon us, Bush is conveniently patching up relations with the countries he had previously abused.

Also, because the US couldn't quite get everything it wanted, they have announced intentions to go one on one with southern countries to negotiate aspects of the agreement that couldn't get ironed out so well while in Miami. The process has already been initiated with Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Panama. The United States has also begun planning what they call CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement).

The US is like the cockroach of free trade. It just won't go away. And it wouldn't surprise me, because we've seen it in the past, that if someone decides not to comply with US demands, they won't hesitate to simply cut that country off. No trade, no aid, no well wishes, we'll see you in hell.

So despite these aforementioned obstructions to proposed policy, this version of the FTAA should remain on schedule and will be in theatres January 2005. (Did I say theatres? I meant real life.)

or so years, protestors have come from all over the hemisphere to protest the School of the Americas - which has just recently changed its name to WHISC, which I think stands for something like the Wildly Hypocritical Ideologues Specializing in Coercion. It is here that the U.S. military trains people to go to South and Central America to... ummm... provide military security to the region. This year, they took a play out of their Panamanian playbook and wheeled out the very same sound system they used to play classic rock at louder than AC/DC decibels in an effort to make their misbehaving student Manuel Noriega surrender. At one point, they played "These Boots Are Made for Walkin'" --which, as it turns out, is a violation of the Geneva Convention. This time, however, Clear Channel had all the rights for classic rock, so instead they broadcast "patriotic" music in an effort to drown out Pete Seeger. If I had a hammer...

In truth, it backfired. It really made for great television: Listening to firsthand accounts from Guatemalans who had been tortured - their families "disappeared" - by graduates of the school to the tune of "God Bless America" made conservatives think the "liberal media" had dubbed in the soundtrack. Not since Simon and Garfunkel combined reports on the Vietnam War with "Silent Night" has such an ironic juxtaposition been created. When I saw it on Democracy Now!, I called my rather conservative mother into the room, and she thought we had used the music intentionally. She did think we displayed awfully bad taste using patriotic anthems as the soundtrack to such scathing, blood-soaked indictments of our foreign policy. Sorry, Mom. If we had blasted "God Bless America" during the protest, we would have been condemned as heretics and sentenced to a life of listening to Bill O'Reilly in the Fox News Re-education Camp. My favorite was Charlie King performing a Christmas song beneath "I love the USA." This is the Christmas season, after all.

This past month has shown me in many ways that the power of good is indeed more powerful than that of evil. But just barely.

TIGER - New Hope, PA

It was the second day of action, and I thought I had a close eye on everyone...until I got struck in the head by a cop and got dragged into a police car. They paid no attention to the gash on my head and tossed me into a cell with a few other people. As time passed, we got word that the other kids were doing a solidarity action outside the jail. I knew Lily would be there, and it sent chills down my back.

Things started to wind down, and one by one they let us out of our cells. Our crew decided to meet at Ben's sister's house if we got split up. When I entered the house, I felt a bad energy. At first it seemed that everyone was there, but as I looked closer, I realized that Lily was not. Night came and three cars decided to go back. Flip and I waited patiently for Lily to get out of jail, and finally, she did. We picked her up, and she looked like a zombie. She got in the car, sat down, and didn't speak one word. The whole way back to New Hope, PA, we tried to talk to her. For the entire trip she didn't talk, she didn't sleep, and she didn't eat. We got home, and I fell to the ground crying.

Let's see here: Miami. It was wholly unnecessary for the activists to shut down the city of Miami to protest the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement meeting as planned. The police did that for us--well in advance and for much longer than we could have ever done it on our own. Thanks, guys. It looked as if they had deputized thousands of professional wrestlers, causing the recent downswing in the unemployment index - especially among members of the "WWE's Smackdown." They armed them with tasers and outfitted them in NHL goalie uniforms and taught them to play Red Rover, Red Rover--for keeps. Only when we sent one of our guys "on over" he went to the hospital. It was like playing "Tag, you're it" with a cattle prod.

The news reports were terrific--as long as you kept the sound off. The pictures clearly showed a full-tilt police riot--hundreds of Robocops firing rubber bullets at grandmothers. But when you turned the sound up, you heard: "These self-proclaimed anarchists have been hired by the Ford Foundation to come to Miami to kill people. You see there--that kid there? Look how he threw his body right into that billy club--these self-proclaimed anarchists are getting exactly what they deserve!"

Ya know, I'm really not making this stuff up. At one point David Rovics was on stage playing to a half a dozen people in an amphitheater while three black helicopters flew overhead. Outside the amphitheater the cops had formed a blockade keeping anyone from going in or out of the building. Tear gas was flying. Batons were whirling, rubber bullets were whizzing, tasers were zapping. All for a David Rovics concert! City officials actually called us "terrorist cells."

Now, I am flattered and all - but also petrified. I mean, seriously: If you want to know why Osama bin Laden is still at large, it is because all our resources are spent on beating the crap out of two dozen 22-year-old poli-sci majors dressed in black and armed with marionettes and George Bush masks. Now you might think I am being facetious but really... There is so much federal money floating around for "homeland security." One could make a fortune. Ya wanna make a mint? Become the mayor of a small town somewhere. Then cry, "The anarchists are coming! The anarchists are coming!" as you hire 11 kids from the 4-H crafts fair. Teach them to make papier-mâché puppet heads of George Bush and Alfred E. Newman while you show videotapes of Seattle, and then go frisk Tom Ridge for money for another tank. Yes, tanks--they had tanks! Now, in fairness: We did too - but ours were obviously made of cardboard and were driven by guys wearing dolphin heads.

Geez Louise, you could have just handed the \$8.9 million they spent on "security" directly to Guatemalan peasants, no strings attached, and done more to improve the economy of the hemisphere than the fat cats in a smoke-filled room at the Intercontinental Hotel could ever do. Lost in all the mayhem were the real issues of the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement. All of their talk of a "level playing field" made me feel they were trying to convince us that the Earth is flat. The news told of busloads of kids in black coming to harm civilians. And they were right...if they were talking about the cops. At one point I called 911 from a pay phone as I witnessed a busload of guys dressed in black beating the crap out of civilians. Three minutes later, a city bus filled with more cops in riot gear showed up facing off the busload I had called about. It was all very confusing.

Then it was on to Georgia's Fort Benning. For the past 15

PART TWO: Miami

IT'S BEEN A LONG NOVEMBER..

For months leading up to the days of action in Miami (November 20th and 21st), there were a series of list serves, consultations, and phone conferences to help plan the mobilization. Through these communications, participants reached a consensus for a 7AM call and a 5PM re-convergence call for Direct Action, with a focus on fence removal. The morning convergence would allot sufficient time for Direct Action (DA) before the union march at 12:30PM. We were to reconvene that evening if the goal of fence removal had not been accomplished earlier in the day.

A many mile fence surrounded the Intercontinental Hotel, where the meetings were to take place, and was a visual reminder of the FTAA's disregard for the public's participation and con-



cerns. Attacking the fence made our voices heard in the only way we could shout them, and this made it impossible to ignore us.

Closer to November 20th, a Direct Action planning committee was formed. The group had open meetings regularly, which would untangle the logistics of the week.

At 7AM on November 20th, we would meet at Government Center. This location, though far from ideal, was one of the only spaces suitable for a large gathering, in addition to being a hub for all local forms of public transit. There would be a small, quick rally there that morning, where allies would speak briefly as a way of not only building solidarity, but also lowering the chances of a mass arrest.

An outreach committee worked to let people and local businesses know why we oppose the FTAA, while a tactical committee planned out our strategies. The plan consisted of marching together from the meeting point, then stopping to hold two key intersections. This allowed other folks to advance on the fence

without being trapped in by the police.

In a series of security conscious meetings, these folks, mostly those choosing to use the tactical approach of Black Bloc*, elected to meet at the Convergence Center at 6AM and march directly to the fence. The decision was mostly prompted through concerns presented by rumors of check points that could prevent people from arriving, fear of a mass arrest upon arrival, and frustration over the action lacking an element of surprise. The group, however, was intercepted and trapped by the police who finally agreed to escort them to Government Center. This did not happen. Rather, the group was corralled, tasered, clubbed, and some were arrested.

The activists who met at Government Center marched without the Black Bloc. When attempts were made to hold more ground in an effort to reduce the chance of a mass arrest, police became aggressive. They copiously used chemical agents such as pepper spray and tear gas, in addition to rubber bullets, concussion grenades, and other "non-lethal" weapons.

One small group of protesters used grappling hooks in an attempt to tear down the fence, but were not resilient with large numbers, so eventually retreated after suffering tear gas.

The police were extremely violent throughout the morning and into the afternoon, preemptively dispersing protesters prior to the 5PM re-convergence. Much of the day consisted of building barricades to hold space after being pushed back from the fence. The police repeatedly attempted to arrest everyone at once, but quick movement kept that from ever happening. Some individuals, however, were not so lucky.



The Miami Timeline following this story details the events of the week...

*A tactic in which everyone dresses similarly and covers their faces to create anonymity.

to be transported back to TGK. Because of the times of our transports, we missed breakfast and lunch and would not be fed for another 6 hours.

Back at TGK we were put back in our separate cells and allowed to make phone calls to whoever could post our bails. At 1AM, we were woken up and told to strip our bunks. The guards handcuffed us, but refused to tell us where we were going. They led us to the release office and took off our handcuffs, and we were free to go having been bailed out by family members.

My jail experience was relatively mild compared to that of many other arrestees from the demonstration. The reason I was not subjected to terror or brutality is because I am white woman who does not identify as transgender. One of the transgendered people I met was raped by prison guards during his short stay in jail, and most, if not all, of the transgendered individuals who were arrested were severely harassed and sexually assaulted by the police and the prison guards.

People of color were also at a much higher risk of being brutalized. I have heard an unconfirmed report that one black individual was stripped, forced into a dog cage, and hosed down with cold water because the police wanted him/her to break solidarity.

The police force in Miami is a racist and sexist institution. Admittedly, most police forces in the U.S. and around the world are, but the Miami police officers and prison guards were decidedly violent and abusive toward people who strayed from conservative social standards. This might have been because the Miami-Dade Police Department has always been this way, or it could be on account of John Timoney. I don't doubt that he instructed the officers to be as brutal as they wanted in order to discourage activists and deflate any and all efforts to make constructive change in this country and the world through public protest. The people of color and the transgendered people were targeted the most because the police forces are already racist and sexist. They were told to be violent and brutal, and were, especially toward the people by whom they felt the most threatened.

CHRIS CHANDLER - Atlanta, GA

Anne and I drove 16 activists nonstop to Miami. Jesus, Florida is big. There we spent two nights high on tear gas. Then we took that same van to Columbus, GA, where we spent two nights high on Lee Greenwood. I hopped in another van and took it to the Atlanta airport, dropped off David Rovics, and subways to Stone Mountain. I think I have just managed to wash the pepper spray out of my clothes. My head is as foggy as a Miami picket line.



The police then rushed a 17-year-old girl and zapped her with a taser gun (which administers an electric shock). It knocked her down, and they arrested her. She told me, "It was the worst thing I have ever felt."

I saw my friend on Saturday, the day after the protests ended. The left side of his face was black and blue. He said that in jail he was placed on his back on a wet floor with the air conditioner blowing on him. There are reports that people in jail were beaten by the police, some so badly that they were hemorrhaging and were hospitalized. There were people calling from jail saying that women were forced to give oral sex, and that people were sprayed down with hoses repeatedly.

I protested the FTAA because I believe that every aspect of it is wrong. The very democracy of individual countries is put in check by the concept of Free Trade. For this, I protested the FTAA, and, for the sake of my country's future, I will continue to fight for a fair and just system.

DANIELLE - Boston, MA

I was arrested during the demonstrations against the FTAA in Miami, Florida. I spent about 41 hours in the custody of the Miami-Dade County Police Department. I was arrested with six other people at about ten thirty in the morning on Thursday the 20th, the first day of action.

