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We Will Not Get Over It

Restoring a Legitimate White House

By Jackson K. Thoreau

and Sharon M. Thoreau

To our son, P.K.

*May you grow up in a country and a society
that truly practices liberty and justice for all*

Acknowledgments

Without the thousands, and perhaps millions, of people working for a more legitimate system of electing our leaders, this book would not be written. We particularly thank David Lytel and Bob Fertik of Democrats.com, Michael Rectenwald and Carol Schiffler of Citizens for Legitimate Government, Lou Posner of Voter March, Ronnie Dugger of the Alliance for Democracy, Jerry Politex of Bush Watch, Bob Kunst of the Oral Majority, Zack Exley of Counter Coup, BuzzFlash, progressive talk show host Meria Heller, the ACLU, the NAACP, and many others for keeping us inspired and informed – and for standing up for what’s right - during these dark days.

We thank the authors of other important books on Bush and the 2000 presidential election, most notably Vincent Bugliosi, Alan Dershowitz, and the late Jim Hatfield, for their courage and fortitude in speaking truth to power.

We thank the courageous politicians who have put their political fortunes on the line by aggressively advocating for electoral justice. Those include the 14 U.S. House of Representative members who protested Florida’s electoral vote count in January 2001 by walking out of the formal certification session: Corrine Brown of Florida, Eva Clayton of North Carolina, Elijah Cummings of Maryland, Peter Deutsch of Florida, Bob Filner of California, Alcee Hastings of Florida, Jesse Jackson Jr. of Illinois, Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas, Barbara Lee of California, Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas, Cynthia McKinney of Georgia, Carrie Meek of Florida, Patsy Mink of Hawaii, and Maxine Waters of California. We also commend U.S. Sen. Jim Jeffords of Vermont for following his conscience and leaving the Republican Party in May 2001 when it became clear that the Bush administration would not listen to moderates.

We thank the true heroes of this battle, the foot-soldiers who put their bodies on the line across the world in protests, rallies, and other actions against the policies of the Bush administration. We honor those who were arrested protesting the Bush occupation, such as the Tampa Three - Sonja Haught, Jan Marie Lentz, and Maurice Rosas. And Jeanette Wallis of Seattle deserves our special acknowledgment for undertaking a cross-country march to protest the stolen election.

We thank the founders of the Internet, without which we would not be informed of important events and would not be able to research and organize to this extent. We acknowledge the Webmasters of all of those progressive sites that help keep us informed. And we thank the celebrities who speak out against the stolen White House and misguided Bush administration policies, like Barbra Streisand, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Bill Maher, Martin Sheen, and Robert Redford.

Then, we can’t ignore the victims of the tragic terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, as well as the brave firefighters, police officers, and others who died while trying to save lives as the World Trade Center buildings fell. The terrible events of Sept. 11, 2001, make it more important to campaign for a legitimate White House and improve our Democratic institutions. What better way to honor the victims than to make sure we retain our Democracy, as well as bring the perpetrators of that horrid action to justice?

Finally, we thank each other and our son, for giving us the time and inspiration to push on with this project. Someday it will be worth it.

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Foreword

By Michael Rectenwald, Ph.D.

As founder of one of numerous organizations that formed in the aftermath of the Republican coup d'état of the White House in late 2000 to oppose the occupation, I have often been asked why our group is called "Citizens for Legitimate Government." "Isn't the government already legitimate?" inquiring minds - most of them Republican - want to know.

The question led me to consider what makes a government legitimate in the first place. Legitimacy of government, I reasoned, is judged by the fit between the existing government and the declared principles of that government. To understand a nation's principles, one would turn to its founding charter, its written laws, and its political history.

If one does this review, the short answer to the question becomes quite obvious. The U.S. government has been rendered illegitimate by its own standards, the standards of electoral Democracy.

The standards of electoral Democracy were eliminated when the vote counting for the Florida electorate was abandoned, and judges selected a president. Contrary to the Constitution, Dale Reynolds writes in his poem, "These Five Against Us All:"

*[They] decided 'Republic' meant Republican,
though conflicts of interest they hadn't disclosed
hadn't pre-empted the candidate they chose,
and outside journalists reported it was Bush by a nose.
Bush by 5 to 4, The United States Supreme Court said.*

The standard for electoral Democracy was eliminated when state officials and party operatives broke laws in key posts, spoiling the real electoral results. Reynolds continues:

*[The Supreme Court] would not hear the protest of black Americans stopped outside the
polls,
or stricken, curiously, from the voting rolls.*

The standards for electoral Democracy were violated by the takeover of government by corporate interests - and we now have the epitome of that takeover in the white-collar criminal who resides at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

In terms of the letter and the spirit of the law, then, our current government is illegitimate - its establishment runs contrary to our nation's Constitution, which expresses our dearest principles of representative, democratic government, and equal rights.

Against these principles, we saw government officials, party operatives, and a federal judiciary, along with their media mouthpieces, use every means possible to suppress the truth of the voters' expressed will, and to install their own will in its stead. The list of these crimes is long, starting with an illegal purge of tens of thousands of voters, and ending with the Supreme Court Injustices; I refer you to our Internet site, <http://www.legitgov.org>, for the complete record.

The violations of voting rights in the millennial year bring back the long history of struggle for representation against oppression and vote suppression. A complete history might

start with suffrage for propertied men in England and the Americas from the 15th century; continue with a centuries-long battle for lowered property requirements for adult male voters; go on to the eventual inclusion of most white working men by the late 19th century; detail the exclusion of African Americans from voting until the late 19th century, along with a series of reversals and victories thereafter, including the Civil Rights movement; entail the exclusion of women from the franchise until the early 20th century; and include the barriers of racial profiling, property ownership, voting tolls, and literacy requirements lasting well into the 20th century, especially in the southern states.

The long battle for voting rights brings us to Selection 2000, when the United States was driven far afield of its historical goal - universal adult suffrage. In the year 2000, we were set back to a fate worse than that of pre-1832 Britain, when, before the first Reform Bill, only thousands of propertied men out of millions of British subjects could vote. In 2000, we were reduced to having three white patriarchs, one token black male, and one white woman determine the outcome of a presidential election - by, as Dale Reynolds puts it, a "majority of one."

The millennial election brings back the 1940s in Florida, when the votes of African Americans were called "little jokers." Made of tissue paper, these ballots fell apart and were thrown away by laughing vote-counters; the ballot was a "little joker" played on the African American "voter." In election 2000, over 180 thousand little jokers were dealt in Florida. At least 20,000 voters were purged in advance in a Jim Crow-like manner, never even making it to little joker status. Six million Floridian votes were thus rendered little jokers as well. One hundred million votes thus turned to little jokers. These were considered by a Supreme Court, whose Chief Justice laughed scornfully and dismissed as ludicrous the idea of counting all the little jokers - in Florida, or anywhere else for that matter! The whole idea of an election had been an expensive joke played on the country - the vote wasn't required at all, the Chief Justice scoffed, it was always already a little joker!

The Selection and its aftermath are a nightmare of history come back to haunt us, in new, monstrous proportions. Our little jokers cast, the punch line of the bad joke was delivered: George W. Bush, that Big Joker's face, and his policies that mock our expressed will. Bush's policies are an extension of the anti-democratic grab for power by which he seized office. The litany of these policies is familiar by now, so I will not repeat it. But a few adjectives will do: anti-women, anti-labor, anti-worker safety, anti-affirmative action, anti-public health, anti-public education, anti-separation of Church and State, anti-consumer, anti-child, anti-environment, anti-end of the Cold War, anti-human, anti-other species. In short, Bush's policies benefit only one species - that species of Big Business Animal that wrecks the habitats of other species, like Exxon-Mobil, who junks global-warming science while raising the global temperature. Bush raids the national treasury and the national forests for one group only: Big Business Owners. He throws a few crumbs to the reactionary religious ideologues that delivered their lambs for the slaughter.

In light of this fraudulent and dangerous outcome, we say "Nevermore." Nevermore can our votes be little jokers. Nevermore can we be purged from the voting rolls - under the guise of justice, under the pretense of "equal protection," to "protect the interests" of the heir apparent!

At this point, what do we do? We say "Nevermore." But when complicity is tantamount to treason, and the consequences are literally world threatening, true patriots must say, too, "NOT NOW, NOT EVER!" We must explore every avenue for exposing and prosecuting the election theft, and for countering the Bush Occupation. We must continue to protest Bush's every appearance. We must oppose his every executive act with activism. We must boycott

Bush's contributors, starting with Exxon-Mobil, the biggest polluter in Texas, the second biggest energy industry GOP contributor, and the force driving U.S. policy against the Kyoto Treaty. We must register voters, starting with our neighbors. We must vote into Congress representatives and senators expressly opposed to the Bush coup and occupation. This expressed opposition should be a litmus test for their election. We must call for investigations! We must work for impeachment! We must turn these jokers into wildcards to trump the kings. We must work to bring Democracy to this stacked deck. We must work to bring down this precarious house of cards called the Bush presidency. We must undo the coup! That is what we must do.

Join us at legitgov.org or any of the other activist groups you find in this important book or elsewhere. Join all Citizens for Legitimate Government, in our long haul quest to undo the coup, and redo Democracy.

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Afterword

The preceding was a slightly-changed version of a speech written for the occasion of the Voter Rights March of May 19, 2001, in Washington D.C., well before the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center Towers and the Pentagon. I would like to express my dismay at the accident of circumstance that sees its publication come after the tragedies of September 11th. With the nation, and indeed, most of the world, I extend my sincerest sympathies to the families of victims of this senseless act of inhumanity.

At a time when leadership could not be more dear, I also wish to express my sense of a double disaster at this, the present moment. Despite urgings from all quarters, including the Democratic leadership, it is impossible for me to trust that the current administration, which owes its existence to deception and fraud, will not use this tragedy duplicitously, to further its own repressive agendas, both at home and abroad. Likewise, we at Citizens for Legitimate Government fight a battle on two fronts: against misguided and diabolical terrorism that only serves to legitimize the most oppressive elements in our nation's government, and against those oppressive elements themselves. We believe that we can both stand with our fellow Americans in unity, while also continuing to oppose the Bush regime. Furthermore, we strongly believe that the best interests of our countrymen are served by this double stand.

In a way, recent events serve to underscore the prescience of my speech. As is becoming more obvious by the minute, despite the claim that he will only be fighting terrorism, Bush "raids the national treasury and the national forests [and now, the Middle East] for one group only: Big Business Owners" and their military industrial counterparts. Our interests were not served by the Bush administration in peace, and they will not be served by him in war. The illegitimacy of his objectives will become ever clearer as events unfold.

Finally, it is patriotic, *not unpatriotic*, to oppose an un-elected official now granted unparalleled executive power due to election theft and an act of enormous violence perpetrated by terrorists. At the heart of the project of the United States of America are Democracy, liberty, and freedom for all: George W. Bush is not the leader of *these* United States.

Michael Rectenwald
January 8, 2002

*Let my land be a land where Liberty
 Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
 But opportunity is real, and life is free,
 Equality is the air we breathe....
 ...Let America be America again -
 The land that never has been yet
 And yet must be -
 The land where every man is free.
 - writer and poet Langston Hughes*

Introduction - Why We Will Not Get Over It

Dec. 13, 2000, was a dreary day in more ways than one.

Not only was the weather cloudy and rainy in many parts of the United States, but the Republican-dominated U.S. Supreme Court had shut down the tabulation of thousands of votes for president that were never counted in Florida. Democratic Party presidential candidate Al Gore gave an eloquent concession speech, much kinder than Republican Party candidate George W. Bush deserved.

Jackson, co-author of this book, was furious as Gore spoke on television. As Gore talked about not agreeing with the Supreme Court, but having to accept it and move on, Jackson couldn't stand to watch. He sure couldn't stand to watch Bush hypocritically declare himself the winner when Gore won the popular vote by more than 540,000 - a larger margin than Richard Nixon won by in 1968 and John F. Kennedy won by in 1960. Jackson knew that Gore also really won the Electoral College as later counts of votes in Florida concluded.

Gore was the rightful winner. It just wasn't right that he was making the concession speech.

More than any other election in modern American history, the 2000 presidential election had nothing to do with liberty and justice for all, a concept Jackson tried hard to uphold and not just hollowly mouth the words in the Pledge of Allegiance. He grew up in a middle-class American neighborhood, where he was a Boy Scout who learned early the value of community service and of preserving the environment. He also learned early to reach out to those in need. Even in elementary school, he tried to befriend his few black classmates who were shunned by many white students in the 1960s.

As a journalist, author, political activist, and aspiring poet who tried to expose injustice, as a father wanting to set a good example for his son to stand up for what he believed in, Jackson tried to walk the walk, not just talk the talk. It wasn't always easy and sometimes came with sacrifices in money, position, and social standing. But what was most important to Jackson was to do what he thought was right, not just conform to the crowd.

"Don't concede, Al!" Jackson yelled in an effort to drown out the Democrat's words. "You won! Bush stole it! You should fight him all the way to Congress and beyond, until the bitter end!"

In their marriage, Sharon had withstood more than a few such political commentaries from her husband. She tried to hush Jackson and listen to Gore's speech. She was moved by the vice president's words and believed he set himself up well for another run at the presidency in 2004. "He's doing the right thing," Sharon said. "The election is over. I'm mad about it, too, but it's time to channel that anger into the work ahead of ousting Bush in 2004."

Sharon, too, spent her life standing up for what she thought was right. Growing up in a very rough American neighborhood, Sharon learned early that she had to literally fight to survive. Her mother had bravely raised her and two brothers alone, despite many obstacles. Sharon had worked hard in school to be an officer in her high school class, to earn bachelor's and master's degrees, to teach on the college level, to help others through her chosen profession of social work. Though she hadn't been involved in as many protests as Jackson, she protested Bush's father in the 1980s when he visited her hometown.

"This shows that Gore is really the better man," Sharon said after the speeches were over.

Jackson seethed: "It just shows he's weak; Republicans are laughing at him. The only thing they respect is someone who fights them until the bitter end."

Then Jackson wrote out his frustrations and anger in a piece sung to the tune of Don McLean's "American Pie" that went:

*Some time ago I can still remember when they used to try to count each vote
And I knew if I had cast my ballot's lot that it had a chance of being bought
And maybe we'd get the President we elected - not a goat.
But December 13th made me shiver with ev'ry news the networks delivered
Justice Scalia on my computer mouse giving Bush the White House,
I can't remember if I cried when I read 'bout Democracy's widowed bride,
But something touched me deep inside the day Democracy died....
So bye, bye, Miss American Dream,
You got sent down the river by a Republican scheme,
The fix was in Florida led by Bush's brother who sang,
'We avenged daddy's '92 defeat, oh mommy,
We stole it by any means necessary, oh mommy...'*

*Now did you read the five Supreme Court justice's tripe
And do you wonder what they were smoking in their pipes
And do you think they still are impartial?
Now do you believe there was no fix
With Bush Senior still in the CIA's grips
And all those blacks cut off the Florida voting rolls?
Well, I know there's something rotten in West Palm Beach
When Nazi prison camp survivors vote for that Buchanan leech,
No butterfly ballot made in Katherine Harris' Hell
Can cast such a demonic spell,
We might have been a naive voting bloc
When we thought we voted for Gore and learned that was a crock,
But we knew we were out of luck the day Democracy died,
I started singin'....
Bye, bye, Miss American Dream,*

*You got sent down the river by a Republican scheme,
The fix was in Florida led by Bush's brother who sang,
'We avenged daddy's '92 defeat, oh mommy,
We stole it by any means necessary, oh mommy....'*

*And there we were all in one place, protesting this dirty rotten race
With no time left to start a hand count again,
So come on, Gore be nimble, Gore be quick, Gore flashed his chad on a candlestick
'Cause burning chads and fixed absentee ballots are 'publicans' best friends,
And as I watched Bush on the stage tryin' to read that 'prompter I felt a rage
No Democrat born outside Hell can break this puppet's scared-eyed spell,
And as the flames climbed high into the night and the 12th Amendment burned in a
sacrificial rite
I saw Satan laughing with delight the day Democracy died,
He was singin'....
Bye, bye, Miss American Dream,
You got sent down the river by a Republican scheme,
The fix was in Florida led by Bush's brother who sang,
'We avenged daddy's '92 defeat, oh mommy,
We stole it by any means necessary, oh mommy....'*

*I met Adam Clymer who sang the blues
And I asked him for some happy news
But this 'major league asshole' just turned away.
I went down to that bloody scene
Where all the protests weren't worth a bean
The elephants had stolen another one.
And in the streets the donkeys screamed
The soldiers cried and the poets dreamed,
But hardly a word was spoken
'Bout how to fix the system that was broken.
Well, some day the truth will become clear
And Democracy will rise from its apathetic gear
Till then some of us will fight on remembering the day Democracy died,
We'll be singin'....
Bye, bye, Miss American Dream,
You got sent down the river by a Republican scheme,
The fix was in Florida led by Bush's brother who sang,
'We avenged daddy's '92 defeat, oh mommy,
We stole it by any means necessary, oh mommy.'*

Fighting the right

Long a political independent unlike his longtime Democrat wife, Jackson officially joined the Democrats during the fight over Florida. Though the Green and Libertarian parties appealed to him in certain ways, it was a two-horse fight. He knew that a vote for one of the

other parties was just throwing your vote away and perhaps helping the more misguided party, as 2000 Green presidential candidate Ralph Nader did the Republicans. Despite the claims of Nader and others that there was no difference between the two major parties, Jackson believed there were key differences between Democrats and Republicans. For one, a bigot like John Ashcroft, who could not even beat a dead man in his home state, and an anti-environmentalist like Gale Norton would not be in Gore's cabinet.

In the days after Gore's concession, Jackson worked longer than usual into the night on his computer. Ever since election night, he had emailed letters stating his positions to politicians, the national media, Democratic friends, news groups, message boards, and wherever else he could. He walked that tightrope between balancing his professional ethics to remain objective and open to all points of view as a journalist with his personal, more passionate desires to stand up as a patriotic, free man, like Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Ben Franklin, Henry David Thoreau, Martin Luther King Jr., and many others before him, to use his First Amendment rights before they were taken away, and add his voice to the boisterous scene. He knew his country was in a crisis; in times of crisis, only a coward or an apathetic leech remains on the sidelines when he has something to say, something that could possibly make a difference.

But after the Republicans' theft of the White House was official, Jackson was a man with a mission. He had something to say, and the words gushed like blood from an open wound. His letters became angrier; the more he wrote and read about the theft, the madder he became. What saved him from doing something more drastic - like quitting his job and marching across the country as he did when he was a younger man concerned then that Republicans were leading us to the brink of nuclear war - was his Internet correspondence with scores of people who were similarly angry about the Republicans' theft. He became a regular at sites like Democrats.com, a grassroots progressive Democratic organization started by Bob Fertik and David Lytel in 2000, and Bushwatch, an Internet site highlighting Bush's record that most in the mainstream media failed to cover. He corresponded regularly with people who were struggling themselves to decide what they could do about the White House theft.

As a political and business reporter, Jackson covered aspects of the presidential campaign and had met both candidates. He knew both had faults, but Gore was more sincere and didn't try to manipulate him by calling him by his first name, as Bush had. Besides, Gore had the better ideas on key issues like the economy and environment, as well as the experience. And Gore had not used taxpayers to become a millionaire as bluntly as Bush, who as part owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team pushed hard for a \$190 million ballpark funded largely by taxpayers. When Bush sold his interest in the team in 1994 to Tom Hicks, one of his large campaign contributors who Bush helped further enrich in turn, he turned a \$600,000 investment into \$15 million. The value of the team sure hadn't gone up so much due to its dismal record on the field; it was the taxpayer-funded ballpark shrine that drove up the team's price. Following the election, Jackson focused mostly on covering business for his day job and searched for ways to get his political voice heard by night. He couldn't understand why the national media barely covered the thousands of protesters at Bush's January 2001 inauguration. He couldn't understand why Democratic leaders caved in to Bush on issues like naming Ashcroft as attorney general. He couldn't understand why so many people just meekly accepted the theft of the White House.

Jackson was determined never to meekly accept that and in early February found his voice in a long-winded new poem, "Until My Last Breath I Will Fight the republicans." To those who called on Democrats to "get over" the Republican crime, Jackson gave this answer:

*I will never get over them stealing the
u.s. presidential election of 2000
when the only vote that bush won
was 5-4 on the u.s. supremely partisan conservative court.....*

*I am there
marching for Democracy liberty justice and all votes to be counted
angry about republicans' plans
to waste billions by resurrecting reagan's failed star wars
to make political assassinations legal again
to give huge tax cuts to billionaires
to let the poor and homeless multiply
to take money from poor public schools and give it to rich private schools
to pollute the alaskan wilderness so a few oil tycoons can become richer
to cut down trees thousands of years old for profit
to let companies go on polluting
to ignore scientific evidence of global warming
to bankrupt my son's future
I can't tell my son that our Democratic system is the best
that every vote counts
when my vote and the vote of almost 51 million fellow Americans didn't count
The only votes that counted were the five on the supremely conservative court
what a sham
So I'm marching
searching for something to tell my son
about why the presidential candidate who received the most votes
is not in the white house
All I can tell him is the most important thing you can do in your life
is to stand UP for what you believe in
If you think our system is wrong stand UP
fight for what you think is right
even though it may not be popular or easy....*

*After this election coup d'etat I officially joined the Democratic Party
count me in as a foot soldier in this war to bring back Democracy
If the republicans are going to bring back reaganism
former political and social activists like myself during that time
need to get off our comfortable couches
and get back to work
Our country needs us once again....*

Hitting a nerve

The poem hit a nerve after Jackson posted it on his personal web site and Democrats.com highlighted it in their daily mass email. Scores of people took the time to find Jackson's email address - which was not posted on the poem's site - and write him back. Comments went like

this one from Patricia M. Derry of Canton, Ohio: "I just read 'Until my Last Breath I will Fight the republicans.' I will also! I can't get rid of the rage; it is driving me crazy. I wake up in the middle of the night and still can't believe this so-called 'election' ever happened. I too live in an almost totally Republican state. Can't stand the media reports of this asshole bush; have come close to smashing the TV....I haven't known rage like this since Vietnam."

Robbie Small, a forensic psychology graduate student in infamous Broward County, Fla., had this to say: "Thanks, Jackson, for being able to voice what most of us are feeling. As each day passes, my anger and outrage grow re the fraud residing in the White House. On election night, I KNEW something evil was afoot when the stations called for Gore to win Florida, and Bush immediately came on to say 'take that back, I know I won.' Later, the stations said there were 'discrepancies and voting irregularities' in Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties. As a Broward county voter, I know these three counties are all Democratic and the three largest counties in the state. I knew then what was happening, but in my wildest dreams couldn't imagine that the Bushies and repugs would go to the highest court in this country to steal this election. As a graduate student in forensic psychology, I would probably be safe in saying that the people involved in the greatest scam in our history have mental/psychological problems, and that most of them not only need treatment but should have a place reserved for them in a place for the criminally insane. What is being perpetrated against the citizens of this country by this group of cunning thieves is criminal and makes me want to rage. Jackson, keep speaking out. Get the message to the mainstream media that we don't buy their bulls--t!"

Vicki Baker, author of the novel *Timberhills*, wrote: "I am so glad I found your web site....You say it best. Thank you." Nicki Lynn May added: "I am a homemaker from Cincinnati, Ohio, who loves this country and who was raised to believe that fairness always wins and that if you played by the rules you would come out on top. Well, guess what? I found out that everything that I believed is wrong, and it isn't the ones who play fair who wins, it is the cheats, the thieves, the liars, and the treasonists, and I cannot and will not allow that to stand!!!!" She later wrote back, saying in part, "I can only think of one other day in our long illustrious history that is more horrible than December 12, 2000, and that is November 22, 1963, when John F. Kennedy was shot down in the streets of Dallas, Texas!!! How ironic that the two days that have torn this country apart more than any others both had their roots in Texas, it gives one pause. The American people had better wake up and wake up fast..."

And Steven Luther of Shreveport, La., wrote: "I just got through reading it and I'm crying. I feel the same damn way...."

Jackson and Sharon were deeply touched by such a response. "You should write a book about this election and what people are doing," Sharon urged her husband.

"Oh no," Jackson sighed. "I can write my letters and articles and poems. But a book? Do you know how much time and work that is?" A political book Jackson had recently finished and had published by a company in 2000 took a couple of years to research and write. And it took a couple more years to publish.

But the idea would not leave Jackson and Sharon alone. They saw what many strong supporters of Democracy and liberty and justice for all across the country were doing to restore legitimacy to the White House. They learned about how many groups - aided by the Internet Revolution - were born in the aftermath of the election to work on restoring Democracy. They observed how thousands of individuals who had not been involved in politics much before were taking key steps like street protests, letter-writing, and other non-violent means to make sure a court never again decides the presidency.

Many people were writing books on what happened in Florida. But Jackson and Sharon had not heard of anyone writing a book that covered the response of everyday people and organizations to Bush governing from the far right when the election mandate was to govern from the center. They had not heard of a book that sought to be a clearinghouse and contain a directory to unite people in the cause of greater Democracy.