We had been dispersing with about 40-50 other people from one of the early morning marches. We were arrested by the bike cops, who lived up to their reputation as the meanest and most brutal cops in the department. They re-broke the hand of the boy next to me by slamming it on the pavement. One boy was bleeding from multiple places on his face. All of us were verbally abused, but particularly the transgendered individual in the group, who was harassed mercilessly.

Three of us were chosen at random, given felony charges, separated from the others, and brought to police headquarters. There they took away the boy with the broken hand, allegedly bringing him to the hospital. The other boy and I were taken to a holding bus, where they later shuttled us from holding cell to booking to County Jail with about ten other protestors who were also charged with felonies.

I shared a freezing cold cell with a woman, whom I'll call Cee for this article, for 5 hours. During that time, we made our phone calls, were given some food, and allowed to use the bathroom. Cee and I were then transported to TCK jail, where most of the FTAA related arrestees were being held. We were given separate cells and allowed to sleep. At 4 the next morning, they woke us up, forced us to take showers, and transported us, while it was still dark out, back to County Jail where we had been the day before.

We sat in County for four hours, in the same freezing cold cell as the day before. By the time they took us out for our bail bond hearing, we were shivering uncontrollably. There were about 10 other arrestees at the hearing with us; they were all men, and Cee and I were the only women. We were all charged with felonies but Cee and I were the only people in custody with handcuffs on.

After our bails were announced, Cee and I were taken back to our cell in County and waited approximately another two hours

A MIAMI TIMELINE

The following is the abridged version of IndyMedia's Breaking News Archive for the week of protests. I made a few spelling corrections and removed several posts that were no longer relevant to save space. The complete version can be viewed at www.ftaaimc.org. I apologize for the lengthiness of the reading, but I must admit, it was a busy week.

[Note: "Welcome Center" and "Convergence Center" are used interchangeably as the organizing space for activists. "Wellness Center" is the medic space where people are treated for injuries.]

[11-11-2003 20:26] **MIAMI ARRESTS** Three activists were arrested today at approximately 1 pm, all three are medics. They were arrested walking to the convergence center three blocks away. The charges and whereabouts of all of them are unknown; activists and lawyers in Miami are diligently working for their release.

[11-13-2003 10:18] **2 ARRESTEES RELEASED** 2 of the 3 medics that were arrested have been released. The third medic has an arraignment today at 10:30 am, Miami City Hall. 3500 Pan American Dr.

[11-13-2003 12:10] **CITY COUNCIL RULINGS** The Miami City Council has unanimously passed the Revised Ordinance that infringes First Amendment rights and is specifically aimed at the FTAA Ministerial. The City Council also rejected the proposal that city parks be open for camping to ensure the safety of those converging in Miami.

[11-14-2003 13:22] **12:30 pm UPDATE** There are bike police riding around downtown scouting out "activist" looking people to harass them for ID's and search their person. They are also asking where people are sleeping. The police are using "obstruction of justice" as reason. The people harassed were handing out flyers to local businesses near SW 1st and Miami Ave.

[11-15-2003 13:03] **5 ARRESTED** 5 Global justice activists were arrested in downtown Miami, at NE 2nd and Flagler. They were arrested while doing outreach work to local business owners and community members. All 5 activists, including the legal observer, were released around 6 pm.

[11-15-2003 15:57] **FENCE GOING UP** A fence is currently being erected around the Inter-Continental Hotel in Miami. It is heavily guarded by police.

[11-17-2003 06:34] **Fence being constructed around conference site** Fences have expanded out from the immediate Inter Continental Hotel perimeter to incorporate the area up to Bayfront Park and sections of Biscayne Blvd.

[11-17-2003 16:57] **Park Harassment** The police are currently making people take down tents at the park area (located in the vicinity of NW 17th Street and NW 7th Avenue) that were previously made available for Global Justice activists converging in Miami.

[11-17-2003 18:41] **2 Activists Arrested By Snatch Squad** Around 4:30 pm two activists were walking near the perimeter fence in downtown Miami when 6 police officers jumped out of a white van,

patted them down and arrested them. The activists were fingerprinted, IDed and released approximately 4 hours later.

[11-18-2003 14:24] **Girl threatened with arrest** Today, twenty riot police surrounded the Floridians for Fair Trade Media Center inside the Bayside Mall in downtown Miami, on the second floor beside a Bath & Body store. The police threatened to arrest a woman when she refused to give them her name, then proceeded to search her bag.

[11-19-2003 10:42] **More Arrests** According to an eyewitness report, at 71st and NE 10th St. between 6 and 8 people have been arrested. Possible trespassing charges.

[11-19-2003 14:23] **At least 12 people being detained on Flagler and 2nd Ave.** 200 cops. 2,000 steelworkers on the scene are chanting "Let them go"

[11-19-2003 14:55] **Flagler and 2nd Ave.** All detainees released....a group of people on the street had been detained for one member of the group picking up a coconut, subjected to search. Solidarity from union members across the street was instrumental in making the police let these people go.

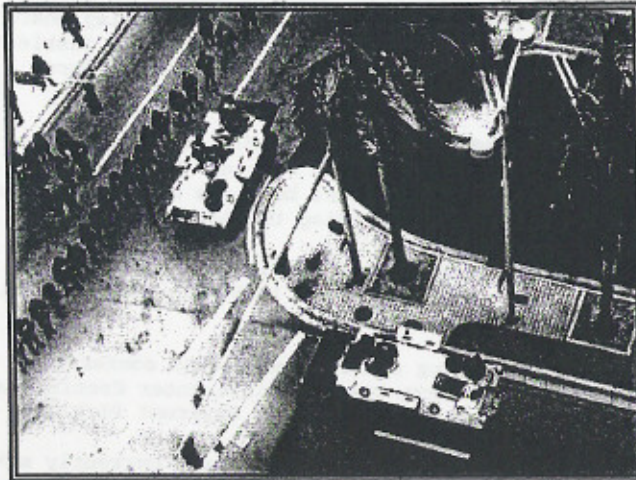
[11-19-2003 15:54] **Information Clearing House Illegally Raided** About thirty police officers stormed into the Information Clearing House at 1:30PM, searching their location in the Bayside Mall with neither permission nor a warrant.

[11-19-2003 17:24] **Downtown stores ordered to close** The police have apparently ordered the closure of all stores in the downtown area

THE DAY OF ACTION

[11-20-2003 06:28] **Reports of an arrest at 25th and Miami (very near the convergence space)**

[11-20-2003 06:53] **March has left the Welcome Center** The Direct



Action march has left from the Welcome Center at 2300 N Miami heading towards the Government Center at Flagler and NW 1st.

[11-20-2003 06:59] **DA March Reaching Riot Cops** Direct Action March about to run into Riot Cops at 10th St. between 2nd and Miami Ave. About 30 sheriff's cars and a bus heading N

on Miami.

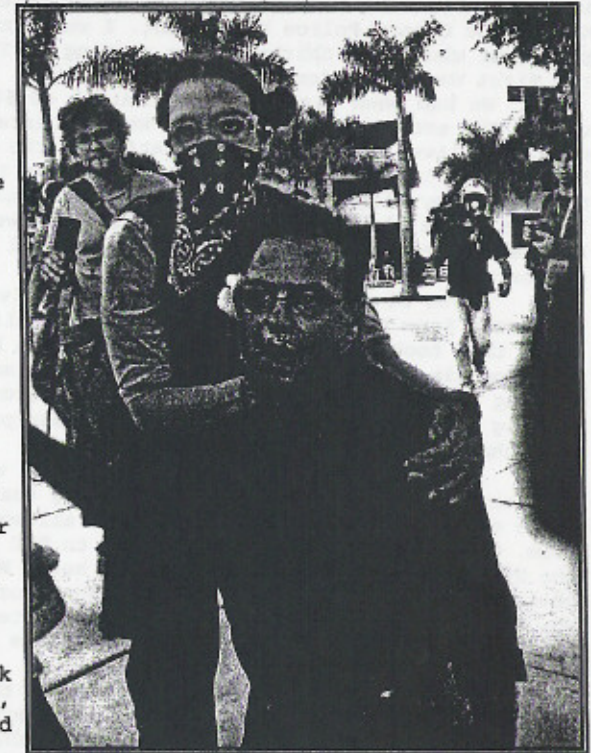
[11-20-2003 07:07] **Puppets Stopped** NW 1st and 14th, puppet truck has been pulled over. It is surrounded by cops, affinity groups

foot long and made of solid wood.

At 10 a.m., when we finally found the protest, we only got to march for a few blocks. After those few blocks, the police pinned us in. And there we sat for two hours. Every so often the police would advance and everyone who was in front would get hit repeatedly with batons. The police started to put on gas masks, so I went around giving protesters apple cider vinegar to put on their bandanas. (This helps block a fraction of the tear/pepper gas.) While doing this, the crowd got pepper-sprayed, and I did not have protection on my face. I saw a cloud coming at me, and I started feeling like I was having an asthma attack.

At 4:00, the AFL-CIO march permit ended, and the people who were in the streets were shot and sprayed by the police who had surrounded the rally. My friend, Brianna, and I could not see what was going on, so we got close to the police line in front of the fence (a high fence and barrier had been put up around the conference site). We moved up through the crowd, but before we got close enough to view what was happening and why, the crowd started running away. We were then at the front line of the police who were advancing. Immediately, we were both shot with gas at close range. We got separated while running. I got hit all over my legs with what felt like little pellets from a shotgun and left a sharp painful stinging sensation. Brianna got hit in the face directly above her left eyebrow.

After meeting up again, we went to a nearby grassy area where medical assistance was available. One medic flushed my eyes and face with water to wash off the gas. The gas felt like hot pepper or lemon juice in an open cut and it was all over my face. While they were treating us, the police continued to advance and we got gassed again. Earlier that day, in another location, my friend with a broken hand was knocked over by a bike officer. This crash must have caused some sort of panic among the police because, while he was trying to kick the bike off himself, they grabbed his head and slammed it onto the concrete. They then handcuffed him. Meanwhile, his friends were yelling that he had a broken hand.



could do without risking further injury to those already hurt.

Shortly after, the ambulances arrived. Medics and volunteers hosed off the doors and walkway in hopes of reopening the Wellness Center right away. Those of us with severe injuries were taken to the Emergency Room.

The hospital was prepared with beds outside and extra staff. I was put in a neck brace and made to lay on a wooden board on a bed despite my cries of pain from laying on my freshly bruised butt and shoulder. The nurse practitioner told me she was in charge and that we would do things her way or not at all.

I was forced to use a bedpan for my urine test. I had walked in and out of the ambulance, so I wanted to walk to the bathroom, too. A male nurse came in as I was trying to give the sample, naked from the waist down and arched over the pan. He started to remove my piercing jewelry. I yelled to him that I needed female assistance and that one thing at a time was enough. I was scared and in pain. They left me alone for a long time.

Two hours later, when I got x-rayed, the tech was kind enough to loosen the neck brace and allow me to lay comfortably off my bruises. We befriended one another, talking about his job and about my purpose for being in Miami. He told me that a week prior to the protest the police had come into the hospital and warned the staff that they "expected mass bloodshed".

The nurse practitioner had a rough bedside manner and often referred to the injured as "anarchists" or those that "intended to destroy our lovely city." She never looked at my shoulder or butt. He stood by my side the entire time, denying medical attention for the multiple shots he'd received. A fellow protestor with a broken wrist behind a curtain was a blessing as we talked, and he helped me relax and calm my nerves. I received four or five staples in my head, two Tylenol, a small ham sandwich, and was then advised to leave town before it got worse. We left physically sore and emotionally numb.

BEN AYER - Washtenaw Community College

This past month I traveled to Miami, Florida, to participate in the Free Trade Area Of Americas (FTAA) protest, November 20-22, 2003. While in Miami, I was shot at, sprayed, and hit with batons by the police. I never did anything illegal or that could be interpreted as threatening. I was simply using my First Amendment Rights: "The right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

My first interaction with the Miami police was November 20th, at about 7AM. A group of journalists and I were running late and wanted to catch up with others going to the protest. We were stopped by police and told we couldn't go that way and should go in another direction. We then asked another group of protesters where they were going and found out that the police told them the opposite way to go from what they had told us. It was obvious the police were intentionally misdirecting us.

Block after block had police lines covering them; in fact, the whole downtown was shut down. The police were on every street corner and every roof. I think I should point out that these were not regular police; these were police who had been training for six months for this day. They were in full riot gear. They had shields, rifles, tear gas guns, and long batons that were over a

are watching including 2 legal advisors.

[11-20-2003 07:27] **NW 1st and 2nd Ave.** One arrest. Line of 30 riot cops blocking legal observers from seeing what is happening, blocking the street.

[11-20-2003 07:29] **100 plus Detained** 1st Ave. and 14th St. 100 plus people detained at the same intersection where the puppets were stopped.

[11-20-2003 07:42] **Negotiations** Protesters negotiating with police to move along towards the Government Center. Tentative negotiation is "no direct action and you can proceed." This is at NW 14th St. and 1st Ave, there are still about 100 people.

[11-20-2003 07:48] **1st St. and 1st Ave update** There are 800-1000 people who have made it to 1st St. and 1st Ave... there are a lot of cops, but the park is not yet surrounded...there are also a good number of steelworkers and other rank and file union members present.

[11-20-2003 08:02] **14th St. NW and 1st Black Bloc** was stopped moving east towards the Government Center. They have a police escort on both sides, agreeing not to engage in DA.

[11-20-2003 08:05] **1000 people marching east from 1st and 1st. with puppets, no detainees**

[11-20-2003 08:05] **Start of the March** Protestors surrounded on all sides (except front) by riot cops. Horse cops moving to front of march.

[11-20-2003 08:12] **Call In report** It was just called in that local community members are starting to join the black bloc march that was previously negotiating with police.

[11-20-2003 08:18] **March** Currently headed E on Flagler. They are between 3rd and 4th Ave. SE. Riot Cops with shields are apparently blocked the march in so they can either turn around or break through the police line.

[11-20-2003 08:19] **3rd and Flagler SE March** stopped at SE 3rd and Flagler, lots of drumming. Large press presence. Things are relatively calm.

[11-20-2003 08:20] **Street party!** Flagler/3rd Ave. 4-5 thousand protesters declare street party, police are 1 block south.

[11-20-2003 08:23] **March Stopped** SE 3rd Ave and 1st. March stopped, puppets taken at intersection. There is dancing, like a street party. Police holding at least one side, but staying a block away on other sides.

[11-20-2003 08:26] **Black Bloc halted** Peron and Flagler, cops making formation in black riot gear. Couple hundred people in a police blockade at 2nd Ave and 1st St. This is the black bloc march that was being escorted.

[11-20-2003 08:28] **March Surrounded** NW 2nd Ave and 1st St. Police surrounded black bloc and other protesters. Media has been pulled back (except IMC) out of filming range. Across the street from Police station. March is completely surrounded.

[11-20-2003 08:32] **Black Bloc march** NW 2nd Ave. and NW 3rd. Black Bloc having a spokes meeting, debating whether they go where the cops want to go or not. There are lines of cops, at least 3 lines. Black bloc has 1 square block pushed up against a fence, completely surrounded.

[11-20-2003 08:36] **March surrounded at 2nd and Flagler** March/street party is completely surrounded, many undercover spotted among the protesters. Camouflaged armored personal carriers and police with tasers and tear gas launchers are being loaded right now....

[11-20-2003 08:59] March moving along the Fence 3rd and 4th Ave. Cops in "cherry pickers" above the fence with tear gas, shotgun, and other crowd control weapons.

[11-20-2003 09:02] US 1 Update March along US 1 being blocked by police on all sides, about five "cherry pickers" about 500 people there now. Police also behind the fence. Police "pretty well armed".



[11-20-2003 09:03] 2nd Ave. and 3rd St. completely surrounded Cops have surrounded the group at 2nd Ave. and 3rd St. and are checking to see if signs made of PVC pipe meet ordinance standards. They have started testing their tasers.

[11-20-2003 09:08] Private prison cars assembling A group of yellow cars have started assembling around the fence. They have been identified as "private prison" cars.

[11-20-2003 09:14] Steelworker callout 2nd and 3rd. Protestors trying to reach protests being detained at Flagler and Biscayne. Hoping to meet up with steelworkers so police escorts will back down. PVC signs confiscated.

[11-20-2003 09:17] Police behind the fence have put on their gas masks. Miami Herald reporters wearing body armor (flak jackets), things that have been denied to protesters. Some are anticipating chemical weapons.

[11-20-2003 09:18] Updates from Flagler SE 3rd Ave and E Flagler. 2 people arrested, at least, possibly up to 6. People have been hit in the face, don't know what they were hit with.

[11-20-2003 09:19] The mayor is apparently at the fence at the Biscayne with a smile on his face.....3ft from the protesters and being confronted by angry protesters. Crowd chanting "shame on you."...mayor's car was attacked with minor damage, and the mayor has left...there have been arrests happening and confirmed reports of pepper spray being used.

[11-20-2003 09:21] Padded block Reports are in that people wearing defensive padding are pushing bike cops back on Biscayne

[11-20-2003 09:22] 2nd ave and 3rd st update The contingent at 2nd ave and 3rd st has been detained by the police for over an hour now. Cops are 3 rows deep surrounding the group with bike cops closest to the protesters and riot cops behind them.

[11-20-2003 09:26] Singing in the street Dancing in the middle of Biscayne. Singing in the background, "all life shall be free, no army can hold back the sun (?)". Very festive atmosphere.

[11-20-2003 09:33] Police Brutality Police moved in 15-20 minutes ago at 2nd and 3rd using batons. Looked like "a lot of people were getting injured". Atmosphere getting more confrontational since the police started using chemical weapons (pepper spray).

[11-20-2003 09:38] Police Brutality 1st SE and 3rd. Protestors

and hand.

Medics rushed to my aid, Bo by my side, friends hurried in to check on me. I didn't stop the reporters from taking pictures. I knew evidence was important, I knew I wanted to be able to tell the story for all those who wouldn't. I didn't know what it would be like to see them over and over and over--I had no idea there were video and cameras everywhere when it happened.

Quick street bandage to ease the flow of blood, and the female medic so kind and gentle washed some of the blood from my face to help me feel better. Off to the Wellness Center was the recommendation. My friends would take me so the medics could continue to help the protestors as the police continued to attack. I thought it was over; I certainly wouldn't do any good in the streets with a head wound. Retreat to the Wellness Center for further care. I never would have imagined what awaited me there.

The medics called 911. A total of five of us were going to the Emergency Room in three ambulances. The reporter who was shot in the head came in just after I did. I couldn't take the sight of someone else's pain. Head wounds, hand injuries, countless people outside in various stages of injury and recovery. Pepper spray, tear gas, bloody bandages and wounds from batons and bullets.

Then the unthinkable: the cops were advancing here, at the Wellness Center, immediately pepper spraying and hitting anyone in their way with their large wooden sticks. I reached for Bo through the door.

"Please don't leave me," he slid in. As the medics started to pull the doors closed, an officer turned his pepper spray nozzle between the doors and fired. It hit the medic in the face, and the Wellness Center immediately fogged up. A sterile environment of injured activists and bystanders was now contaminated. The doors were covered with an oil-like spray as the cops continued on.

We all watched in horror as anyone standing outside was sprayed and beaten. One cop, I believe the one with the pepper spray, cornered and kicked a guy multiple times when he didn't move fast enough. There was nothing we





--POP!--

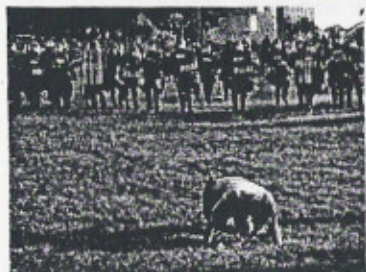
The officer shot me point blank in the right butt cheek. I must have looked like a cartoon jumping up and running while screaming, "They shot me in the ass, in the ass, after he let me pick up the bandana, what did I do, asshole?"

When the cops stopped advancing that time, I wanted to take my mind off of my stinging behind so I started picking up trash maybe 20 feet from the officers. Then I knelt down with my beads right next to the trash I had gathered. I was very distracted from meditation and prayer by calls for medics and protestors screaming, "Shame, shame," and "Who do you work for?"

I heard more shots, and the police were advancing again. I got up to move and heard the sound of bullets (or something) whizzing by my head so I turned to run. Then I was hit--this time in the shoulder, knocking me to the ground. I couldn't get up quick enough so I started to crawl, peeking over my shoulder to see if I would really get away or if I was to be the next to fall behind the lines.

My friend Bo and one or two others came to help. They tried to pick me up but I fell again because the pain was so intense. Halfway to my feet, it felt like a canister or some large sharp object hit me in the head. My eye burned, but with my back to the cops I couldn't tell what was going on. Someone stood behind me so I didn't receive any more of the bullets aimed our way. Bo was hit 7 times, and I know the others who helped must have been, too.

More screams for medics, only this time the looks of horror were at me. Why? What was wrong? I hurt really bad, my head spinning, kind of foggy, oh god it hurts. I reached up to put my hand to my head and the wet warmth brought fear and anger boiling to the surface. My newly acquired bandana that I had gotten shot for was now coming in handy as I held it to my head; soaked immediately with blood, which continued down my face



heading to medic space after police used batons on protestors. The attack was unprovoked.

[11-20-2003 09:39] **Order to Disperse** Orders of Dispersal at Flagler and Biscayne. 1st order issued, after three orders police have full disclosure to use chemical weapons. No one is dispersing. Police calling perfectly legal march illegal.

[11-20-2003 09:41] **Black Bloc march** Black Bloc group at 2nd and 3rd (70-100 people) being ordered to disperse in groups of eight. Not allowed to go towards march or face arrest.

[11-20-2003 09:43] **Tear Gas** Biscayne and Flagler. The fence is trying to be torn down, people are moving, cops are advancing. Tear gas has been fired. Riot cops pressing forward.

[11-20-2003 09:45] **Cops attacking** Cops advanced with batons after tear gas fired, but situation seems to be de-escalating. People are bleeding from their heads, cops beating them over the heads with batons. Screaming in the background, crowd not being violent, police clubbing people on the ground.

[11-20-2003 09:46] **395 Shut Down** I-395, the last corridor into downtown has been shut down. Busses full of marchers stranded outside of the city.

[11-20-2003 09:49] **Biscayne and Flagler** 150-200 ft between protestors and fence. Fence is still intact. Lines of riot cops between fence and protestors. Protestors attempted to pull down fence, before the tear gas. Tense situation, nobody is running, people are staying in solidarity "its all good right now."

[11-20-2003 09:57] **Call-out** Protesters who dispersed are walking down 2nd St. Police running their bicycles into people, threatening them. Labor unions and legal observers needed on the streets.

[11-20-2003 09:58] **Police Beating** Channel 7 is LYING. Saying that protestors are attacking cops. The cops attacked from behind. The police beat a girl over the head, medics took her away. "This was a peaceful demonstration."

[11-20-2003 10:12] **Legal March** Police may be trying to revoke permit for legal march at 12:30

[11-20-2003 10:15] **Police Brutality** 14th and 2nd Ct. Police ran over a cyclist. People have been tased. People are blockaded in there. There has also been pepper spray and about 5 people are down right now.

[11-20-2003 10:18] **Rubber Bullets** Medics report tear gas fired and rubber bullets fired at E. Flagler. Cops are banging on their shields at Biscayne.

[11-20-2003 10:22] **Ground Zero** Police still demanding dispersal, at Biscayne and Flagler. Marching band circling the area. 1st and Biscayne police are getting reckless. Eco-bloc and puppets left front lines, headed towards arena. People engaging in nonviolent Direct Action. Police are advancing. About 1000 people there. Po-



lice about 4 ft away.

[11-20-2003 10:25] Another dispersal order Cops have announced another dispersal order, demanding protesters to leave via 3rd St. Protesters nearest to cops are now kneeling down. Police holding line.