Finally, Jackson conceded, but with one request. "You have to help me," he told his wife. She agreed.

So we got to work.

This book's goals

While among our movement's goals is to have Democrats win both houses of Congress in 2002 and remove Bush from the White House in 2004, a larger goal is to help build and energize the grassroots base of people to make sure a right-wing coup d'etat not happen again. This can only occur by more Americans becoming involved and making sure they educate themselves on what is really happening in our country. Thanks to the Internet, we don't need the major, Republican-and-corporate-controlled mainstream media, which largely failed in its goal to be a government watchdog of the Bush administration in the first months, to do this. We must use technology to bring about greater Democracy.

On the organized political front, Democrats must stop making compromises with Republicans and fight them as strongly as they fought us when our last elected president, Bill Clinton, occupied the White House. The continued grenades thrown at Democrats by Republicans - such as some Republicans who inexplicably blamed Clinton, liberals, gays, and Democrats in general for the Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks - should give any Democrat the impetus needed to fight the Republicans as fiercely as they fought us between January 1993 and January 2001. Green Party members, independents, and others should also join this campaign to create a more Democratic political system.

We are particularly targeting the right-wing Republican faction - many Republican moderates realize how harmful Bush, Cheney, Arney, Lott, and the right-wing foot soldiers are. More should follow the brave actions of U.S. Sen. Jim Jeffords of Vermont and leave the party. In subsequent writings by Jackson, including one following our attendance at the Voter Rights March in May 2001 in Washington, D.C., in which he criticized Bush's economic and environmental policies as benefiting mostly his rich friends and campaign contributors, we were taken aback at the venomous tripe that right-wing Bush supporters sent us. Most could not articulate an intelligent response to what Jackson wrote. So they used personal attacks, calling us idiots and similar names, as well as profanity which should not be repeated by thinking people. They even called us communists - obviously not knowing what communism is - despite all Jackson did was exercise his Democratic rights to dissent under our Bill of Rights. [For the record, Jackson has never been a communist, although he has been a columnist at times.] To these unthinking Republicans, anyone who criticizes Bush is a communist. We should vow not to let such petty-minded right-wingers control our country's agenda.

Finally, this book includes some concrete recommendations to take back our country. We obtained recommendations from numerous sources, including political and social organizations, grassroots foot soldiers, and politicians.

While we do not advocate physical violence in this cause, we wrote this book with no less passion than the famed American patriot Tom Paine wrote *Common Sense* in 1776 to stir up

sentiments for the independence of the American colonies from England. Let's be clear: We are Democrats, we are Christians, we love our country, and we will fight to defend it. That's what we are doing with this campaign: fighting to defend American principles as millions have done before us. We won't let the Republicans brand us as unpatriotic and un-Christian as if Americans can only be patriotic and Christian if they are Republicans. We might represent a different form of patriotism and Christianity than many Republicans, one that accepts and embraces the differences in each of us and our beliefs. But we are patriots, nonetheless, even more so than the Republicans who subverted Democracy.

As Paine wrote of the cause of 1776, we believe his words to be true now: "The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth...T'is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed time of continental union, faith, and honor."

In *Common Sense*, Paine pushed for a war against England to free America back in 1776, and the brave revolutionaries had to fight many of their countrymen who joined the British side, as well as German mercenaries and British soldiers. But we believe that we, as human beings, have evolved to the point where we can fight our present battle against some of our countrymen and countrywomen without physical bloodshed. Winning this war for greater Democracy still might take some legal, psychological bloodshed, however. We still have the legal means - through the Internet, the progressive media, the courts, public opinion, and other places - of revolutionizing our country and society for the better, if we only use them.

We still believe in the sentiments expressed by Paine more than 200 years ago, that the "cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind." This country is still a great experiment, a melting pot of many different kinds of cultures, races, religions, and beliefs. Few other countries in the world exude such diversity. Our challenge is to create a truer Democracy, with real liberty and justice for all here.

No, we will not get over the stolen White House, the Constitutional massacre. If you had lived in the colonies in the 1770s, would you have told Paine and Jefferson and Franklin and Adams and the rest of the Sons of Liberty to just "get over" the Boston Massacre of 1770? To just "get over" the Stamp Act? To not carry out the Boston Tea Party and other protests? To just "get over" the British trampling your rights as free individuals? To not sign the Declaration of Independence? To not defend yourself against rulers who wanted to enslave you and had no real right to rule?

Would you have told Patrick Henry to just "get over it" in 1775 after he declared, "Give me liberty, or give me death?"

Even before the horrible terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., in Sept. 2001, our country was in a crisis of no less significance than the one in the 1770s. After the attacks, our leaders rightly put up a united front against the perpetrators of those ghastly acts. While we must join with all Americans to battle terrorism - with the problems including how exactly to do that and whether we expand that campaign to target the American terrorists who blew up the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995 and the Irish Republican Army - we must also not forget about the stolen White House. We'll just have to be smarter and fight these battles simultaneously. As we said before, what better way to honor the victims of terrorism than to improve on our Democracy, as well as bring the perpetrators of terrorism to justice?

Stealing Florida once left only a small ripple in the history books. Stealing it twice could leave a deep and damning stain on the Republican Party.

- conservative author Kevin Phillips

Chapter I. Roots of the Coup d'etat

The Rev. Willie D. Whiting Jr. was confused when he went to the polls in Tallahassee, Fla., to vote on Nov. 7, 2000, with his family. County officials told the 52-year-old pastor of the House of Prayer Church he was purged from the voter rolls because he was an ex-felon and could not vote.

That was news to Whiting, who told election workers the only time he set foot inside a courtroom was as a juror. With his community standing, he was able to convince county election officials they were mistaken - but it took Whiting threatening to call an attorney. A county elections supervisor told the pastor he had been confused with Willie J. Whiting, a convicted felon who Florida officials purged from the rolls in a massive, suspicious effort to deny certain people their voting rights.

"I was sling-shotted into slavery," Whiting told the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights during a January 2001 hearing. ¹

Whiting's story was one of thousands told by legal voters in Florida - and in other states - on election day. Most of them - like Whiting - were African-Americans, a group that voted for Gore by more than 90 percent. And most of them - unlike Whiting - were denied their right to vote through this Republican-led purging scheme. Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore literally lost thousands of critical votes. George W. Bush, the Republican candidate, was certified as the crucial state's winner by a mere 537 votes out of more than 6 million cast.

And Republicans claimed the White House, despite Bush losing the national popular vote by some 540,000, a larger margin than Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. And despite independent studies later showing that if a fair election had been held in Florida with all people's votes counted, Gore would have won the state - and the White House - by thousands of votes.

The Republicans stole another one, a familiar trend for that political party.

Stealing White House not new for Republicans

The Republican Party has a long history of committing questionable and dirty tricks to help steal the White House.

In 1876, Democrat Samuel Tilden won the national popular vote by some 250,000 and needed just one more electoral vote to defeat Republican Rutherford Hayes. Disputes raged in several states, including Florida, and leaders agreed that a 15-member commission of five senators, five representatives, and five Supreme Court justices would decide the presidency.

Seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and one independent were named to the commission. But the independent - a justice - was elected to the Senate from Illinois and removed himself from the commission. The only justices left were Republicans, and Republicans reportedly made some underhanded deals to get the commission to vote along party lines, 8-7, to give all of the disputed electoral votes to Hayes. 2

In an ironic twist, historians agree that Tilden actually won the vote in Florida. The commission refused to examine the actual Florida votes and to consider irregularities in the Florida voting. Sound familiar?

In more modern times, Richard Nixon had some employees break into Democratic National Committee headquarters and wiretap the offices to help his 1972 re-election bid. Nixon, who believed Kennedy had stolen the White House from him in 1960, had barely won in 1968 and took illegal steps soon after taking over in 1969 to wiretap some 40 private telephones. 3

In 1971, the Nixon “plumbers” broke into the office of California doctor Daniel Ellsberg, who opposed the Vietnam War, to steal medical records they could use against him. They also burglarized the Brookings Institute, a liberal-leaning think tank. Some believe Nixon aide G. Gordon Liddy inserted LSD into the food of respected Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie, who had a public emotional breakdown that ended his 1972 bid for the presidency. 4

Then came the DNC break-in and the bugging of other Democratic offices. Nixon even ordered campaign literature from his 1972 Democratic opponent, George McGovern, to be planted in the apartment of Arthur Bremer, who shot independent candidate George Wallace in May 1972, in an attempt to implicate the Democrats. 5

And in 1980, former head spy George Bush Sr., who became Ronald Reagan’s running mate, reportedly recruited current and ex-CIA agents to work their dirty tricks against Democrat Jimmy Carter’s re-election bid. The biggest of these partisan covert operations was the “October Surprise.”

The Reagan-Bush campaign allegedly made a deal with Iranian radicals holding 52 Americans, including some CIA agents, as hostages after they overthrew the U.S.-backed Shah. The deal, which Bush and another key 2000 Floridagate figure, James Baker, reportedly participated in, was that if the radicals held the hostages until after the election, the Reagan administration would give them millions of dollars in arms and other materials. The hostage issue was key in Carter’s defeat - the hostages were suspiciously released minutes after Reagan’s inauguration. Iran got the secret arms shipments and also benefited from later secret deals during the Reagan administration known as the Iran-contra scandal. 6

2000 GOP theft origins

The Republican theft of the White House in 2000 started years before the election. Many Republicans never got over Bill Clinton legally ousting Bush Sr. from the White House in 1992 and swore revenge at all costs. The Republicans fought Clinton on everything during his eight years in office, including on issues the party agreed with like free trade. It was amazing Clinton got anything accomplished during his two terms with the right-wing Republicans and many in the corporate-controlled, Republican-contributing major media fighting him all the way. Yet, he made gains for lower- and middle-income Americans in wages, healthcare, education, the environment, and other fronts.

The only thing Ken Starr - the so-called independent counsel - could catch Clinton on was a private extramarital affair that had nothing to do with Clinton's public job. Starr was really a fervent right-winger and member of the Federalist Society, a far right legal outfit that also included members like Antonio Scalia, Clarence Thomas, Orrin Hatch, Edwin Meese, Robert Bork, and other lawyers who defended Linda Tripp, Paula Jones, and other women who were out to get rich or get Clinton. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives hypocritically voted to impeach Clinton because he lied about having this private affair. But the Senate did not follow suit so Clinton won that battle. Several Republicans who led the campaign to impeach Clinton had extramarital affairs that they lied about themselves, including Illinois Rep. Henry Hyde, who headed the impeachment committee. Another, Georgia Rep. Bob Barr, also a member of that impeachment committee, not only had an affair while married but paid for a former wife's abortion, according to news reports. 7

While Clinton was answering questions about Monica Lewinsky, Bush Sr. reportedly worked quietly behind the scenes to position his son to take the White House in 2000. He milked his network of sleuths, campaigners, and contributors to help raise boatloads of cash for the Republicans and eventually his son's campaign. Some estimated that in the 2000 campaign Bush had a whopping \$447 million - far more than any other candidate on record -- at his disposal. Much of that money came from the same contributors to Bush's father's campaigns. For example, a big chunk came from Barrick Goldstrike, a Canadian company that in the waning days of Bush's administration paid only \$10,000 to purchase U.S. property containing an estimated \$10 billion in gold. Bush's Interior Department hurriedly pushed the deal through before Clinton's inauguration. In return, Barrick hired Bush Sr. after he was ousted at a comfortable salary to supplement his retirement. 8

The younger Bush was heavily involved in most of his father's campaigns and reportedly even pushed him to do some dirty campaigning against Michael Dukakis in 1988 and Clinton in 1992. Bush Jr. was not against some dirty campaigning himself, such as in the South Carolina primary of 2000 against Sen. John McCain.

Voter purging scheme

In such a climate, Republicans made numerous highly questionable, if not illegal, moves to win back the White House in 2000 by any means necessary. Among the key acts was Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris, a Republican partisan who was also Bush's state campaign co-chairman and badly wanted an ambassador position in his administration, overseeing the work of a private data verification company, which supplied the state with a list of thousands of voters to purge from the Florida rolls. The purge was committed under the guise of "election reforms" enacted after the corrupt Miami mayoral election in 1997.

That company, Boca Rotan, Fla.-based Database Technologies Inc. [DBT], which later merged with Alpharetta, Ga.-based ChoicePoint Inc., helped mistakenly remove thousands of legal Florida voters from the rolls because they supposedly had committed felonies. Most of these voters would have supported Gore and given him the edge he needed to win the state. Most were African-Americans - leading many to believe that Bush, Harris, and other Republicans blatantly discriminated against blacks and violated the federal Voting Rights Act.