[11-20-2003 10:30] Ground Zero 5th and 11th NW. Police herding protesters. People are trying to regroup. At least 2 people tasered. E Flagler and Biscayne. Police advancing aggressively. Human chain developed. People are holding their position. Things are pretty quiet, the drumming has stopped.

[11-20-2003 10:33] Biscayne 1st Biscayne and 1st. Police are attacking the line of protesters. Firing something that is not pepper spray or teargas. People are slowly falling back. People are getting injured. About 1000 people.

[11-20-2003 10:36] Channel 7 validates police brutality Channel 7 reporters claim that police brutality tactics are a necessary force against protesters who "are not from around here," claim that its important to have a "fear of the unknown."

[11-20-2003 10:37] Ground Zero Police pepper spraying still at ground zero. People constantly being pushed back. Things are becoming disorganized. Lines getting smaller. Pepper spray wearing on people. Medics are flushing people.

[11-20-2003 10:39] Steelworkers allowed to march Cops have allowed steelworkers to proceed, but no other protesters are allowed to pass.

[11-20-2003 10:47] Orders to disperse Biscayne and 1st. Protesters being pushed North. Police orders to disperse, but people have no place to go. "People would disperse, but police have not given it to us at this point, they have been pepper-spraying us..* People may reconvene at 5pm.

[11-20-2003 10:48] 1st and Biscayne Cops beating down on any protesters who push forward. Police are pulling out the fire hoses. AFL-CIO march is coming up behind the DA people.

[11-20-2003 10:58] Black Bloc affiliates subject to harassment on the street People leaving ground



zero were followed by some men, dressed as protesters, in a red Ford SUV. One man carried a 9mm pistol on his lap, leaned out the window and yelled "you don't want to fuck with us."

[11-20-2003 11:07] Undercover Cops Dragging Protestors In about 15 minutes, protesters will be allowed into the Amphitheatre. Police are tackling someone. Undercover police dragging Black Blocers across the police line. This is at Biscayne and 2nd. Two people are behind the police line. Protestors coming to the line. Many cameras out.

[11-20-2003 11:12] Un-Arrest One individual was singled out be-

We were treated to an impromptu monologue by a homeless woman on Saturday, who provided us with a detailed depiction of life as a female bum under the tender mercies of the Miami PD. Evidently, the treatment we were receiving was her day-to-day reality.

The man responsible for what is now being called the "Miami Model" of "Civil Control" is none other than John Timoney, the ex-police commissioner of Philadelphia, who is now being employed by Homeland Security to oversee police activity in every major city at which a mass demo is planned. He's licensed to travel from city to city, given total control (and fantastic amounts of money--8 million was allocated for this event, strangely enough the money came from the funds allotted by Congress to carry on the Iraq war. Which war was that again?).

Timoney was personally present on the streets, riding with a squad of bike cops, where he was given the opportunity to communicate directly with the protesters. To one of our own, it was reported, he stopped long enough to say, "You're bad. Fuck you."

I'm usually a staunch supporter of the notion that political assassination is a futile gesture; that it's the system and not its individual components that needs replacing. But the closer you are to the outer edge of the function of that system, the greater direct impact your, um, removal stands to serve...



NIKKI HARTMAN - Tallahassee, FL

Like a bad movie, the foreshadowing started the second we arrived downtown around 10AM. Shortly after we arrived, the police line started to advance--first to protect the porter-potties from protesters(?), then to block the

entire grassy area.

My day began sitting at the feet of a line of officers, meditating (praying) and waiting patiently for us to be allowed into the rally to hear the speakers and wait for the parade. This was my first political protest, so I was very interested in hearing all the speakers and observing the events. But no protesters were allowed in the rally--union members only. So we positioned ourselves out of the way and waited for the parade.

I stood up on the hill by the fence to better see everything going on. I heard chanting and saw dancing, peace signs and protesters holding signs--then I saw the police advance, again and again, with no warning, no instructions, just banging their sticks on their shields, throwing teargas and occasionally firing into the crowd. They had backed us up so far I was sitting on the railing of the amphitheater walkway with my prayer beads once again in my hands--again the police advance, no warning, no reason.

I ducked under the railing and saw a black bandana on the ground. It seemed profound to me, and I wanted it. On my knees from ducking under the railing, I put both arms in the air and slowly gestured the bandana to the closest officer. He kicked it toward me and nodded. I grabbed the bandana and quickly turned, still on my knees, to crawl under the second railing.

A few days early for the actual event, I immerse myself in cooking, cleaning, security, answering the phones, and every other imaginable, mundane infrastructure activity. Clearly, there's little focus for this demo (except Focus herself--hi, Focus!); far more festival than militant mobilization.

After not eating or sleeping for three days, I unsurprisingly fall ill. The timing couldn't be worse as this is the day the actual action starts (meaning I was missing my chance to be gassed and shot by the Miami PD!).

The medics ply me with Emergen-C and ez-2-eat foodstuffs. I sleep.

Meanwhile, the people on the street are falling victim to the most horrific police repression I've ever heard of, at least in the US; if you've ever imagined the worst that things could actually get for those whiny activists, this was it. People being cornered and dragged into unmarked white vans. Random beatings by 70! bike cops. Souvenir photos taken of the victims bleeding and handcuffed. Unsafe to walk the streets. Some people were beaten by some cops for the amusement of some other cops as they ate lunch at a cafe. Unprovoked mass shootings, gassings, beatings. People would leave the Medic space downtown, only to get ambushed by cops waiting outside and pepper sprayed across the eyes.

Over 8,000 union members were prevented from joining the (permitted) march Thursday, by police who blocked all freeway exits; nearly 100 buses were turned away.

So many people are arrested today that there's nothing to do but work to get some back out so we can keep having a mobilization.

Friday is consumed by frantic phone work (I've opted at this point to receive Legal Observer training; I got a green hat and everything). People are posted all over the Welcome Center all night in anticipation of a police raid (which almost happens, but there's too many news media people camped outside).

Reports from inside the jail begin to trickle into the Welcome Space; APOC (Anarchist People of Color) hold a short meeting to talk about what's been happening to their peeps on the inside. Reports of forced fellatio (by that I mean the cops forced a female protester to suck them off), people being pepper-sprayed for hours on end while restrained, people stripped naked and blasted with hoses every two hours (for those of you who have not been to jail yet, the AC is set to about 50 degrees at all times to deal with body heat). One man went to the hospital after receiving a brain hemorrhage and a dislocated eyeball while in custody. As of this writing, one man is still missing.

Too weak to do anything else, I bust ass on the phone trying to get six (of our 20 or so) kids out of jail. I watch helicopters whiz around overhead. At least 4 are visible from the Welcome Center at any time. At night, they shine spotlights on us.

This must be what it's like to be black.

It's hard to gauge the intentions of the locals; many seem sympathetic to our cause (nearly everyone I talked to about the FTAA across America not only knew what it was, but understood how it'd negatively affect them! Death to the myth of Joe Six-pack!), but just as many tried to hustle us or sell us drugs--sometimes at the same time they were expressing understanding of our cause. It's a living. A very few people got mugged, accompanied by some encouraging words regarding which neighborhoods they ought to be bringing cops into.

cause he called out an undercover. This person was successfully un-arrested.

[11-20-2003 11:18] **Steelworkers declare solidarity with Direct Action** While the direct action folks are still being held by police, the workers have been allowed to peacefully assemble. Steelworker organizers have declared their solidarity with those involved in direct action and say that they will continue to march even if police attempt to halt their actions.

[11-20-2003 11:22] **Steelworkers allow non-union members to join march** The steelworkers are calling out for supporters of their march, but are asking that no one bring drums.

[11-20-2003 11:22] **Steelworkers Showing Up** Union members started to show up. Steelworkers are at the amphitheater. Protesters at the fence slowly being pushed back to the amphitheater. Concussion grenades going off, pepper spray fired. People are rallying with the labor unions. All directions are moving towards the amphitheater.

[11-20-2003 11:24] **Police putting on gas masks and preparing to arrest those on street**

[11-20-2003 11:31] **Cops Pull Guns** Cops are leading into Bayfront Amphitheater. Things "look chaotic" up there. Cops have pulled their guns and pointed them at people. Someone is on the ground with rifles pointed at him. AFL-CIO marshals trying to talk the police down.

[11-20-2003 11:31] **Police attack steelworkers** Cops knocked down 5-6 steelworkers outside amphitheater, preparing tasers and tear gas. One protester lying on the ground immobile. AFL-CIO mediating.

[11-20-2003 11:42] **4 people arrested, badly beaten** A group of direct action folks were standing in the amphitheater waiting to join the legal march when riot cops surrounded them. 4 people were tasered and beaten badly with batons. After this unwarranted brutality, the four people were arrested.

[11-20-2003 11:45] **Police have stopped allowing anyone to join the workers march downtown**

[11-20-2003 11:55] **Detainees at 2nd Ave and 3rd St harassed, tasered** After the police demanded the detainees at 2nd and 3rd St. to disperse, cops in riot gear on bicycles continued to follow the detainees and several protesters were tasered and badly beaten.

[11-20-2003 12:09] **Solidarity** About 9000 people outside the Amphitheater. Police drove protesters away from fence about 4 blocks. 1000 Steelworkers marched to the protesters for Solidarity.

[11-20-2003 12:30] **Inside the Amphitheater** Amphitheater, inside. About half-full, and growing. 185 buses detained that are trying to get to the rally. Chanting "No way FTAA". Letting people past checkpoints in groups of twenty, some people getting searched twice. Crowd is growing.

[11-20-2003 12:33] **ID Required** Police are saying there are "official" and "un-official" protesters. They are requiring ID to get inside the Amphitheater for the AFL-CIO march.

[11-20-2003 13:10] **Update from Amphitheater** Labor folks are being stopped from coming into the Amphitheater. The cops tasered a steelworker. The cops haven't been advancing. DA folks are not around, last seen being gassed and tasered. There are many people in now. On the street about 1000. Union folks lining up against the cops, in one long line across the park.

[11-20-2003 13:23] **AFL-CIO March** The AFL-CIO march, which is

permitted, has started.

[11-20-2003 13:28] **AFL march not open to all** AFL march organizers have stated that direct action folks are permitted to walk in solidarity with them, however, some profiling of activists has already taken place. After waiting in line for 2 hours to join the march, some people from direct action were turned away because of the way they look.

[11-20-2003 13:45] **Provocateurs Among Protesters** Report from the street that there have been small groups of provocateurs trying to blend into the crowd and attempting to provoke protesters into doing things that will get them quickly arrested. Person who reported this said that reporters have video footage proof.

[11-20-2003 15:34] **Official police report on arrests** 56 arrests as of 3PM, 6 of which were felonies

[11-20-2003 15:44] **New march to fence** A group of drummers lead march to the fence at 1st street and Biscayne, about 1000 demonstrators followed. Riot police blocking access to fence. Black Bloc flag calling for people to regroup. While more protesters are exiting the Amphitheater where the labor march ended a while ago, people are chanting inches away from the police.



[11-20-2003 15:47] **Pepper spray and batons at fence** About 3000/4000 at 1st and Biscayne. A large number attacking fence. Tear gas, pepper spray, and some sort of projectile weapon are being used against the protesters who were moving towards the fence at Biscayne.

[11-20-2003 15:53] **Passive resistance at fence** Female protester sitting behind police line at Biscayne and 4th. Police threatening to beat her up, caller says she will not move despite tears from tear gas.

[11-20-2003 15:57] **Fire on Biscayne** Protesters fighting back and marching towards the street despite police brutality. Tear gas and rubber bullets are being thrown to the 3000/4000 at fence on Biscayne and 1st street.

[11-20-2003 15:59] **Biscayne Union and DA folks together** at Bayfront park. There have been pellet bags shot, tear gas thrown back at cops, bonfires lit. Many hurt, no arrests. Nearly 1000 demonstrators advanced on one line of riot cops. Riot Cops are moving in from a different side. NE 3rd and Biscayne. Tear Gas being fired, people regrouping and setting up barricades. Drummers are drumming to keep the energy high, riot cops advancing quickly.

[11-20-2003 16:00] **Rubber bullets being used against protesters** on Biscayne IMC reporter hit by a rubber bullet on Biscayne.