To make the link more interesting, executives from ChoicePoint gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to Republican politicians between 1997 and 2000. Director Bernard Marcus, co-founder of Home Depot Inc., gave a whopping \$503,550 to Republican committees

and candidates during those years, according to Federal Election Commission records. Director Ken Lagone, another co-founder of Home Depot who was also a director of the New York Stock Exchange and General Electric Co., gave \$54,000 between 1997 and 2000 to Republicans. Langone also was Republican Rudolph Giuliani's fund-raising chairman in his aborted 2000 New York Senate run against Democratic winner Hillary Clinton.

In 2000, Florida law allowed election officials to deny ex-felons their voting rights, even after they had paid their debts to society. That year, Florida was one of only nine states that prevented former felons from voting, although ex-felons could have their rights restored if they received clemency from the governor and some other state officials, a process that could take years to complete. But Florida could not discriminate against residents who committed felonies in other states, served their sentences, and had their voting rights restored by those states, a law that Bush, Harris, and other Republicans violated in this case.

An investigation by *The Guardian*, a popular London newspaper that had the guts to tackle this subject when few mainstream U.S. media companies would, in December 2000 found that DBT's work was riddled with errors and the company did not live up to its contract. 9 The contract called for DBT to check its data by manual verification - i.e. telephone calls, *The Guardian* reported. DBT, which was paid \$4.3 million by Florida taxpayers to produce the list, did not call voters on their list to ensure they had identified only convicted felons, the newspaper reported. The firm only looked for a rough match of a list it had of Florida felons and used race as part of its criteria, *The Guardian* reported.

Among those purged from the rolls was a Hillsborough County man whose only arrest was in 1959 during the Jim Crow era for sleeping on a public bench. George Bruder, vice president of public records for ChoicePoint who formerly was vice president of operations for DBT, denied the company itself cut off any voters from the rolls, blaming Florida officials. "We simply provided the state with a list of voters with a potential problem as identified under Florida law," he testified during February 2001 hearings before the United States Commission on Civil Rights in Miami. "DBT is not authorized under any law...to remove voters from voter rolls, and we did not remove a single voter from the voter registration rolls. It was up to the county supervisors to verify the list that DBT provided under the direction and control of the Florida [Division of Elections] before any voters were to be removed." 10

He added that the DOE determined what information was to be used in the data matching, and race and party affiliation were not part of any match criteria used by DBT. Bruder also denied that it was DBT's responsibility to manually verify that the people on its list were indeed felons, although the company tried to verify the list against change of address forms and other data but was rebuked by state election officials. "Under the Florida statute, the exceptions report was then to be used by the county Supervisors of Elections to manually verify each match before removing a voter from the central voter file," he said. "Each county supervisor was solely responsible under state law for determining whether the voter was actually the person identified on the exceptions report."

During the company's work, numerous errors on lists supplied by the Florida Department of Corrections and Florida Department of Law Enforcement were discovered, Bruder said. In fact, the corrections department even suspended public release of its data file for several months after releasing felony records that had been expunged or sealed, Bruder said. There were so many errors that DBT had to reprocess its entire list and deliver a new list in June 1999, he said. DBT also raised the possibility of "false positives," or correctly linked records that are insufficient for a definitive match but could have a likelihood of a match, Bruder said.

The Florida Division of Elections required such possible matches on the list to provide a broader list to county officials to verify, he added.

DBT ran into more errors while working on lists in 2000 sent from Texas - where Bush was governor - on people supposedly convicted of felons there that could be living in Florida. About 8,000 Florida residents were identified as Texas felons who were - like the former Texas governor - really only guilty of misdemeanors, Bruner said. Even if these former Texas residents were ex-felons, they had their voting rights restored by a Texas law enacted in 1997 allowing felons to vote after serving their sentences. DBT submitted the corrected information to the state in June 2000, and Division of Elections director Clay Roberts told the Florida Select Task Force on Election Reform on Jan. 9, 2001, that no one was “removed from the voter roll based on that erroneous information.”

But other sources reported that voters were denied their right to vote on election day when they showed up at the polls. There were almost 3,000 ex-felons who moved from other states, such as Texas, Illinois, and Ohio, who were denied their legal voting rights in Florida, according to *The Nation*. 11

Moreover, the *Miami Herald* reported in December 2000 that state records showed that the 67 county supervisors of elections were told of the lists’ problems, that the matches were graded as “possible” and “probable,” and that the responsibility of verifying the accuracy of matches was theirs. 12

But Florida officials, whom included Bush’s brother, Jeb, as governor, did nothing to correct any subsequent errors, blaming county officials for not checking the list, *The Guardian* reported. A few counties rejected the mistake-prone list, including Madison, whose elections supervisor, Linda Howell, did so after amazingly discovering her name was wrongly on the list. But most counties went ahead and removed the voters. Some sent letters to the targeted voters telling them they had to appeal to get back on the rolls. But many, including Derek Graham, a Hillsborough County voter who was convicted of a felony and cut off the rolls, did not receive such a letter until after the election.

Florida even denied some former convicts from other states from registering to vote. One was Rev. Thomas Johnson, head of House of Hope in Gainesville, a faith-based charity that helps ex-convicts make transitions into society and a program that Bush even praised. Johnson, who had been convicted for selling crack cocaine in New York, served his time, and had his voting rights restored, was rebuked when he tried to register in Alachua County. That came despite Florida law allowing ex-felons from other states who had their rights restored to vote. A letter written from Jeb Bush’s office of executive clemency to a Hillsborough County official directed the county to tell ex-felons trying to register that even if they had their voting rights restored by another state, they would still have to have them restored by Bush - a requirement banned by two state court decisions. At least one county, Washington, rightly refused to execute Bush’s illegal order, but most of them did so. 13

What made the purge even more hypocritical was that while the state was striking thousands of mostly black, Democratic voters from the rolls, it missed at least one major Republican: Harris herself. Harris was registered in two counties for about seven months. That caused some Democrats to note that the state must have had a program that purged only Democrats.

More dirty pre-election dealings

Jeb Bush himself was no stranger to covert operations. During the mid-1980s, he was reportedly a secret White House liaison to the U.S.-backed Nicaragua contras who were trying to overthrow the left-leaning leader there. He also maintained close ties to right-wing anti-Castro Cubans in Miami - who continued to try to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro and played a key role in lining up questionable votes for Bush. In addition, Jeb Bush defaulted on an irregular loan from a savings & loan and was linked to a health maintenance organization called International Medical Centers (IMC) that engaged in Medicare fraud, bribes, and money laundering. 14

A key Jeb Bush ally in Miami was Xavier Suarez, a Republican who was apparently elected Miami mayor in 1997 only to have a judge overturn the election a few months later due to fraudulent absentee ballots. While Suarez himself was not found guilty of a criminal violation, a judge in a civil case found him and his campaign staff guilty of illegally altering information on some 5,000 absentee ballots that handed Suarez the election. They also requested absentee ballots for people without their knowledge and paid people \$10 each for their absentee votes. Election reforms enacted following the tainted Miami mayoral election did not include making sure there was an independent oversight of absentee ballots until they were counted. 15

Rather than distance themselves from Suarez, Florida Republicans like Bush and Harris allowed him to work on George Bush's 2000 campaign. Despite the 1997 election history, Suarez was incredibly allowed to help fill out absentee ballot forms in Dade County for Bush. 16 Numerous of Dade County's absentee votes for Bush could be tainted. Suarez remained on the executive committee of the Miami-Dade Republican Party well past the November election.

Before the election, Republicans in Florida made a big push to get out absentee ballots, even conducting illegal activities. The campaign helped Bush net some 125,000 more absentee ballot votes than Gore in the razor-close race.

Using a computerized database they called Victory Suite that contained information on every likely voter in the state, Republicans sent mailings that included a letter from Jeb Bush himself, superimposed over the Florida seal, urging voters to cast ballots from the comfort of their homes. But Bush's letter neglected to mention that voters could only legally cast absentee ballots if they were unable to vote at their regular polling sites on election day. And the letter could have violated state laws against using the seal for partisan purposes. 17

The Republicans' mailings also included postcards to people offering a simple method of requesting absentee ballots that required only the voter's signature. The voters would then send the form back to their particular county election office, which would mail them an absentee ballot. But in several counties, a printer hired by the Republicans mistakenly wrote down voters' birth dates rather than identification numbers on the application cards that had been sent. And the illegal acts multiplied.

Campaignwatch.org, an Internet site founded by David E. Scheim, author of the 1989 *New York Times* best seller *Contract on America* and a retired commissioned officer in the U.S. Public Health Service, documented numerous examples of corrupt Republican practices involving absentee balloting in Florida.

Among the most blatant was in Seminole County, where Bush won the absentee balloting by 4,797 votes. A lawsuit there almost succeeded in throwing out thousands of absentee ballots because the Republican elections supervisor, Sandra Goard, illegally allowed Republican volunteers to alter thousands of the pre-printed absentee ballot applications that Republican voters had mailed back with the mistaken birth dates. In 2000, Florida law said such

ballot applications that did not contain voter IDs must be thrown away, although Republicans argued the law did not say a third party could not help fill out information.

So for several weeks before the election, Goard amazingly allowed Republicans, including state Republican Party official Michael Leach, to come into her office with their own laptops loaded with Victory Suite data and change some 2,000 illegal ballots without supervision, according to the lawsuit filed by Democrat Harry Jacobs. Those ballots provided more than three times Bush's margin of victory. And what did Goard do with hundreds of Democrats' and other parties' applications with similar errors? She threw them away, as the law required.

During the lawsuit trial in December 2000 headed by attorney Gerald F. Richman, a deposition from Goard was read in which she said it was the first time she had honored such a request and she knew the law did not give her the authority to allow Republicans to fill in the numbers. She acknowledged that Democratic Party state chairman Bob Poe called to protest her actions but said Poe did not request changing applications for Democrats. 18

Goard also testified in the deposition that she did not know the identity of two Republican volunteers that helped Leach alter the ballot applications. But Leach testified in a deposition himself that Goard did know the pair, Carlos Melendez, another state Republican official, and a man known as "Waldy." Obviously, either Goard or Leach committed perjury in their deposition. 19

Despite such a clear violation of the law and the perjury issue, Leon County Circuit Judge Nikki Clark incredibly ruled that the illegal actions by Goard and other Republicans in Seminole County had not violated the "spirit" of state law. Of course, there was so much political pressure on the judge, who could have rightfully awarded the White House to Gore if she followed the actual law and did the right thing. Some Republicans had even tried to get Clark removed from the case, claiming she was biased because she had been passed over for a higher position by Jeb Bush.

Similar actions occurred in Martin County, where Bush won absentee balloting by 2,815 votes. This time, a former CIA agent, Charles Kane, was involved in illegally altering Republican absentee ballot applications by filling in voter identification numbers. And county Republican official Tom Hauck testified during another lawsuit trial sparked by Democrat Ronald Taylor that Republican Elections Supervisor Peggy Robbins even allowed Hauck to walk out of the county elections offices with a stack of absentee ballot applications and take them to Republican headquarters for several days to alter them. 20

Again, a Florida judge - Terry Lewis - refused to throw these illegal votes out. An attorney representing the plaintiffs, Edward Stafman, said it was "a sinister underground conspiracy" to help Bush. Some believed that top state party Republicans, including Todd Schnick, political director of the Florida Republicans, ordered Goard and Robbins to allow the Republican operatives to illegally alter the absentee ballot applications. 21

Then in Hillsborough County, Republican activist Isis Segarra, a Cuban immigrant who in 1983 was convicted for voter fraud that was later overturned, reportedly filled out absentee ballots for non-disabled voters, including Cuban immigrant Estrella Alfonso. In 2000, Florida law said someone else besides the voter could only fill out a ballot if the voter was medically unable to do so. She was also a witness on at least 65 absentee ballots, and Republicans working with her witnessed at least 26 others. 22

In military-strong Okaloosa County, the Republican elections supervisor, Pat Hollarn, and Linda McEwen, county absentee voting coordinator, sent out absentee ballots unsolicited in response

to change-of-address notifications. The Washington Post quoted county election officials in three other Florida counties - Orange, Leon and Monroe - saying they believed that was illegal. 23

Some 20 percent of ballots cast in Okaloosa were absentee, double the statewide rate. Since Bush won 81 percent of absentee votes in Okaloosa, he attracted 8,600 more absentee votes than Gore in that county.

In Leon County, Ion Sancho, elections supervisor, said officials honored requests for absentee ballots that had incomplete information. In Monroe County, Elections Supervisor Harry Sawyer Jr. said workers called and mailed letters to obtain any missing information from Republican voters who sent absentee ballot requests. 24

In Bay County, which had more registered Democrats than Republicans, someone illegally submitted a suitcase full of absentee ballots. That contributed to an absentee vote margin of 6,000 for Bush. 25

Other such questionable actions with absentee ballots occurred in Bay, Escambia and Pinellas counties. And some like Jake Tapper in Salon suggest that Republican election officials illegally sent absentee ballots to overseas troops after the Nov. 7 election. 26

Then there were the reports of people voting in Florida who hadn't lived in the state for more than a decade and might have voted twice - in Florida and their resident state. Those included Thomas and Karen Baltazar of Herndon, Va., who hadn't lived in Florida in 15 years. Thomas, an Army officer, was once stationed in Florida. Karen Baltazar was quoted as saying most military families say they are residents of Florida, New York or Alaska to avoid paying state income tax. Under Florida law, all someone had to do was claim to be temporarily away, even if they had been gone more than a decade. 27

And in England, at least five residents of an Air Force base received two absentee ballots from counties in Florida. There was also a report about Chris Carman, a member of the Manatee County' Republican executive committee, admitting that he voted twice for Bush, once in person and once absentee. The incident sparked a county and state investigation. 28

On top of all that, Bush aides were quoted in a *New York Daily News* article published a few days before the election saying that if Bush won the national popular vote and lost the Electoral College they would fight it to the end via talk radio, ads, and even lawsuits. They would also enlist business leaders to lobby their customers to speak out, and even get the clergy and Democrats to join the propaganda blitz. "Even papers that supported Gore might turn against him because the will of the people will have been thwarted," the report quoted a Republican aide. 29

Election day confusion and pattern of voting problems

CIA manuals on how to overthrow a national leader - as the spy agency had helped do numerous times in Latin America, Asia, and other places - included instructions on planting propaganda lies in the media that confuse voters. It was especially important to create much confusion on election day, the manuals said. Therefore, it was curious that the Florida Secretary of State's office issued a press release a few days before the election informing voters that, yes, all people were supposed to vote on Nov. 7.

"A recent story has been circulating on the Internet that due to increased turnout there will be a different voting day for some voters. This story is false and a poor attempt at humor," the official release said. 30

But were the Internet rumors really just “a poor attempt at humor?” Or were they circulated deliberately by the growing number of former and current CIA agents that made Florida their home?

Adora Nweze was among those confused when she went to vote on Nov. 7. Election workers incorrectly told the Florida NAACP president she had already requested an absentee ballot and refused to let her vote at first. After a heated argument, Nweze was allowed to vote. 31

Such events occurred throughout Florida that day. In Pinellas County, Barbara Argyros, a registered Democrat, was not so fortunate as Nweze. A clerk there would not let her vote, erroneously claiming Argyros had already cast an absentee ballot. The clerk tried for 45 minutes to call the central county elections office to clear up the problem but couldn't get through to anyone, and Argyros walked out in frustration. 32

In Tampa, Willie Dickens, an African-American, was denied his voting rights because he did not have a driver's license. He was not allowed to sign an affidavit swearing to his identity, and by the time he drove home and retrieved an ID, the polls had closed. Another black Hillsborough County voter, Brenda Wade, was given a ballot that had already been cast for Bush. Then, Shawnda Newkirk said that black voters in her precinct were unfairly stopped while white voters did not have to go through such hoops to vote. 33

Then there were the instances in Miami-Dade County in which people not listed on voter rolls were allowed to vote. The Miami Herald reported discovering 144 ineligible voters who participated, including one with the forged signature of a dead man, Haitian immigrant André Alismé, after reviewing votes from just 138 of 641 precincts in the county. 34

The newspaper also found that in two Miami precincts, 13 of 20 voting machines did not pass a polling test conducted minutes before the polls opened and were not discarded as the rules required.

And there was the confusion sparked by the infamous “butterfly ballot” in Palm Beach County, a Democratic stronghold with thousands of Jewish voters. The ballot listed presidential candidates on both sides of the punch holes and arrows pointing to which hole to punch did not align exactly. Therefore, thousands of voters said they either voted for the wrong candidate or voted for two candidates, which voided their vote.

Some 19,120 votes in the county were disqualified due to having two or more presidential candidates chosen - much more than were disqualified there in 1996. Reform Party candidate Pat Buchanan, who once infuriated the Jewish community by saying the Nazis were not that bad, received some 3,400 votes, much more than he received in Palm Beach County in 1996. Buchanan had his biggest support in the Lakes of Delray, a retirement community in suburban Delray Beach where nearly all residents were Jewish and registered Democrats. Arthur Robb, the community's president, said the community's 47 votes for Buchanan were mistakes, as were the unusually high number of overvotes. 35

Helen Halperin, an 81-year-old resident of Poinciana Place Condominiums in the county, said poor eyesight and incorrect counseling from a poll worker caused her to wrongly vote for Buchanan instead of Gore. “There is no one I detest more than Buchanan. I think he's pure evil,” she said. 36

While Republicans laughed at such voters and called them stupid, some who were confused by the ballot were relatively young and well-educated. Those included Jewish chiropractor Andre Fladell, 52, and luxury home developer Ken Weitz, 48. 37 And many

Republican voters - though not near as many Democratic voters - were also confused, voting for both Bush and Buchanan.

Even actress Barbra Streisand weighed in on the Palm Beach fiasco: "There is no way that in Palm Beach County thousands of Jewish senior citizens would have voted for Pat Buchanan. Doing so would be detrimental to their health," she said. 38

Buchanan, who even admitted he should not have received so many votes in that county, was right under Bush on the ballot, while Gore was on the other side of the punch holes. The *Palm Beach Post* reported that the butterfly ballot cost Gore 6,607 more votes than it cost Bush, more than 10 times what Gore needed to overcome Bush. The newspaper's analysis of the overvotes found that 5,330 voters punched both Gore and Buchanan, whose hole on the ballot was directly above Gore's. Another 2,908 voters punched both Gore and Socialist David McReynolds, whose hole on the ballot was just below Gore's. Buchanan and McReynolds appeared on the right page of the ballot, while Gore was on the left. And more than 1,600 people punched both Bush and Buchanan, proving that many Republicans were also confused. 39

But amid high-profile protests in Florida led by Rev. Jesse Jackson and others, many Palm Beach County officials appeared callous and uninterested in righting wrongs. Palm Beach County Commissioner Mary McCarty, a partisan Republican who in Jan. 2001 signed a fund-raising letter that sought to raise \$4.5 million to oppose the retention of three state Supreme Court justices who they thought leaned too far to the left, summed up the sentiment: "Votes are thrown out in every precinct of every county in this nation. In 1996, 15,000 votes [which included overvotes, undervotes, and those unmarked] were thrown out in Palm Beach County."

Her statement reinforced the main theme of the Republican response to Florida election woes - don't try to count all of the votes because we haven't tried to count them all before. McCarty ignored how many more overvotes there had been in the county in 2000 over 1996. And her statement that votes were thrown out in every precinct was wrong; while more than 1 million votes were discarded across the country, there were many precincts that had none - or very little - tossed.

Palm Beach County was not the only one in Florida to use a confusing ballot. In Jacksonville's Duval County, which employed a "caterpillar" ballot that also split the 10 presidential candidates into two pages, there were some 27,000 overvotes, about 19,000 more than in 1996. Election Supervisor John Stafford, a Republican, even instructed some voters to vote on every page, thus ensuring the spoilage of thousands of mostly Gore votes. He also lied to Democrats who asked him how many Duval votes were thrown out shortly after the election. Stafford told them only a few hundred were discarded, and thus no one filed a request for a manual recount within the required three days. Several people said they would have done so had Stafford told the truth. 40

Across the state, counties used five different types of voting machines, some 10 different ballot designs, and had different standards to determine a vote in each county. State and county officials did little voter education; before Nov. 7, Jeb Bush vetoed a \$100,000 voter-education program that might have helped avoid some problems. But the state could spend a whopping \$35 million to educate people on how to buy and use lottery tickets. The result: some 185,000 ballots were tossed.

In Gadsden County, the only Florida county with a black majority that supported Gore overwhelmingly, 12.5 percent of voters saw their ballots thrown away, the highest rate in the state. A confusing ballot was employed in Gadsden, with eight of the 10 presidential candidates on one column and the other two and a space for a write-in candidate on the next column.

Instructions said to “vote for group” without explaining that “group” meant to vote for only one candidate. Numerous people marked a candidate in each column or marked Gore’s name and wrote his name in on the next column. The mistakes were not immediately caught, as they were in many precincts, since they were fed into the scanning machine at the main office only after polls closed.

In addition, some Gadsden voters were denied their right to vote due to not correctly filling out a mail-in application, which listed some questions vertically and others horizontally. Others were denied because the state failed to file their mailed applications - a practice that affected as many as 5 percent of applications in Florida. 41

In other counties like Orange and Osceola, Hispanic voters said they were asked to produce two different identifications, a violation of the law that required only one ID. Some said they could not understand the ballots and were not supplied with Spanish translators or ballots in Spanish, as required by federal law when Hispanics comprised at least 5 percent of voters in a county.

In addition, more than 200 votes for Gore were tossed in Osceola - which had more than 10 percent Hispanic voters - because voters confused the last name of running mate Joe Lieberman with the Libertarian party label for the next candidate listed and punched both Democrats and Libertarians. The Lieberman-Libertarian overvote also might have cost Gore some 271 votes in Lake County and another 325 votes in 14 other small counties. 42

Still others, like Duval County resident Janice Kelly, said they were not allowed to vote after being told the polls were closed. Kelly had moved but updated her new address and did not receive information on her new polling site. Even after finding the new site on election day, she was turned away.

Contrast in Leon County

Contrast such problems with Leon County, which contained state capital Tallahassee and was upscale and mostly white. There, a mere 0.2 percent of ballot were tossed, the lowest rate in Florida.

In Leon, almost all of the 154 ballots not counted were from voters who intentionally abstained in the presidential race. Election officials there mailed sample ballots to each residence and instructions to new voters. They ran ads on television and radio to educate voters. Its ballot had presidential candidates all in one column.

Unlike in Gadsden, there were scanning machines in each precinct in Leon so mistakes were caught on the spot and voters given another chance to get it right. People with wrong addresses were allowed to correct their cards on the spot. This system was similar to the one in many other counties across the country.

But even in such a seemingly flawless system, there were flaws in Leon County. Roberta Tucker, a state worker from Woodville, Fla., was among the rural Leon County residents who had to pass through a state police checkpoint with five white Florida Highway Patrol troopers near her largely African-American precinct. Tucker said she was stopped and allowed to proceed, but the timing and place of the roadblock raised questions of whether it was done to intimidate black voters into not voting. Officials acknowledged the roadblock was unauthorized.

To many, the problems were not just coincidental. Even U.S. Rep. Corrine Brown, a Jacksonville Democrat, had a hard time voting. She said when she went to her usual precinct to

vote, she was told she couldn't because an absentee ballot had already been sent to her. Brown had to sign an affidavit and drive to the county courthouse to cast her vote.

"I think that Florida is the only state in the country that tried so hard to exclude people from voting," Brown testified later to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. "It seems like more than a coincidence that most of these people were African Americans." 43

Perhaps Mary Frances Berry, chairman of the civil rights commission, summed up the Florida voting process best: "Voting in Florida is like there is some kind of goody in a box and you want to get it, but you've got to be persistent to get it." 44

Other states report election problems

Florida was by no means the only state with "electile dysfunction."

In August 2001, U.S. Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., the ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, released a report that concluded that at least 1,276,916 Americans had their 2000 presidential votes discarded or unrecorded in 31 states and Washington, D.C. 45 Another report released about the same time by researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the California Institute of Technology put the figure much higher, from 4 to 6 million ballots not counted. 46

Rep. Conyers' report said that some 19 states, including Arkansas, Colorado, and Alabama, didn't even keep records on uncounted ballots. In at least four states, including Florida and New Mexico, the number of uncounted ballots exceeded either Gore's or Bush's margin of victory.

And in 38 states, the election rules on how to conduct a recount would be found unconstitutional if judged according to the U.S. Supreme Court's partisan decision in Dec. 2000.