[11-20-2003 16:01] **Update from the fence** Riot police are advancing North on Biscayne. Using 3 or 4 different chemical weapons (blue-green cloud). People at the front believed that this was started by provocateurs. About 250 riot cops on Biscayne flanked by a couple vans. About 800 people being pushed down 3rd away from

the right of me, and through the gas and the smoke and the pepper spray clinging in the air, I see a man. He is gripping his arm, a mangled remnant of what it once was. Blood is dripping from his left hand. Shards of bone mingle with tissue in what used to be his arm. The man is older than I am, much older. A retiree who had come here to voice his opposition to a trade deal that would impact his son, daughter, and indeed, his way of living, only to become another casualty in the fight with global capital. His eyes are clenched, as much as his fist. I urge him to relax. I call for a medic. The gas has started to clear.

Beyond him the phalanx of police approaches. The echo of nightsticks on shields calls out their weapon of choice: fear. The setting sun reflects off the polished armor as they march forward, in unison. They are no longer human, but one big machine, lumbering forward with one intention. They exist to subdue me, to subdue us. I leave the man, who is now surrounded by volunteer medics: mutual aid in action.

I start to walk. One quick glance over my shoulder, and I no longer see the medics or the man. I only see the line of black and brown. The uniforms of many different police agencies formed into one fluid automaton. And they approach. I run. I come finally to another crowd. Resistance is their goal; they will not be pushed away as easily as those before them had. This will be a time for a stand. I find my struggle in theirs. I too, want to feel empowered once again. I too, want to achieve what I came here to do: to voice my opposition to these trade talks. I cannot run. I must show defiance.

The police stop once more. A volley is fired from the front ranks. The projectiles zip and whiz over head. The air is alive with the sound of the buzzing, as if many bees had descended upon this ragtag line of those that would stand for their freedom.

The all too familiar snap-clap of the rounds making contact with skin and muscle fills my ears as I turn to my left. An explosion of blood comes from the face of the person in front of me, as a rubber bullet makes contact with his eye. The blood sprays from the wound, splattering to the ground and on comrades who are closer than me.

The high pitched shrill is the last sound I hear before I awake. I awake to a world filled with poverty, hopelessness, and suffering. Our entire world reeks of oppression and tyranny. That's why we were there. That's why we experienced what we did. The grim truth is that our suffering on that day is only a fraction of what millions go through when they try to resist. We, as first world inhabitants, came out relatively unscathed. And that's the greatest tragedy: that we suffered so much, but that we know so many suffer so much worse. I wish this had just been a nightmare. Unfortunately, I know all too well that it was reality, a reality that I cannot escape. I was there. I saw it all. And I have seen it all, every night since.

KEVIN - San Diego, CA

Miami, Florida looks like Tijuana, but with better roads and poor black folk instead of poor Mexicans. Stray dogs of all imaginable breeds run around, waiting to be struck by cars. Housing projects with bright lead paint, Haitian churches in French. Botanicals that take up half a block.

PART THREE: Stories

DAVE STRANO - Lawrence, KS

Gas. All around me was the white gas. And screams. The screams echoed through my ears, the screams of the terrified, the injured, the victims of the most militant crackdown on American protest in decades. The city of Miami had spent \$8 million on this charade of security, federal funds "earmarked" for the war on



"terror" in Iraq and Afghanistan. It was telling that the money had instead gone to fight a war on dissent back at home.

I had come to Miami to protest the formation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas. After being there for less than 24 hours, I had already been shot at, pepper sprayed, tear gassed, held at gun-point by automatic weaponry, searched, and profiled. It's an experience that won't let go of me.

When I came back to Lawrence, Kansas, I thought I was fine. After all, I was one of the few who weren't badly injured, hadn't been arrested, and hadn't suffered the worst of the police state. I had just seen most of it happen. Sure, it was hard to come out of the experience without smelling a bit of the gas or feeling the sting of the pepper spray, but I hadn't really suffered that day.

The suffering came when I got home. I haven't been able to shake off the visions of that day. I find myself tossing and turning all night, sweat pouring from my brow, not being able to get the images out of my mind. Every night it has played out the same way. The second I close my eyes, I can smell the gas. The white, burning gas envelops me.

The noise starts to pick up. The snap-clap of "less lethal" ammunition impacting with human flesh and bone. The hideous moist cracking sound of limbs being broken beside me. I look to

the fence.

[11-20-2003 16:08] Protesters being pushed westward on second Concussion grenades have been fired. Protesters trying to hold ground by building barricades with wooden pallets.

[11-20-2003 16:13] Police brutality People have been hit by tear gas, bleeding from the ear. People are standing strong through the pain. On 3rd St the police are pushing demonstrators west. Police shooting randomly into the crowd.

[11-20-2003 16:19] AFL-CIO leaving 200-300 riot cops advancing west on NE 3rd St. on a crowd. AFL-CIO people scattering. Rubber bullets and tear gas ran them away. Police aiming for people with masks and pepper spraying "wildly."

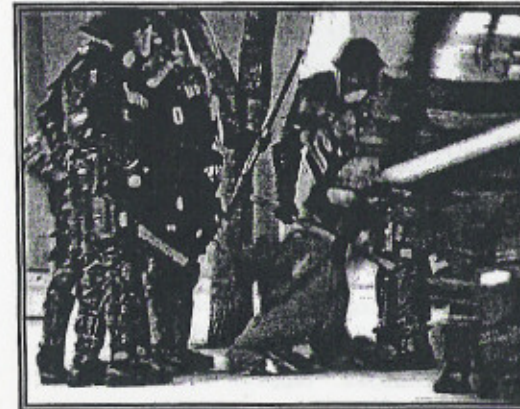
[11-20-2003 16:25] Police advancing NE 3rd St. Police firing rubber bullets indiscriminately.

[11-20-2003 16:29] Pepper spraying People pushed back to amphitheater and as far aback as Miami-Dade Community College. IMC journalist severely pepper-sprayed, people throwing tear gas back into the police.

[11-20-2003 16:28] Indiscriminate shootings Rubber bullets continue to fly. Many people shot in the head and face, including journalists. Reports of one corporate journalist receiving a rubber bullet to the eye.

[11-20-2003 16:44] Barricades 3rd Ave and Miami Arena. Riot Cops advancing quickly with police cars behind them. Barricades being set-up. There is a lot of yelling in the background. The cops are now removing the barricades.

[11-20-2003 16:54] Wellness Center Cops using tear gas indiscriminately, moving close to the Wellness Center at 5th and N Miami. Outside decontamination spaces at Wellness Center had to be shut down because tear gas is lingering. [11-20-2003 17:05] 1st Ave and 11th St (on railroad tracks). Police are trying to divide a couple hundred protesters by driving their cruisers through the masses. Several people have been bumped, no reported injuries due to the police cars.



[11-20-2003 17:19] 21st and 1st NW. Cops are everywhere. Diverting traffic, cops are chasing people. Possibly herding folks back towards Convergence Center. Around 300 cops. Cops are not letting anyone downtown.

[11-20-2003 17:31] Driving up N Main, people walking towards Convergence Center are being stopped and arrested.

[11-20-2003 18:14] The police are stationed

about two blocks south of the Convergence Space. There are people milling about outside of the space including a lot of media. The police had a little parade in front of the convergence space. Inside there is an emergency meeting happening discussing our options.

[11-20-2003 21:52] FTAA talks end The Free Trade Area of the

Americas summit came to a premature close this evening, after ministers from 34 countries apparently accepted a watered-down proposal for creating a hemispheric economic community.

[11-20-2003 22:13] **Legal update** Legal Support has 100-150 arrests confirmed, but there are lots more people that have been arrested. 4 legal observers were arrested.

[11-20-2003 22:30] **15 arrests** 15 members of the Black Bloc were just arrested in downtown Miami.

[11-20-2003 22:50] **Protest at Channel 7 news** People are protesting Channel 7's distortion of today's events. There are approx 16 people, location: 16 1401 79th St. Causeway.

[11-20-2003 23:31] **Jail Solidarity** They are holding people separately, processing people separately - no more attorney visits tonight. Attorneys are going to try to visit those who have been charged with felonies. Public Defenders are working on misdemeanors, they have been trained in jail solidarity and will be supportive.

[11-20-2003 23:36] **Medical Update** Lots of people were attacked with pepper spray and tear gas; many were also treated for head injuries - several people ended up going to the hospital. The Wellness Center, a healing space organized by the Action Medical group, was attacked by riot police today. Door-persons were pepper-sprayed.

[11-21-2003 10:49] **Riot cops suiting up on Biscayne** Several dozen police cars have pulled up at Biscayne between 1st and 2nd, are putting on riot gear. No demonstrators are in the area.

[11-21-2003 10:51] **Police at CTC** Police are arresting or detaining people going into the Citizen's Trade Campaign office at 217 N Miami. A line of bike cops have blocked off the streets around the CTC. 7 people were arrested outside



of the space. Police came to the door and asked to be let in, they were not allowed in. People in the CTC are waiting to see what happens.

[11-21-2003 11:47] **Update on arrests, jail** Between 130-160 people were arrested yesterday. Those charged with misdemeanors will have bond hearings today. Legal is also trying to secure bond hearings for those doing jail solidarity. Those held at Dade County Jail face possible felony charges. (approx 100 misdemeanors, 60 felony charges)

[11-21-2003 11:56] **"Really really free market bizarre"** The "really really free market bizarre" is currently taking place. It is "a free open air market to celebrate our alternative practices and visions."

[11-21-2003 12:09] **Searches and detentions at 1st and 1st** As people were leaving the Royalton hotel at 1st street and 1st Ave.,

main day of action. These groups went entirely unnoticed by the police, and put up a massive amount of posters and graffiti in neighborhoods whose only source of information on the FTAA might otherwise have been the corporate news media.

-Autonomous direct actions...One can guess that many affinity groups organized covert actions in Miami that have not been widely publicized. A communiqué on Indymedia announced that multiple military recruiting centers had suffered property destruction. Rumors have circulated about other similar actions. The powers that be have made a point of keeping silent about all such activities, of course, and from this we can deduce that they regard them as a genuine threat which must not be encouraged by any free publicity.

- "The Really Really Free Market" took place on the day after the main actions. Hundreds participated in setting up this working example of a gift economy in action. Groups set up blankets and booths providing free stuff from food, art, literature, and music, to massages, new banner dropping methods, funny hats, and healing circles. This action highlighted our alternatives to "free" trade and capitalism, and showed examples of how human beings can provide

for one another.



other through mutual aid.

Shutting down such meetings was always a symbolic goal, remember, even when it was possible by such straightforward means. Now that the government has to spend eight and a half million dollars every time a ministerial takes place, and not only paralyze the city but also terrorize its inhabitants, it might be that they're doing our work for us: the once-secret meetings are impossible to keep out of the public eye, the "free" trade they concern is associated with massive police repression and suspension of human rights, and there are more opportunities than ever for us to bring up our alternative. All we have to do is show up, cause them enough consternation that they'll have to make the same preparations for the next one, and get away without unsustainable losses.

When news headlines run the gamut from "Murderous Anarchists Hope to Destroy the City" to "Harmless Protesters Brutalized by Police," (which at best only portrays us as victims and frightens people away from future protests), the message is clear: this should not be a time for discouragement and retreat, but rather a time for outrage and mobilization.

"Unless someone like you cares a whole awful lot, nothing is going to get better. It's not."

- The Lorax by Dr. Suess

SUNSHINE ON A CLOUDY FLORIDA DAY

(taken from *Bringing the Heat in Miami, an analysis of Direct Action at the November 2003 FTAA Ministerial* by the Crimethinc. Collective)

Outside the haze of tear gas and robo-cops wielding guns and batons, there were many successful aspects of the Miami mobilization against the FTAA, and it's important that these efforts aren't obscured by all the discussion of police brutality. Here are a few:

-Free housing, free food, free legal and free medical support was provided by and for thousands of people throughout the mobilization. Talk about workable alternatives to capitalism.