"Our broken election system was an accomplice to a magic trick that would make David Copperfield proud," Rep. Conyers said. "Millions of Americans went to vote on Nov. 7, 2000, only to have their voice in our Democracy disappear. The sleight of hand was accomplished in a variety of ways: primitive machines that routinely discarded votes and that were impossible for disabled voters and language minorities to use, haphazard purges of voting rolls, intimidation by officials, and undertrained poll workers." 47

The MIT/CIT study concluded that vote-counting problems were more severe in Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, South Carolina, and Wyoming than in Florida, as the former states all had higher rates of uncounted ballots in the 2000 presidential election. Some cities, including Chicago and New York, had rates of uncounted votes well higher than the state of Florida. 48

In Georgia, the American Civil Liberties Union and three Atlanta attorneys filed a lawsuit in Jan. 2001 on behalf of seven African-American voters in DeKalb, Fulton, and Cobb counties whose votes in the presidential election were not counted due to faulty balloting machines. The ACLU found a high level of error in punch card machines (4.7 percent), and the state's 2.1 percent error rate for more sophisticated optical scanners was also not up to state and federal standards. Georgia's failure to maintain accurate voting machines for all residents violated the equal protection and due process clauses of the Constitution, as well as the federal Voting Rights Act, the ACLU said. 49

Other problems, similar to Florida, were reported in Georgia. Those included names being struck from voting rolls and paperwork not being processed.

In Chicago, from 12.8 percent to 36.7 percent of voters in 125 precincts either didn't vote for president or voted for more than one candidate. Most problems were due to voter error,

such as not punching the chad all the way through or putting the ballot in the machine the wrong way, the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners concluded. The mistake rate was much higher than the typical one there of 4 percent. 50

In St. Louis, Mo., Mahina Nightsage, 41, reported spending hours on election day trying to establish that she was an eligible voter. As she was doing that, several other frustrated voters told her of similar problems and left without voting. 51

In Tennessee, some black voters said police and election volunteers tried to intimidate them into not voting. African-Americans were told to let white voters get in front of them, to remove NAACP stickers from their vehicles, and to leave polls without voting, according to Catherine Danielson, a film student and small business owner in Nashville. 52

Others reported that polling sites in predominately African-American neighborhoods in western Tennessee opened late, or closed and opened in other places without voters being told. Another report detailed ballots being illegally handled by election officials. Some former felons said they were denied their voting rights, even though Tennessee did not have the same law as Florida that allowed officials to deny them their rights. 53

Similar complaints of voter intimidation were filed in South Carolina. Some said that Republican poll workers who challenged African-American voters wore badges similar to police shields. Some documents asking for absentee ballots were shredded. And in Jasper County, a strong Democratic area, only one vote was recorded for Gore and one for Bush, with 239 for Pat Buchanan and 111 for Ralph Nader. A Harvard University research team took some 40 affidavits from people who swore they voted for Gore or Bush in that county. The problems there included ballots not being placed in a lockbox, machines not working, not enough paper ballots, and a lack of privacy for voters. 54

In Indiana, thousands of people were registered in more than one county, allowing some to vote twice and in one case even after death. Others were cut from the rolls. 55

In New Mexico, the state Republican Party sent out a flier to Hispanic communities before the election offering a \$20,000 reward to those who reported fraud that some said intimidated voters. 56

In Arkansas, the state received 255 complaints of election irregularities, including names not showing up on voting rolls, not receiving absentee ballots, and Motor Voter applications not being processed. Pennsylvania saw about 80 complaints to the state, most for names not being on the rolls. 57

In Virginia, about 200 students at Norfolk State University were not allowed to vote because their names did not appear on rolls. There were also reports in Newport News that police were stopping people in checkpoints near polling sites.

In Wisconsin, Marquette University students admitted voting more than once by taking more than one ballot at a time.

And in Bush's and Cheney's home state of Texas, the election was marred by complaints of a flier being circulated by Republicans in some Fort Worth primarily black precincts accusing some African-Americans of voter fraud. The secretary of state also reported that there were higher percentages of undervotes and overvotes in counties using punch cards, rather than optical scan and touch-screen systems.

"What this investigation uncovered was that Florida is just the tip of the iceberg," the House Judiciary Committee report concluded. 58

Media adds to confusion

To add to the confusion in Florida, *The Associated Press* and major television networks - citing exit polls conducted by a voting survey firm - declared Gore had won Florida shortly after the polls closed on Nov. 7 in most of the state. However, there were still counties in the Florida panhandle that had yet to finish voting since they were in the Central Time Zone.

But some who studied pre-election polls and other data said those exit polls were right on the money. Joe Forgy of Texas, who reviewed polls for about six weeks before the election, putting results on a spreadsheet, said that in every state, including Florida, the pre-election and exit polls very closely matched the states' results. "On election night at the county headquarters, several of us compared the results of my spreadsheet with the exit polls. The results of exit polls and the other polls were almost exact. When the exit polls showed Gore won, we thought it was all over," Forgy said.

Something was crooked with the way the Florida vote came in on election night, he said. "It was only after Bush challenged the exit polls in Florida that they became suspect," Forgy said. "I believe the exit polls in Florida and pre-election polls [showing Gore winning the state] were correct. Those people leaving the Florida polls believed they voted for Al Gore. Somehow their votes were diverted away from the way they intended to vote."

Another interesting analysis by Sharman Braff of California concluded that many of the 120,000 overvotes in Florida - an unusually high number - were spoiled deliberately by Republican operatives who mass-punched holes in ballots in heavily Democratic counties that voted by punch cards. "It was the overvote, much more than the dangling and dimpled chads of undervote, that cost America the president we really elected," Braff wrote. "There is no plausible explanation for Bush/Gore overvotes but tampering. In optiscan counties, where mass-punching is impossible (voters mark paper ballots with pencils), there are no Bush/Gore overvotes." 59

Another person, who asked to remain anonymous, calculated through a statistical analysis that about 20,000 votes were stolen in the Florida Panhandle alone. This was in addition to the roughly 20,000 voters believed to be purged from the Florida rolls and another 50,000 to 100,000 people who were prevented from registering. Add to that all of the other complaints in Florida, including people who said they were given used ballots, and you have a very suspicious election.

On election night in Austin, Bush refused to believe he lost the state, telling reporters that his younger brother had "promised to deliver" Florida for him. He also noted he had a 50,000-vote lead at the time. A couple hours later, major media outlets conceded they might have been premature and put the state back in the undecided category.

As the night dragged on, it became clear Florida would decide the White House. Gore had won key large states like California, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, and was well ahead in the overall national popular vote. But Bush had won a greater number of more conservative, smaller states, including Gore's home state of Tennessee and Clinton's home state of Arkansas.

At around 2:15 a.m. Eastern Standard Time, on Nov. 8, right-wing TV station *Fox* made another odd announcement, declaring Bush had won Florida and the White House. This was despite some key Democratic-strong counties in Florida still not completing their counts. Other media outlets followed suit, and Gore even called Bush to concede. A key part of *Fox's* decision was the role of Bush cousin John Ellis, who suspiciously headed the network's election night decision desk that first called the election for Bush. Ellis was quoted in *The New Yorker* as

having been in regular contact with the Bush brothers on election night to give them the station's updated election numbers, even though he was supposed to remain impartial as a journalist. But Ellis, who wrote a column for the Washington Post painting Bush as the much brighter candidate shortly before the election, denied he supplied his cousins with insider exit poll data. 60

NBC also had an odd link on its call for Bush that night as a rumor circulated that Jack Welch, chairman and CEO of General Electric, which owns *NBC*, tried to interfere with that station's election calls. *NBC* denied the charge, but the network refused to release a tape of the occurrences of that night and did not cooperate with U.S. Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., in trying to clear up the matter. As Waxman and others like Washington Post columnist E.J. Dionne noted, those calls for Bush put an almost impossible burden on Gore to overcome. Calling Bush the winner when the outcome was still in doubt led many unthinking people to believe that Bush really won and Gore was a "sore loser" throughout the recount process.

That was when things really became odd. Stunned by the news but willing to be gracious, Gore left his headquarters for a Nashville rally, where supporters waited. But while in the car, he received a phone call from an aide telling him not to make a concession speech since the Florida race had tightened considerably. Gore then called Bush to retract his concession. In the short phone call, Bush reportedly was snippy, saying at one point that his brother had assured him he won Florida, as if Jeb Bush controlled the state's electoral process.

By early morning Nov. 8, Bush's lead had shrunk to a mere 1,725 votes - easily close enough to trigger a state-mandated automatic recount. Under Florida law, an election within 0.5 percent automatically underwent a recount using scanning machines.

So rather than Gore address a sad Nashville crowd of supporters, William Daley, his campaign chairman, did so. "Let me say: I've been in politics for a long time. But there's never been a night like this one," he told the anxious crowd. "Just an hour or so ago, the TV networks called this race for Governor Bush. It now appears that their call was premature." 61

As the crowd erupted in cheers, Daley made it clearer: "This race is still too close to call - and until the recount is concluded and the results in Florida become official, our campaign continues."

Neither Gore nor Bush addressed their supporters. In a telling comment that summed up why Bush ran, he told reporters he was worried more about what the suspense was doing to Bush Sr. and Barbara Bush - a key driving force behind his campaign who wanted to avenge her husband's 1992 defeat - than to himself. 62

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Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's [2000] presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law.

- U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, a Republican

Chapter II. Completing the Coup

After the candidates slept for a few hours on Nov. 8, confusion still reigned. Gore said he was confident he would prevail after a recount, while Bush told reporters he had won the first count and expected to win the recount.

As Florida governor, Jeb Bush recused himself from an official role in the recount, but six members of his staff volunteered on the recount campaign, though they claimed to have taken unpaid leave to do so. Even so, records showed that Jeb Bush's office made 95 calls to the George Bush campaign during the 36-day recount period, with at least 10 calls from an office number used mostly by Jeb Bush. One call was to Michigan Gov. John Engler, who soon flew to Florida to monitor the recount in Broward County. 1

Meanwhile, the Gore campaign focused on a Florida law that allowed a candidate to request a hand recount in close counties - going beyond the automatic machine recount. On Nov. 9, Gore asked for a hand recount in four largely Democratic counties, Palm Beach, Miami-Dade, Broward and Volusia. Bush sat on his butt at his ranch in rural Central Texas, while others - especially longtime Bush Sr. crony James Baker - figured out how to counteract these hand recount requests.

One part of the campaign was to make sure Palm Beach voters who didn't vote correctly - many of whom survived Nazi prison camps or had ancestors who did so - looked stupid. On Nov. 10, the Bush campaign put out a release highlighting a Louisiana newspaper's article on some elementary school students being able to use the butterfly ballot. 2 This not only belittled Democratic voters who were confused by the butterfly ballot, but Republican voters as well.

In response to such a cavalier Republican attitude toward voting, many rallies were organized in Florida and throughout the country to call for counting all votes. Many were organized largely through the Internet by relatively new groups like Democrats.com, TrustthePeople.com, and CounterCoup.org, and they attracted thousands in almost 100 cities across the country on Saturday, Nov. 11. In large cities like New York, Los Angeles, and Seattle, as many as 1,500 people participated, and the media coverage was good. There were also good showings in smaller cities like Olympia, Wash., where more than 100 people rallied, Athens, Ga., and Wilkes-Barre, Pa. People protested even in very conservative cities like Dallas and Bloomington, Ind. The rallies continued the following weekend and succeeding ones.

Another march and rally on Nov. 11 in Palm Beach County organized by Rev. Jesse Jackson's Chicago-based Rainbow/PUSH Coalition attracted hundreds, including some Bush supporters who yelled at Jackson to go home, as if the United States was not his home.

"At issue is the integrity of the vote, the legitimacy of the next president, and the credibility of our Democracy," said Jackson, who called the Palm Beach County ballot illegal and the Florida media exit polls right. He also pointed to voter fraud and people being cut from the rolls illegally. "Suspicious abound, but some have chosen to rush to judgment. Governor Bush is running victory

laps without a victory. We do not know who the victor was. The voting machinery in Florida, in effect, broke down.” 3

To people like Palm Beach Commissioner Mary McCarty who said votes were discarded in every election, Jackson retorted, “There is no moral high ground in ‘This happens all the time.’ If it happened in the past, that means it should have been remedied this time around....There is a precedent for a judge to rule, based on the pattern of intent that the voided ballots bear witness to, that the votes should be counted for one party or the other. A judge would also have the power to order a re-vote for president only, if it turns out that is necessary. But the illegalities must be addressed: in the design of the ballot, in the disenfranchisement of minorities and immigrants, in the thrown-out ballots.”

The ACLU, a nonpartisan group which had never supported or opposed a political candidate since forming in 1920, also was on the scene to file and join lawsuits. The group filed one on Nov. 14 that asked a state circuit court for an appropriate remedy, including a Palm Beach County revote. Florida ACLU officials said they had received many calls from Palm Beach residents concerned that confusion over the ballot had caused them to miscast their votes. “If systematic irregularity affected the outcome of the election, as appears to be the case in Palm Beach County, then those who bothered to vote on November 7th deserve a new election - one that correctly represents the will of the people - however distressing it may be to those wanting a quick resolution to the presidential election,” said Howard Simon, executive director of the ACLU of Florida. 4

“The right to vote, and to have one’s vote accurately and fairly counted is as fundamental a right as we have in this country,” said Ira Glasser, ACLU executive director. “It is the citizens’ right to vote that is at stake here, not the interests of any candidate....We have filed this brief in an effort to clarify the neutral principle at stake and take it out of the quagmire of partisan bickering.”

Past similar ACLU lawsuits had helped candidates of different parties, including Alabama electing its first Republican governor in 1986. Another case that same year in Georgia saw a court order a new school board election due to a mere five voters being given wrong ballots. But in a twist of irony in this case, ACLU officials noted that the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled before that any restraints on the right to vote for the candidate of one’s choice “strike at the heart of representative government.”

Such lawsuits were for naught on the surface, but they did point out how partisan certain judges were. Several Palm Beach County judges bowed out of the case, including Circuit Court Judge Stephen Rapp, a registered Republican. Attorney Henry B. Handler filed a motion alleging that Rapp made prejudicial remarks about Gore supporters who voted for Buchanan by mistake and Rapp claimed to have done his part to run the Democrats out of the White House. Rapp denied he made such remarks but still stepped aside - actions speak louder than words. The judge who eventually heard the case, Circuit Court Jorge Labarga, also had partisan Republican ties as a former member of a Cuban-American Republican club who campaigned for Jeb Bush in 1994.

On Nov. 20, LaBarga dismissed the lawsuit, saying the court did not have the power to order a new election since Congress declared that presidential elections be held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Despite other judges declaring new elections in special circumstances, subsequent appeals went nowhere.

Gore gains ground

By Nov. 10, the state-mandated recounts had further reduced Bush's lead to a mere 327 - a statistical tie out of some 6 million votes. And there were some counties that did not even do the state-required machine recount before Harris certified those results.

Some political scientists commented on how strange it was for there to be such a disparity between the first machine count and second one. "Having the lead go down so much makes you wonder why the first count wasn't more accurate," said Allan Saxe, a political science professor at the University of Texas at Arlington. "Even with 6 million votes cast, that's a huge difference, especially when the race is so close." But others said it was not so strange, that machine counters sometimes miss ballots as they pass through, leading to the chad controversy.

The debate over chads, the tiny pieces of paper that voters punch out on cards, became serious, even as comedians had a field day. If the chad was not entirely punched out, it could become pushed back to its prior place during the machine counting process. Therefore, that vote would not be recorded by the machine.

The Republican strategy was to say their candidate won, act like Gore was violating the law when he was really following it by asking for hand recounts, and violate or ignore laws that didn't benefit them. Baker was resurrected from Republican hibernation as the propaganda battle's main spokesman.

On Nov. 10, he outlined the campaign's strategy with a statement containing numerous lies and misrepresentations. "Gov. George W. Bush won 31 states with a total of 271 electoral votes. [This was not official yet.] The vote in Florida was very close, but when it was counted, Governor Bush was the winner. [No official count had been completed and certified.] Now, three days later, the vote in Florida has been recounted. [Not true since Gore had asked for hand recounts as allowed by Florida law]," Baker misrepresented. "At the end of this recount, Gov. Bush is still the winner, [not true, see above] subject only to counting the overseas ballots, which have traditionally favored the Republican candidate. No evidence of vote fraud either in the original vote or in the recount has been presented. [another bald-face lie]" 5

The last statement was also misleading because there had been numerous complaints of fraud, with absentee ballots, people not allowed to vote, ballot boxes disappearing, and more. The Republicans just didn't want to pursue that evidence. Baker continued, "We understand, and I understand personally, that it is frustrating to lose by a narrow margin. But it happens. It happened to the Republican presidential candidates in 1960 and 1976. Both Vice President Nixon and President Ford put the country's interest first. They accepted the vote for the good of the country."

That was another bit of Republican propaganda. Ford's election was not really close; Jimmy Carter won by 57 electoral votes, not three or four. Carter also won the popular vote by almost 2 million votes, while Bush lost that by more than 539,000. And no state Carter won was near as close as Florida was for Bush; Carter's closest was in Ohio, where he still had more than an 11,000-vote lead. Ford won several states like Oregon, Iowa, Maine, and California by razor-thin margins. Of course, Ford didn't challenge the results; he had no place to make a solid case.

Baker ignored a closer race eight years before in the popular vote, where Republican Nixon only beat Democrat Hubert Humphrey by about 510,000 votes, or 0.7 percent. Nixon did win by 110 electoral votes, but many states he took were very close, including Missouri and Delaware.

Then, John F. Kennedy beat Nixon by 84 electoral votes, although the popular vote was closer with Kennedy winning by some 118,000. Several states won by both were close; still none were as close as Florida in 2000. Kennedy won Illinois by only 9,000 votes, while Nixon only took Alaska by 1,100. Then Republicans like to squawk about Texas, where JFK won by 46,000, more

than Nixon won by in more populous California. And Nixon didn't just accept it; Republicans challenged results in Illinois and Texas, even filing lawsuits, but the challenges failed.

In fact, Nixon was angry about the election for years, and some even believe he might have at least known about the plot to kill Kennedy, which succeeded in 1963. Some of the same figures involved in Watergate like E. Howard Hunt were involved in the JFK assassination, according to some researchers. And to add more suspicion, Nixon admitted he had been in Dallas on the very same day JFK was killed, attending meetings with other right-wing politicians and executives from the Pepsi-Cola Co. 6

Baker also tried to hint that he would push for recounts in other states that were close. Of the ones he cited - Wisconsin, Iowa, and New Mexico - only the latter was really close. After hand recounts, Gore won New Mexico by 179 votes, which was still a wider margin, percentage-wise, than Bush was handed Florida. And it made no difference who won New Mexico since that state only had five electoral votes; Florida with 25 electoral votes was the prize.

What was almost lost in such election charades was Green Party candidate Ralph Nader's role as spoiler - and how Republicans supported him just to siphon away votes from Gore. Nader took away enough votes from Gore in both Florida and New Hampshire to hand those states to Bush. But in Florida, many candidates, including those of the Reform, Libertarian, Natural Law, and even Socialist, attracted more votes than Bush's eventual margin.

Still, Republican organizers in several states told some of their voters to cast ballots for Nader to help build his party as a future nemesis to the Democrats and make it seem like the Greens had more support than the party did. And before the election, a Republican council with close ties to Bush broadcast ads in Washington, Wisconsin, and Oregon showing Nader criticizing Gore's environmental record. The ad - the first televised one in which a group with ties to a major party candidate touted a third party candidate to hurt another opponent - quoted Nader as saying Gore betrayed his principles and broke promises. 7

To their credit, the Green Party and Nader also criticized Bush. But the Democrats, unlike the Republicans, did not use that to their advantage.

Bush files first lawsuit, Harris displays prejudice

On Nov. 12, Volusia and Palm Beach counties started hand counts, a painstaking process. Despite Bush saying during his campaign that he would abide by the will of the people and let their votes count and despite signing a Texas law that said hand counts were more accurate and preferable to machine counts, his campaign filed a lawsuit on Nov. 12 in a Florida federal court to block the hand counts. Then his campaign spent the next few weeks blaming the voting delays on the Gore campaign, when it was the Republicans' strategy to do whatever they could to delay the counting process.

On Nov. 13, a judge ruled against Bush, allowing hand counts to proceed, and the Bush campaign appealed to a higher federal court. But Harris, the partisan overseer of Florida's election process, ruled she would ignore the results of hand recounts not turned in by a Nov. 14 deadline.

Privately, Harris, who had used her Florida office to work on Bush campaign ads and had his campaign speeches on her office computer before the election - a violation of state law - also displayed her prejudice in the case with a series of emails on her state computer to staff members and others. Some messages derided Gore's legal effort to include the results of manual recounts. Her state email inbox also included correspondence from the Bush campaign, including fund-

raising letters for “the Bush-Cheney Recount Fund.” That was another violation of state law, which prohibited using state computers for partisan political activities. 8

One email circulated by Harris on Nov. 13 said the Tennessee Titans were petitioning a federal court for a rematch of the 2000 Super Bowl game against the St. Louis Rams. The Titans ended up one yard short of tying the game as time expired. Never mind that it was the Bush campaign that first petitioned a federal court, not the Gore campaign. Another email forwarded by Harris on the same day referred to how the New York Mets were going to court to get an additional inning added to the end of Game 5 of the 2000 World Series. The Mets lost that game, 4-2, and the series - which was not even close, making such comparisons to the Florida challenge nonsensical - to the New York Yankees in five games. Such jokes, of course, missed the point of Gore’s challenge - he was trying to have all votes counted in a state where Republicans did not want that to occur. The jokes were another strong indication of the Republican strategy to paint their candidate as already winning the election, despite a final count not being completed.

Still another email circulated by Harris referred to Gore’s alleged involvement in a campaign fund-raising controversy during the 1996 campaign. It contained a replica of a dollar bill with Gore’s face over the words “Buddhist Temple.” Why was Harris bringing up four-year-old incidents about Gore, who had long since put that matter to rest, in the midst of this all-important recount battle? How could she remain impartial and send out such jokes? She did not forward any jokes directed at Bush and Republicans. In a later interview, Harris said she erected a firewall against such partisan emails on her state computer during the recount battle, but that was obviously a lie. Besides these jokes, computer experts found an examination of the campaign finances of Florida Supreme Court Justice Barbara Pariente, a Democrat, a week after the Nov. 7 election. 9

Among the documents found on Harris’ state computer, which showed she also illegally engaged in partisan activities before the election, was a speech she wrote in January 2000 for a state Republican meeting in which she admitted being biased: “After 7 years of Democrat rule in the White House - we need to send the loudest possible message that we are READY TO LEAD!...I am a bit biased - after all - I co-chair the campaign effort of George W. Bush.” There was also a set of campaign talking points for George W. Bush written in March 2000, a list of contributors to Harris’ 1998 Democratic opponent, Karen Gievers, and partisan emails from staff on election day. Those included one from Ben McKay, her chief of staff, who wrote, “We’re down by 6 in FL [Florida]. We’re losing in MI [Michigan]. Look fine in WI [Wisconsin]. No word on PA [Pennsylvania] yet. Keep praying ... this will be very, very close.” 10

Harris also wanted the state to pay \$12,000 to Republican media consultant Adam Goodman for supposed “volunteer” work Goodman did during the recount out of her office. It was not clear exactly what Goodman did, but his presence in Harris’ office during the recount battle raised suspicions that he unfairly helped tip the state to Bush. 11 While a payment to Goodman was not approved, Florida taxpayers had to pay about \$50,000 for “security” for Harris after the presidential election. The costs included \$25,850 for Harris’ home and office, \$8,350 for protecting her during the presidential inauguration in Washington, and \$14,131 to protect her on a trip to South America. 12

While Harris was having fun sending email to her partisan Republican friends instead of doing her job as a supposedly impartial overseer of the election process, the Gore campaign responded by petitioning a state court to overturn Harris’ decision not to include hand recounts and give the legal hand recounts time to be completed. But the Florida judge ruled against Gore.

In defiance of Harris’ order, Palm Beach County officials voted to resume hand recounts on Nov. 15, which Harris tried to have the Florida Supreme Court block. The Supreme Court denied

Harris' request, and the recounts continued. Harris announced she would not consider any hand recounts when she announced final results on Nov. 18, the day after overseas absentee ballots were due. Meanwhile, Broward County decided to conduct a hand count on Nov. 15. In yet another legal case, a judge ruled that same day that Palm Beach officials could set their own rules to determine which ballots were valid.

By Nov. 16, there were some 30 legal cases in various courts concerning the election. On Nov. 17, Gore received a lift when the Florida Supreme Court blocked Harris from announcing results until the hand counts were completed. Another round of good news for Gore came that day when a federal appeals court rejected the Bush campaign's request to halt hand counts.

On Nov. 18, an unofficial tally of the results by the Associated Press put Bush ahead by 930 votes. As Republicans kept filing legal cases to attempt to block hand counts, most were ultimately rejected. But they tied up officials enough to delay the process, a key part of the Bush campaign's strategy.

The Republicans also tried to get more negative press on Democrats who lobbied to throw out largely military absentee ballots that weren't filled out right with the proper postmarks, which was the law. But of course, Republicans didn't want to obey laws that hurt them. And many in the mainstream media pointed out how Democrats were trying to get votes thrown out, while in other cases trying to get voted counted, but they failed to clearly note that Democrats were only trying to get illegal ballots tossed while trying to count valid votes that had not been counted.