-The Green and Eco-Bloc set up a community garden in Overtown, and distributed cherry trees throughout the neighborhood as well as sharing gardening skills and other resources that will be of lasting value.

-Hundreds of people participated in the Root Cause march, which crossed the thirty four miles from Fort Lauderdale to Miami, one mile for every country involved in the FTAA discussions. The march connected important struggles in South Florida to the FTAA and brought out the ways that poor communities and people of color in the region are already being affected by "free" trade. Many alliances were built and strengthened between those who took part in this march.

-Six weeks before the FTAA ministerial, the anarchists in the Lake Worth Global Justice Group organized the Free Carnival Area of the Americas (FCAA) in Lake Worth, Florida, about one hour north of Miami. The FCAA opened a warehouse to provide space for puppet and art making, planning meetings and workshops, and other preparations for protests against the FTAA. They put out a call for activists to join them in this effort in the weeks before the FTAA ministerial. The art and puppets were used in the Root Cause march and the direct actions in Miami, and the activist infrastructure in Lake Worth contributed in other crucial ways to the mobilization. Many other inspiring and successful events occurred under the umbrella of the Free Carnival Area of the Americas, too.

-Both prior to the main days of action and after, anarchists in South Florida organized three press conferences and public forums. One of these events, entitled "A New World in Our Hearts," was held in Lake Worth a week before the main days of action. It attracted large numbers of people from the Lake Worth community and helped to get many involved in organizing and playing other supportive roles, such as providing much-needed housing for activists arriving from out of town.

-A couple affinity groups working together compiled and distributed packets including posters, wheat paste, stickers, annotated maps, and similar redecorating tools to dozens of other groups and individuals. Several crews covered various Miami neighborhoods with messages of resistance to the FTAA in the nights before the

3-5 people were detained by police, thrown on the ground by police. They were searched and have since been released. Down the street 4-5 more are being held, searches of vehicles are taking place, police are surrounding them. Legal was observing. Observers were told they had 3 seconds to leave, then were detained and since have been released.



[11-21-2003 12:30] 50-60 demonstrators at Miami Herald 50-60 demonstrators are in front on the Miami Herald. Police are amassing, but no hostilities reported. Miami Herald reporters are embedded with police.

[11-21-2003

12:41] 12th and Miami 12th and Miami in front of T and B market, 4 people spread-eagled on the ground, 30 cops riot gear

[11-21-2003 12:43] 11th and N. Miami, 12 people detained then released Strong police presence at N. Miami and 11th, police loading things into a dumpster

[11-21-2003 12:48] Legal update 4 activists held at \$10,000 bail each at Miami-Dade, need \$1000 each to get out.

[11-21-2003 13:05] Police presence at Really Really Free Market Bazaar, 8th and N. Miami A crew of riot cops on bikes are riding around very near the free market bazaar.

[11-21-2003 13:06] Free market = Illegal assembly The entirely peaceful Really Free Trade Bazaar action at the old Miami arena is facing police harassment, who are characterizing it as an illegal assembly under the recently passed anti-protest ordinance.

[11-21-2003 13:17] Police blowing things up in downtown Miami What sounded like a concussion grenade was actually the police at 8th and 1st blowing up a "suspicious package", possibly the same package of free goods destined for the really really free trade bazaar action, which was reported confiscated by an activist earlier.

[11-21-2003 13:36] Jail solidarity action, 2pm, 12th Ave and 14th St. NW Jail solidarity action and press conference about to begin, 2pm

[11-21-2003 14:01] Good news! The really really free trade bazaar is in full swing. The atmosphere is festive, with around 300 people enjoying free goods, free food, free massages, free dancing, and much more. But the police are reportedly harassing people on their way there.

[11-21-2003 14:17] Report of large number of riot police mobilized @ N Biscayne and 1st Ave They are completely outfitted with gear and ready to go...somewhere?

[11-21-2003 14:26] 2 people arrested earlier today, 1 beaten At

1:30pm today, 12 people were sitting on the sidewalk near the old Miami arena when they were approached by 10 bike police. 2 were detained and arrested, and 1 was beaten. The person beaten already had stitches from being beaten yesterday.

[11-21-2003 15:27] Report from street of large group of riot police suiting up near jail solidarity action

[11-21-2003 15:32] Police now surrounding protesters at jail rally About 300 protesters are at jail support rally. Police giving order to disperse. police moving in to surround activists.

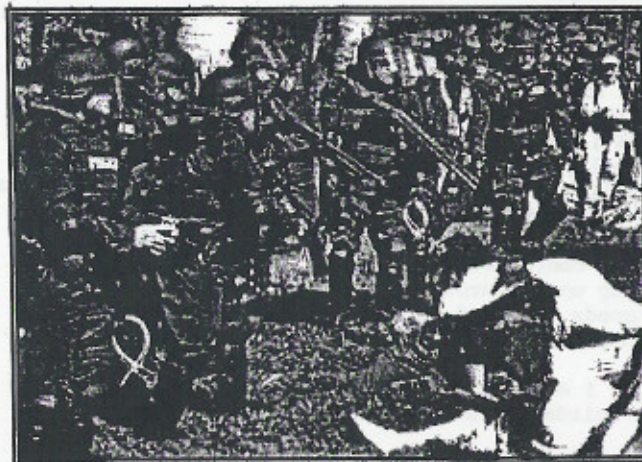
[11-21-2003 15:52] Jail solidarity protest update Reports that people in jail will not be allowed to leave or go to trial/arraignment because the prison is locked down. 200 riot police are present, potentially more police than protesters at the jail.

[11-21-2003 15:54] Report of "snatch and grab" van cruising around city Reports from street that there is a van with a black panther flag on it cruising around the city and harassing and capturing activists. Suspicion that the van is being operated by the police.

[11-21-2003 15:59] 9 people searched detained at se 9th St and 1st. 9 people at 9th St. and 1st Ave. thrown to the pavement and searched by police. People are being detained, when they asked why they were being detained, police refused to answer (documented on the air on the radio stream) or answered with "Welcome to Miami." Police not wearing badges, refuse to orally give names or badge numbers.

[11-21-2003 16:25] More police moving towards jail solidarity protest 12th and 14th 150 riot police moving south towards the jail solidarity protest, another 100 coming down 14th, joining the police already surrounding the jail solidarity protest

[11-21-2003 16:29] Jail solidarity declared illegal Jail soli-



arity given order to disperse, given 3 minutes to leave, people are trickling away.

[11-21-2003 16:38] 7 protesters refusing to disperse Police have issued order to disperse, but 7 have refused and are locking arms.

[11-21-2003 16:40] Arrests at jail soli-

arity The 5-8 people who refused to leave were arrested. Afterwards, police turned and started advancing on the protesters across the street, tapping on their shields. Police are using rubber bullet shotguns on anyone there, including members of the corporate press. Demonstrators are chanting "put the weapons down."

[11-21-2003 16:50] Police have started discharging chemical and projectile weapons into the demonstrators at the jail solidarity

not want to taint the CIP's investigative process by remaining on the board after his credibility had been called into question.

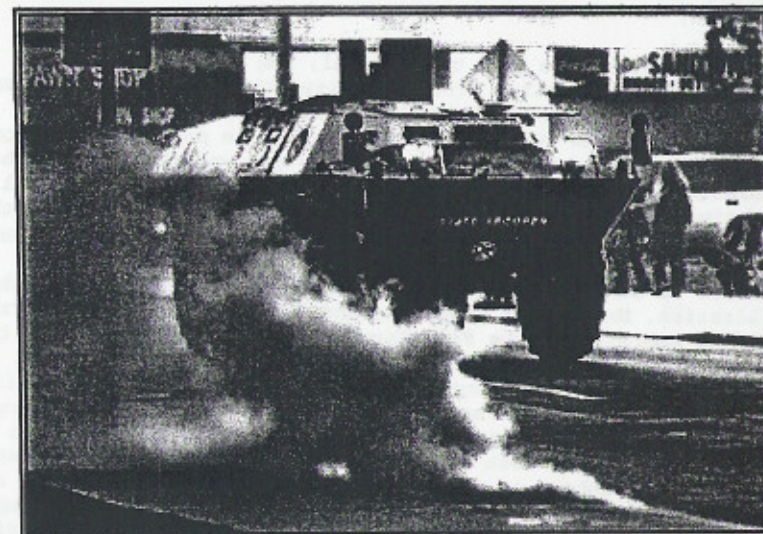
"I thought long and hard about this. Last night was a very tough night for me," Roulhac said, "But as long as I am the issue, and not the policies, procedures, and actions of the police department being fairly investigated, I should remove myself as the issue" (Miami Herald, 1/17/04).

The Citizens' Investigative Panel is scheduled to meet again February 5th, 2004.

Meanwhile, the integrity of the Philadelphia Police Department is being challenged. A 50 page report has been filed with U.S. District Judge Stewart Dalzell revolving around the department's abuses over past years. The report highlights more than a thousand cases handled by the police disciplinary system between January 2000 and May 2002, including officers or supervisors who allegedly consorted with felons actively involved in crime; sexually harassed citizens or co-workers; illegally detained, searched and arrested citizens; accepted improper gratuities; did inadequate investigations; obstructed Internal Affairs investigations; used excessive force; or whose conduct was unprofessional (Channel 6 News, www.wpvi.com, 1/06/04).

John Timoney can now look forward to fighting on two fronts. But what with lacking the ability to simply bash in the heads of his enemies or try out some new form of chemical warfare in their faces, the chief is going to have to figure out a pretty clever way to slither around this one.

To see John Timoney's home page, visit: www.cheiftimoney.com It's pretty funny.



November 20 with head wounds. The first was a male who was hit on his left temple with a rubber bullet and it split his head open. The split was about a half-inch long and a quarter-inch wide.... Shortly after he left we came across another male who was shot in his left eyebrow. A few centimeters lower and he would have lost



the eye, I think. His main complaint was that he couldn't see out of either eye and had a massive headache. The blunt trauma blinded him. I don't know if it was permanent or not" (Miami New Times, 12/12/03).

The tease for WPLG-TV's (Channel 10) 11:00 p.m. newscast contained footage of local filmmaker Carl Kesser's blood splattering on the lens of his video camera; while taping the police advance on protesters on the afternoon of

November 20, Kesser was struck in the head with a beanbag fired by a cop. The lead story showed the filmmaker pointing at the bandages wrapped around his head and saying there was a hole "the size of a golf ball" under them. The reporter was shown asking the police chief to look at the disturbing footage. Timoney refused, accusing him of trying to create "a Jerry Springer moment" (Miami New Times, 12/12/03).

On December 16th, about 350 trade unionists and activists crammed into the United Teachers of Dade headquarters to call for the resignation of John Timoney and a full investigation of police misconduct during the trade talks. The meeting, which was sponsored by the AFL-CIO and the Alliance for Retired Americans (ARA), included the testimonies of many witnesses and victims of police brutality and arbitrary arrests. Richard Trumka, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, declared to an enthusiastic audience, "Never again will our workers and their allies be treated as they were!" (People's Weekly World 1/08/04)

The Citizens' Investigative Panel held its first meeting January 15th. Activists gathered to testify against Timoney, charging him with explicitly misdirecting his police force and violating numerous civil rights.

Fred Frost, president of the South Florida AFL-CIO, said, "We had one individual who paid taxes all of his life -- longer than I've been alive on this earth -- fought in a war to defend this country, and he was denied bathroom facilities and he soiled himself!" (Channel 10 News, www.click10.com, 1/16/04)

This group of over 100 that met for the hearing, hit roadblocks, however, when there was an accusation of a biased CIP panel member. Most were reluctant to proceed with the hearing due to a man named Peter Roulhac, who had previously made comments praising and approving of Timoney's methods. Roulhac, chairman of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce, did not speak at the hearing but said afterward he had a lot of "soul searching to do tonight" (Miami Herald, 1/16/04).

Roulhac emerged the next afternoon, announcing that he did

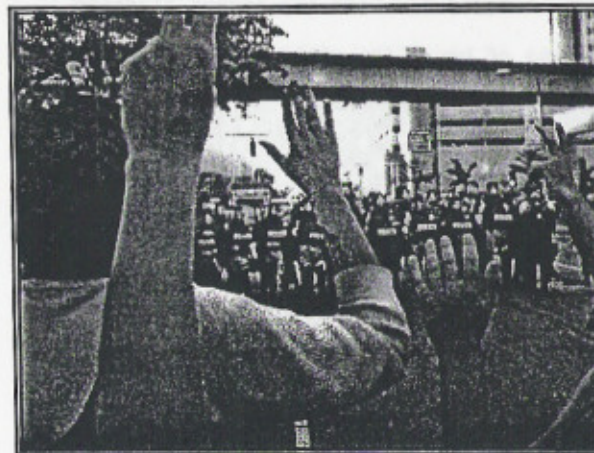
protest...violent arrests are being made, at least 7 so far, including 2 Indymedia reporters.

[11-21-2003 16:53] **More arrests** Reports of up to 20 to 30 people arrested at the jail solidarity event

[11-21-2003 16:54] **Very intense situation at jail solidarity rally** People running from police, everyone that can be grabbed by police being arrested.

[11-21-2003 16:58] **Jail solidarity reports** Police agreed to let people go and then proceeded to arrest them.

[11-21-2003 17:06] **Police attacking people LEAVING jail solidarity protest** Police are following and aggressively attacking people trying to leave jail solidarity protests, bike cops jumping off



bikes and tackling people, cops seen shooting a medic in the back three times with pepper spray and at least one rubber bullet. A woman with her arms up as if to surrender to the police was thrown face forward on the ground by police. These were all peaceful people COMPLYING with a police order to disperse.

[11-21-2003 17:20] **More from jail**

solidarity/police riot Reports of bystanders being arrested, as well as of arrested people asking for medical attention being denied care.

[11-21-2003 17:25] **Corporate media reports of a 7pm curfew have not been verified** Corporate media announced a 7pm curfew, but this has not been verified.

[11-21-2003 17:26] **Reports of 3 legal observers arrested during police riot after jail solidarity rally**

[11-21-2003 17:49] **Reports of large line of police cars and vans driving towards the Convergence Center at NW 20 and 2nd Ave.**

[11-21-2003 17:49] **Police surrounding Univ. of Miami arts building** 300+ riot cops are surrounding the Miami-Dade community college arts building, searching the building and the area.

[11-21-2003 18:20] **14th and 12th update** 30 protestors arrested. 3 National Lawyers' Guild lawyers were detained and prevented from getting access to the 30 arrestees to take statements.

[11-21-2003 18:23] **Reports on arrest figures at jail solidarity** Reports from NPR radio and an unconfirmed source say that 75 people were arrested today when the police broke up the jail solidarity rally. Miami herald has reported 62 people arrested today.

[11-22-2003 17:47] **Police Harassment Continues after the Protests** 5:00 p.m. A police troop of approximately fifty armed officers rode directly up to CTC space. The officer in charge pulled his bike up onto the sidewalk in front of where two journalists, Rufus and Rine, were sitting peacefully. Without any kind of

provocation, the armed troops began whistling, pointing, and cat-calling at us, and the head officer yelled "Anarchy stop!" After that, the fifty (+/-) officers behind him began shouting and jeering. "Welcome to Miami," one yelled. Numerous officers made a physical gesture representative of giving the middle finger, as well as yelling "Losers! Losers!" repeatedly. "Come back for a fight anytime!" yelled one officer, grinning and laughing. "You guys didn't do shit downtown!" another yelled. "Assholes!" hooted another. Many punched their fists in the air, in our general direction. 5:44 p.m. The troop has just ridden by again. This time, no one was outside to harass, and they rode by whistling and yelling. They were followed by a squad car with its lights flashing for no apparent reason.

[11-22-2003 20:00] Reports of brutality within the jail Reports have come to the legal team that a Latino man was brutalized

within the prison walls and is now at a hospital. The individual is currently missing. Another man who had sustained injuries to his head during the protests has been neglected and is suffering from a hemorrhage. There are also reports that two transgender people have been sexually abused.



[11-22-2003

20:30] Some Indymedia activists are being denied entry to bail They were told by police that they would be arrested if they insisted on entering.

[11-23-2003 08:31] SOLIDARITY: 2nd Day of SOA Protests Have Begun The 2nd day of protests at the School of the Americas (SOA) in Columbus, GA have begun. Thousands are streaming to the gate now, with music and singing on the stage. Check out Atlanta IMC for full coverage: <http://atlanta.indymedia.org>.

[11-24-2003 21:27] Update from Miami Activist Defense: There are only about 15 people that remain in prison, mostly on felony charges - all others have been released.

[11-24-2003 23:28] Legal Update Miami Activist Defense reports that by tomorrow morning, all except one activist will have been released from prison.

[11-26-2003 11:13] Jordan Jordan, street medic, anti-fascist, humanitarian activist, died of meningitis at 2AM this morning. If you know anyone treated by him in Miami, get those people to a doctor.

the most vulnerable from the bullies and the thugs. The new job won't be that. In some ways, it's protecting the millionaires" (12/23/01).

In Miami, Timoney spent \$8.5 million, extracted directly from the \$87 billion the government allotted for "rebuilding Iraq." It is debatable whether any of that money is going toward rebuilding Iraq in the first place, but the fact is that the \$8.5 million used to attack US citizens, was not.

During the FTAA mobilization, he told outrageous lies to the media including a statement that the protesters were throwing tear gas at the cops!

"I got a lot of tear gas," Timoney said. "We all got gassed. They were loaded to the hilt. A lot of missiles, bottles, rocks, tear gas from the radicals" (Democracy Now!).

This statement completely neglects the fact that even if protesters had access to such weapons, it would have proved to be a futile attempt as all police were wearing gas masks anyhow.

Miami Mayor Manny Diaz called the police actions a model for homeland security. FTAA officials called it extraordinary. Others, however, weren't so encouraging. The AFL-CIO has asked Timoney to step down. Numerous lawsuits are pending.

And unfortunately for John Timoney, the thirteen-member Citizens' Investigative Panel (CIP) is initiating an investigation into the brutalizing of protesters, in addition to other misconduct on the part of police. There is much video footage available as evidence and dozens of witnesses willing to testify, many of whom, themselves, suffered bodily harm on account of officers of the law.

Unless he was entirely unaware of what was happening around him, Timoney blatantly lied when he was quoted in the Miami New Times as saying, "There may be some complaints of bruises and what have you...There were no head wounds as a result of police sticks across people's heads" (12/12/03). He may find that claim difficult to refute in court.

Ryan Conrad, a twenty-year-old who attends Bates College in Lewiston, Maine contradicts Timoney's aforementioned statement by telling the Miami New Times in a telephone interview, "I was bleeding through the scarf I had on my head. There was blood all over my head and all over my hands, and a medic came and grabbed me and the medic sat me down and bandaged my head." He found himself at the Wellness Center, but the blows had left him so woozy that he couldn't recall exactly how he had gotten there. Medics also treated three other people who were near him at the protest and had head wounds from police sticks, Conrad said (Miami New Times, 12/12/03).

Filmmaker Scott Beibin, a 32-year-old Philadelphia resident and director of the independent Lost Film Festival, described Timoney's allegation that no one was injured from a nightstick to the head: "I don't know what he considers a head," Beibin scoffed. As he was filming the morning demonstration, he said, he saw at least a dozen people whose heads were bloodied from police batons. He saw one male demonstrator in his early twenties who had taken a rubber bullet to the eye. "It was just -- red," Beibin recalled. "I could see the cornea and the entire eye was just red, bulging" (Miami New Times, 12/12/03).

Jeremy Savage, a 24-year-old Washington, D.C. resident and member of the DC Action Medical Network, testified about working as a street medic that day: "I treated two people in the street on

BEING JOHN TIMONEY

By Mallet

So who is the man behind the curtain? Who is this almighty Oz?

John Timoney was cast as the role of police chief and dictator of the recently militarized city of Miami. Formerly the Police Commissioner in New York City, then moved to become the Police Commissioner of Philadelphia, he is infamous for his brutal response to the protests against the Republican National Convention in 2000.

Since Miami, government officials have expressed an interest in transferring Timoney from city to city for every major demonstration. Each city will become Timoney's Police State.



He was also scheduled to go to Baghdad in May, as he told the Associated Press to "advise Iraqi officials on training, managing and organizing local police." Although the trip was delayed for logistical reasons, it is apparently still planned. The common denominator of Timoney between overseas military operations and domestic repression is a chilling indicator that the government sees dealing with protesters as another form of warfare.

According to Amnesty International's June 1996 report on the NYPD, which used official police statistics, in 1994, the first year that Timoney was second in command at the NYPD, the city saw "a 34% increase in civilians shot dead."

In the same year, there was also a "53.3% increase in civilians shot dead in police custody" as well as "an increase in the number of civilians injured from officers' firearms discharge during the same period."

When Timoney was the First Deputy to New York City's Police Commissioner, civilian complaints about police abuse rose by 50 percent in communities of color.

Timoney then moved on to become first in command of the Philadelphia Police Department. According to USA Today, in the time Timoney was Commissioner of Philadelphia, "Philadelphia County has lost more people than any other in the USA" (8/13/00).

Disciplinary recommendations by the Police Advisory Commission, which has no enforcement power, have been virtually ignored by Timoney. Of the 13 recommendations and 17 opinions the commission has issued, Timoney has implemented one: a meager one-day suspension. He has rejected even the most symbolic forms of punishment, such as ten-day suspensions. Commission members have publicly complained that Timoney has rendered their work completely useless (Philadelphia Inquirer, 11/17/00, AP 11/17/00).

Regarding his new job as Chief Executive of a private New York security firm, Timoney was quoted in a New York Times article as saying, "One of the beauties of policing is you get to protect

THE MICHEAL JACKSON SCANDAL AND THE REPRIORITIZING OF "NEWS"
By Ilyse Hogue and Patrick Reinsborough, the SmartMeme project
Edited by Mallet

Two Pronged Attack: Control the Streets and Control the Story

What has become clear in the aftermath of the FTAA was that "The Miami Model" -- as policing enthusiasts are calling it -- had goals far more ambitious than merely controlling the streets. The more fundamental agenda of the Miami policing operation was to control the public perception of mass protest and domestic opposition movements. The state response to the anti-FTAA protests in Miami was a watershed moment in an escalating attack on citizens who are willing to stand in opposition to the Bush Administration's goals*.

Miami represents the mainstreaming of overt information warfare against non-violent protest movements. Information warfare, as formally defined by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Instruction Number 3210.01. (dated January 2, 1996), constitutes "actions taken to achieve information superiority by affecting adversary information, information based processes, and information systems."

The relevance of information warfare to social movements and political conflicts has been the subject of study of Rand Corporation researchers John J. Arquilla and David F. Ronfeldt. Over the past decade, they have written extensively about an aspect of information warfare they call "netwar," which they define as "trying to disrupt or damage what a target population knows or thinks it knows about itself and the world around it. It may involve public diplomacy measures, propaganda and psychological campaigns, political and cultural subversion, deception of or interference with local media." (Arquilla, John and David F. Ronfeldt. "Cyberwar and Netwar: New Modes, Old Concepts, of Conflict" 1995 Rand Corp)

*Editor's Note: While it is a common misconception that the ominous Bush Administration is somehow to blame for every heinous act that has ever been committed, the truth of the matter is that the Bush Administration is only a symptom, not the cause of the problem. Our trouble is rooted in the System that hosts the Bush Administration. The fact is that the FTAA was created in 1994. I mean, even Clinton bombed people. To abolish the inequities knotted into the System, we must abolish the System itself.

Learning From Iraq: Embed to Win

A central piece of the information warfare strategy in Miami was to borrow one of the military's latest insights in public relations and "embed" the media in the police operations. As the viewing public learned in Iraq, embedding the media has a deep and powerful impact on reporter's perception of the situation. Appearing on camera in their special issue flak jackets and riot helmets, embedded TV correspondents helped reinforce the perception of the protests as a threat to public safety rather than a free expression of opinion. The story was aggressively defined from long before the FTAA meeting as 'protesters versus police,' mask-

ing the reality that people from all walks of life were uniting to protest against "free trade" and unchecked corporate power.

The Miami Herald's embedded reporter uncritically documented Police Chief John Timoney's description of protesters as "punks," "trouble makers," and "knuckleheads," as well as Timoney's personal commitment to "hunt them like a hawk picking mice off a field." Like most U.S. media corporations, the Miami Herald Publishing Co. uses its platform to uncritically promote the "free trade" ideology. In addition to running editorials in support of the FTAA, the paper donated \$217,000 worth of advertising in support of the FTAA, and another \$62,500 in cash to subsidize the actual summit.

As Seen on TV!

The strategy of embedding media was most obviously effective in shaping the local television coverage running live for most of November 20th, the main day of protests. The coverage can only be described as surreal, as anchor after anchor verbally described situations that appeared completely disconnected to the footage running concurrently. At one point, an anchor's voice-over described undercover agents being chased behind police lines by protesters, while the film repeatedly showed a small group of demonstrators aiding a friend who appeared to have been attacked by other protesters (undercover agents).

Most live footage was from helicopter shots, which were creatively interpreted by the in-studio news anchor in conversation with a reporter or an "expert" commentator. Throughout the day, reporters providing live interpretation were disproportionately embedded and either behind police lines or in a police command center, far away from the physical site of the protest.

The guests, with the rare exception of an occasional, quick, protester-in-the-street interview, were almost all police spokespeople. The police spokespeople operated like public relations professionals, slickly framing the issue and by any standard exploiting the confusing events to make misleading statements. During his repeated television appearances throughout the day, Chief Timoney made numerous claims about police tactics that were later proved to be untrue. These misrepresentations included claiming the police never used tear gas, that police showed "remarkable restraint" while being repeatedly attacked, that police only arrested "violent" protesters and that people were allowed to peacefully demonstrate.

Perhaps most disturbing for the critical viewer, was the blurring of perspectives and roles as the voice over conversation between anchor and embedded reporter would shift to embedded reporter and police spokesperson. These shifts frequently occurred without clear identification and obfuscated the ability of viewers to interpret the information being provided to them.

The full effect of the embedding strategy became clear as reporters and anchors repeatedly slipped and revealed partisan, pro-police bias. In one notable instance, as Channel 7 aired live footage of militarized police driving frightened protesters from the downtown area with massive force, the anchor enthusiastically declared, "So far, we're winning!"

Other pernicious falsifications on the part of Channel 7 included showing a homemade drum (made from an empty paint can and bike tubing) they claimed to have been a slingshot, and a bottle

criminals.

"I promise," I'd say, knowing that was a big word, but the look on their faces told me they needed to hear it.

And that was only half the battle.

Community outreach breeds community support, and the cops were determined not to let that happen. Businesses displaying anti-FTAA literature were threatened with "lesser protection" if it wasn't taken down, and were told to provide descriptions of folks distributing it.

I was one of the few folks on the outreach team not detained or arrested while passing out letters. Even on an organized day of mass flyering, to which media and legal observers were invited, a group of folks were detained by Homeland Security at gunpoint. Walking downtown became a crime, especially if you were attempting to educate.

The other area targeted by the outreach committee was the Overtown Community where the Welcome Center was located. Bilingual letters were written introducing ourselves and inviting residents of the community to stop by. A huge mistake was made in that the distribution of these letters was limited to the mostly industrial area surrounding the Welcome Center, neglecting the more residential areas of Overtown into which activists were later chased by police.

And once again, the cops had beat us to it anyway.

While talking on a payphone two blocks from the Welcome Center, I was timidly approached by an Overtown resident who knew by my appearance that I was with "those people" in "that building."

"They're making bombs in there," he said, "The cops told us that if we went near you, you would throw feces at us and shoot water guns filled with piss."

I was shocked and immediately invited the man to come tour the Welcome Center.

"I don't know," he said, "Will they hurt me? The cops said you could do whatever you want because you get money from a big corporation and have expensive lawyers that will get you off anyway."

This was the disinformation campaign undertaken by the police. The people paid the city \$8.5 million to serve and protect the residents of Miami, but they instead terrorized them with lies. In the end, they even instituted mandatory closings of downtown businesses, undermining all the work we'd done to convince them to remain open if they felt comfortable doing so, as to not lose a full day of business.

I am the first to admit that the outreach done in Miami was severely inadequate. In the future, we, as a movement, need to make this a priority at the top of our lists. Failing to do so puts us in the same position as the leaders of the countries attempting to implement agreements behind closed doors. We can stop the spread of globalization by building public support. Our message is honest and simple and, especially around times of action, people are open to listen to it.

The man from Overtown eventually accepted my invitation to tour the Welcome Center. Later that night I ran into him again on the street: "They're all right, man, they're cool," he said to his friend, and ran inside to grab me a soda.

OUTREACH: BECOMING THE MEDIA IN MIAMI

By Stephanie

The City of Miami provided a much different backdrop for the protests against the FTAA than any other North American city serving as host to anti-globalization meetings. Unlike Seattle with its Starbucks-lined streets, downtown Miami is made up almost entirely of independent, Latino-owned businesses. These small shops are exactly the type of places anti-free-traders love to support, and it was with this in mind that the plans for N20 were made.

Upon learning this information, the anti-capitalists pointed to the Financial District across the river for autonomous action. As much consideration as possible was given to the shop owners, but the fact remained that being at the fence in front of the hotel meant being downtown. The least we could do, we thought, was approach the shop owners ahead of time and explain to them who we are, why we were there, and most importantly, that we are in support of businesses like theirs.

I spent my first night in town writing a letter to the small business owners of downtown Miami. The letter was translated into Spanish, one thousand copies were made, and outreach teams hit the streets distributing the letters to every non-corporate business in the area. This proved to be one of the most difficult tasks I have ever taken on.

We soon realized that we weren't the first people to approach the shop owners. The cops had been terrorizing them with pictures of Seattle and tales of violence and destruction. Over and over I was met with frightened eyes.

"This is my life," they would say, "I have no insurance. If they come riot here, I lose everything."

I would talk and try my best in broken Spanish to convince these folks that everything was going to be okay. Sometimes something I said or a line from the letter would click: "Yes! Power to the few! Those people are greedy!"

One man who owned a clothing store suddenly made a connection to his own life: "Ah, like the Gap! How can I compete with that?"

"Yes, yes, that's why we're here!" I would say.

Almost everyone we talked to was grateful to have the opportunity to speak with us and ask questions, and most appeared to have calmed down by the time we left the store.

I arrived home that night exhausted both physically and emotionally. I'd spoken to over one hundred people, attempting to convince them they were not about to lose their livelihoods, everything they'd worked their whole lives for, to a group of violent



of Dr. Bronner's soap (label conveniently covered by the reporter's hand) that they claimed to be a bottle of urine.

Justifications for pre-emptive police action were plentiful: [The police are] "prepared," "have been preparing," "are ready for any scenario." "When something came up they put it out," were examples of anchor's comments. "Everything is going according to script," another triumphantly crowed.

Conspicuously absent was any analysis of what the police force was prepared for. The live coverage that was the compulsory fare of the day was largely comprised of uneventful shots of groups of demonstrators gathered in clumps in parks or wandering down streets followed at close range by lines of riot cops and



armored vehicles. A few repetitive shots of young masked protestors were peppered with hundreds of references by the anchors to the "trouble makers," "rabble rousers," "bad seeds," "protestors looking for trouble," and of course, the never defined but always scary "anarchists" or "suspected anarchists."

Much of this coverage comes not only from irresponsible journalism but also from a calculated campaign of police public relations to demonize demonstrators and create an artificial threat. This intentional media spin was accompanied by police pressure on downtown businesses to close during the protests which insured a city emptied of all witnesses to the policing operation. They claimed the protesters were coming to their city to destroy their storefronts and "throw feces at them." When none of the property destruction and chaos that had been promised by the authorities materialized, the anchors were able to declare triumphantly that this was a result of a "massive, well-prepared police force".

Age Old Formula: Divide and Conquer

The police propaganda efforts were clearly designed to disrupt the newly forming alliances. Starting with his first interviews of the day on Thursday November 20th, Chief Timoney attempted to create artificial dichotomies between the "credible"

labor movement and the "suspect" direct action community. As he praised the labor groups for planning an orderly, non-violent march, Timoney continued his campaign of slander against the direct action community, describing participants in the unpermitted events as "violent trouble makers with no message." Police spokespeople throughout the day used their tight relationship with the embedded media to spread misinformation about schisms between the labor march and the other street actions.

Despite the repeated stories in the media describing the "good protestors" and the "bad protestors," the reality on the ground was quite different. Not only was there incredible solidarity between labor, community, and direct action activists, but the police operation was also targeting the labor march for harassment and disruption. People trying to join the permitted rally and march were threatened, pepper sprayed, and in the case of over a dozen buses, prevented from reaching downtown.

One story that did find its way into mass media was that of Bentley Killmon, a 71 year old, retired union member who was one of a number of people arrested while trying to leave downtown after the march and held for hours without bail or food. Mr. Killmon's experience is proof of the chasm between police propaganda and reality.

Only days after the FTAA protests, on November 23, the New York Times broke a story on the FBI's ongoing policy of infiltrating and spying on the anti-war and global justice movements. The article references the FBI's COINTELPRO program, the well documented program of government harassment, dirty tricks, and even assassinations used to discredit domestic opposition groups like the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement.

On the same day, the Los Angeles Times reported on the recent expansion of the military's "War on Terror" powers to include domestic spying on civilians. How many of these new state powers were being used in Miami? Clearly, there is a need for an independent investigation with the power to fully examine the methods and goals of the Miami policing operation.

If At First You Don't Succeed, Destroy the Evidence

One of the strengths of progressive movements has been to understand the power of producing our own media to relay our stories. Videotapes produced by independent media have been used as legal evidence and as irrefutable proof of state propaganda. In Miami, being an independent journalist meant you were a target. Numerous independent journalists and even un-embedded mainstream journalists, reported harassment and arrest during the actions. Some had their equipment confiscated and destroyed. Even more ominously, in the hours after the major action, reports began to filter in about a rash of armed robberies of independent videographers. At least five independent videographers who had been documenting undercover police, brutality, and abuses against non-violent protesters reported their cameras and footage taken from them at gun or knife point.

Brandon Jourdan, of the NY Independent Media Center described his situation: "After shooting over 90 minutes of unprovoked police violence against demonstrators, I went to take my footage to a safe location. On the way, I was robbed by two clean-cut men who were carrying stun guns. Eyewitnesses from the local community reported they had never seen these individuals before

and that they were observed leaving the neighborhood with my camera."

Follow up interviews in the area produced a number of residents who went on camera testifying that the police had encouraged locals to rob protesters, specifically targeting people with cameras. This type of attack on independent video documentation of a conflict is a tactic of information warfare; attack your opponents' ability to communicate their version of the story. It would appear as if elements within the police operation were willing to go to great lengths to prevent images of brutality and repression from reaching the outside world.

Battling the Story

Progressive movements must meet this spin machine with a more sophisticated definition of protest--one that prioritizes contesting power in the broader symbolic, cultural, and ideological arenas rather than competing with militarized riot police for control of the streets. We must learn to effectively fight The Battle of the Story--the competition to define public interpretation of and shape the core values that are communicated by a mass action, campaign or movement. The Battle of the Story must be fought in Idea Space; from the corporate controlled airwaves and newspapers to the street level chants and, ultimately, the dinner table conversations of middle America.

We need to continue to use our alternative media institutions to document and disseminate the real stories that compel change. At the same time, we must magnify the voices of ordinary people, highlighting the increasingly obvious contradictions and lies in the Bush story. These lies are like the loose threads on the unraveling fabric of the Bush era of fear and greed. Now our job is to keep tugging at the threads until the world sees that the emperor wears no clothes.

..Ilyse Hogue and Patrick Reinsborough are co founders of the SmartMeme Project, a strategy and training collective dedicated to combining grassroots movement building with tools to inject new ideas into the culture.