The media also largely failed to balance that with how Republicans were trying to get illegal ballots to be allowed while claiming that they had to follow the law in other cases. But to be fair, Sen. Lieberman and other Democrats confused the issue by publicly stating that election officials should give the benefit of the doubt to military voters. Gore himself even refused the advice of some advisors to legally challenge the counting of questionable overseas absentee ballots.

In fact, Republicans campaigned to persuade canvassing boards in strong Bush counties to ignore Florida's election laws when counting overseas absentee ballots, while discarding questionable ballots in heavily Democratic counties, according to a six-month *New York Times* investigation. They even threatened election officials with federal prosecution if they did not count illegal ballots. Incredibly, the campaign was run out of Katherine Harris' office, which could have violated laws against using public offices for political campaigns. Harris' computers were later scrubbed to delete any evidence, raising questions of obstruction of justice. The newspaper found that Florida officials accepted hundreds of overseas absentee ballots that did not follow election laws, with such flaws as not having postmark or witness signatures, being mailed from the U.S., and being from people who voted more than once. Out of 2,490 ballots that were counted as legal votes, *The Times* found 680 questionable votes, some 80 percent of which were accepted in counties won by Bush. 13

The Times also reported that U.S. Rep. Steve Buyer, R-Ind., used his position and office as a member of the House Armed Services Committee to help contact military personnel to be used in the Republican campaign to discredit Democrats who lobbied to throw out illegal overseas ballots. Military regulations prohibited service members from engaging in political activities, while federal laws stated that Congressional officials could not use government offices for partisan activities.

And *Salon* reported that the Bush campaign discussed organizing an illegal post-election, get-out-the-vote drive among overseas military personnel who had yet to cast ballots by Election Day. A call allegedly went out on Nov. 11 to have Republicans encourage military personnel to illegally send in ballots after the voting deadline. Between Nov. 8 and Nov. 13, Florida election

officials received 446 military overseas ballots. But by Nov. 16, that number had ballooned to 2,575. And another almost 1,200 absentee military votes came in on Nov. 17. 14

On Nov. 21, another Republican judge rebuked Democrats. U.S. District Judge Sydney A. Fitzwater, a Reagan appointee in Dallas, ruled that Cheney was legally a Wyoming resident even though he had lived in the Dallas area since at least 1995. Three Dallas County voters filed the lawsuit, asking that Texas' 32 electoral votes not go to the Republicans because Cheney and Bush violated the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, which stated that the president and vice president had to reside from different states or forfeit that state's electoral votes.

In his filing, Fort Worth attorney Bill Berenson said Cheney still owned his home in the exclusive Dallas suburb of Highland Park, had a Texas driver's license, listed himself as a Texas resident on income-tax returns, and worked most recently as CEO of Dallas-based oil company Halliburton. Cheney got around the Constitution merely by switching his voter registration back to Wyoming in July 2000 and continued to live in the Dallas area. Television cameras recorded him coming out of his Texas home several times after Nov. 7, 2000.

Furthermore, Cheney did not sell his \$2.2 million, 4,700-square-foot home until Nov. 30, 2000, well after the election, to Dianne T. Cash, a wealthy Republican Party and high society donor, Dallas County records showed. 15 The Cheneys did not disclose how much they sold their home for, but they were originally seeking \$3.5 million. The new value of the property was \$2.2 million, as of July 2001, meaning the Cheneys dropped their original price substantially, perhaps in an effort to get rid of the home as soon as possible.

Records also showed that Cash owned another \$2.4 million, 6,400-square-foot home in Highland Park, as of July 2001. Why does one person need two mansions in the same neighborhood? From Sept. 2000 until Jan. 2001, Cash gave a whopping \$204,433 to national Republican organizations, in addition to buying Cheney's house, according to federal records.

Another piece of evidence that showed Cheney lived in Texas was his appointment in 1996 and reappointment in 2000 to the Southern Methodist University Board of Trustees. SMU is in University Park, another wealthy Dallas suburb right next to Highland Park. Trustees had to attend regular meetings at the university and those who lived outside Texas were rarely chosen. On the day Bush selected Cheney as his vice presidential candidate in July 2000, SMU put out a press release which began, "Dallas oil company executive Dick Cheney, who was selected today by Texas Gov. George W. Bush to be his vice presidential running mate, has served Southern Methodist University in a variety of capacities. Cheney was named to the SMU Board of Trustees in 1996 and was recently appointed to another four-year term..." The SMU public relations people knew he lived in Dallas. A further interesting SMU tie was that Laura Bush was also selected as a trustee in 2000. 16

Despite such evidence, in December 2000, a three-member appeals panel - comprised of all Republican judges - affirmed the lower court's decision that Cheney was a Wyoming resident on Nov. 7. So it went.

Paid Republican thugs get violent

On Nov. 21, Gore gained a victory when the Florida Supreme Court ruled 7-0 that Harris must include the hand counts in the state's final results. "Although error cannot be completely eliminated in any tabulation of the ballots, our society has not yet gone so far as to place blind faith in machines," the court said. "In almost all endeavors, including elections, humans routinely correct the errors of machines."

In a televised address in his Washington residence, Gore said, “I don’t know whether Gov. Bush or I will prevail. But we do know that our Democracy is the winner tonight.”

Predictably, Republicans were furious. They even allowed Bush to say some prepared remarks on Nov. 22, during which he misrepresented the role of the judicial branch. “We believe the court overreached. Writing laws is the duty of the legislature; administering laws is the duty of the executive branch,” Bush misstated. 17

Meanwhile, Republican leaders like U.S. Rep. Dick Armey of Texas called for the Florida legislature to ignore the results if the counts had Gore going ahead and install Bush as the winner anyway. Other Republicans put out a plea for operatives across the country to descend on Miami-Dade County the following day to stage a demonstration that turned riotous. The Bush campaign tried to portray the violent demonstration as being entirely spontaneous, but reports leaked out how key Congressional Washington, D.C., leaders like U.S. House Republican Whip Tom DeLay of Texas lured more than 200 staff members to Florida through promises of all-expenses-paid trips to luxurious, beachfront hotels and an exclusive VIP party in Fort Lauderdale.

Among the rent-a-mob members were Tom Pyle, policy analyst from the office of DeLay; Garry Malphrus, majority chief counsel and staff director of the House Judiciary subcommittee on criminal justice; Rory Cooper, political division staff member at the National Republican Congressional Committee; Matt Schlapp, former chief of staff for Rep. Todd Tiahrt, R-Kan., and a Bush campaign staffer in Austin; Roger Morse, aide to Rep. Van Hilleary, R-Tenn.; Duane Gibson, aide to Rep. Don Young, R-Alaska, who chaired the House Resources Committee; Chuck Royal, legislative assistant to Rep. Jim DeMint, R-S.C.; Kevin Smith, former House Republican conference analyst who also worked for Voter.com; Steven Brophy, former aide to Sen. Fred D. Thompson, R-Tenn.; and Layna McConkey, former legislative assistant to former Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot, R-Iowa. The trips possibly violated federal laws that prohibited Congressional staffers from engaging in partisan political activities on company time. 18

The protests were coordinated from a motor home decorated with Bush-Cheney campaign propaganda parked near the county elections offices in Miami. Similar to a secret society like Yale’s Skulls & Crossbones that the Bush men belonged to, the operation was kept as quiet as possible, with notes detailing instructions slipped under hotel room doors late at night.

For the first riot on Nov. 22, the angry mob of protesters, who were brought to the scene in special buses and did not obtain a permit as most protesters are required to do, targeted the counting process that had been closed to the public so counters could do their jobs. They charged into the halls just outside the rooms where counters were trying to work. Pumping their fists in the air like they were coached, the protesters, some of whom had bullhorns, yelled at startled volunteers and employees as panicked sheriff’s deputies tried to stop them and closed the doors leading to the counting area. Protesters refused to heed the authorities, who were outmanned, although they could have arrested some. The mob rushed past them and began loudly pounding on the doors and a large window looking in on canvassers.

The authors have been involved in numerous protests against the nuclear weapons buildup, Republican policies, and other evils, but not one in which paid participants struck property like this one. The demonstrations we were involved in were strictly controlled, and anyone who even hinted of violence was quickly arrested. Therefore, it was amazing that authorities did not arrest any of these violent, Republican-paid protesters.

As if yelling and pounding on doors and windows were not enough, the mob attacked Joe Geller, the chairman of the Dade County Democratic Party as he tried to leave the scene. Some shouted that Geller was trying to steal a ballot, which turned out to be a standard blank sample

ballot. The mob chased Geller outside the building, surrounded him, and beat and kicked him as he tried to shield himself with his arms. Finally, police arrived and broke up the assault. 19

Back inside, the mob attacked other Democrats. Party spokesman Luis Rosero was shoved, punched, and kicked as protesters cornered him outside the election supervisor's office. Even Congressman Peter Deutsch was assaulted. As word came that 1,000 Cuban-Americans were on their way to join the violent mob provoked by influential Spanish-language radio station Radio Mambi, the canvassing board decided the process would be reopened to the public. A little later, the local election board decided to back down to the Republican thugs and disband the hand counts. Miami-Dade Election Supervisor David Leahy at first admitted that the violent attacks played a role in the decision to stop the counts, then later denied that.

U.S. Rep. Carrie Meek, D-Fla., said the mob was trained to stifle opposition through intimidation. "I have been through threatening situations, but this was the worst I've seen in a long time," she said. "Anybody supporting Gore, they wouldn't let speak. They looked very hostile, and they sounded very hostile and it didn't make any difference what I had to say. They were trained to shout people down." 20

Arthur Buonamia, district chairman of the Miami-Dade County Democratic Executive Committee, told Meria Heller on her Internet radio show that he witnessed the mob attack numerous other people, including women, who were rallying to support counting votes. Several had head injuries and had to go to emergency rooms, he said. The media ignored the violence, Buonamia said. 21

With the mission accomplished in Miami, the Republican thugs moved on to Broward County. They were joined by some activists who were members of the Cuban American National Foundation, a right-wing organization with ties to the CIA. With the Miami protests broadcast on CNN, authorities were better prepared in Broward and kept Democrats from being assaulted. Even so, one protester hurled a brick through the county Democratic Party headquarters. 22

Other paid Republican protesters staged demonstrations in Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach. At the latter, a mob surrounded some Democrats, including the Rev. Al Sharpton, who exchanged shouts. But no physical violence erupted. When it was all over, the Republican thugs received their VIP party with singer Wayne Newton providing entertainment. Bush and Cheney even called the party-goers to thank them for the violence and crack jokes about Democrats.

The Republican protests were even more suspicious in that they resembled actions organized by key Bush Sr. officials and the CIA in 1990 during Bulgaria's first post-Communist elections. There, protesters paid by millions in covert U.S. financing organized large street protests that succeeded in driving out the elected Communist leaders whom impartial observers agreed won the election fair and square.

And who was among the U.S. coordinators of these Bulgarian demonstrations? James Baker, the pointman for the Bush campaign's post-election war. 23

Harris certifies her man

Two days after the Miami riot, the Republicans got some more good news. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear Bush's lawsuit challenging the Florida Supreme Court's decision to allow hand counts. And Cheney, who suffered a heart attack a few days earlier presumably over guilt from violating the 12th Amendment, was released from the hospital. But he would suffer another heart attack three months later.

On Nov. 26, Harris defied the Florida Supreme Court and certified Bush as the winner by a 537-vote margin. Bush claimed he won again and started his transition team with - surprise - Cheney leading the effort. Cheney had led Bush's committee to pick a vice president and decided no one could do the job better than he, bad heart or not. But the Clinton Administration would have no part of such a scheme and refused to turn over transition office space to Bush, saying the race wasn't settled.

In his televised remarks, Bush even had the gall to claim all of the votes had been counted. "But now that the votes are counted, it is time for the votes to count," he said. "The vice president's lawyers have indicated he will challenge the certified election results. I respectfully ask him to reconsider. Until Florida's votes were certified, the vice president was working to represent the interests of those who supported him. I didn't agree with his call for additional recounts, but I respected his decision to fight until the votes were finally certified. Now that they are certified, we enter a different phase. If the vice president chooses to go forward, he is filing a contest to the outcome of the election, and that is not the best route for America." 24

Knowing that Bush's comments were just more hot air, Gore contested Harris' vote certification in a Leon County state court the following day. In a stirring televised address, Gore rightly pointed out that all votes had not been counted and put the blame for the election delays where it should be, with the Republicans.

"Ignoring votes means ignoring Democracy itself. And if we ignore the votes of thousands in Florida in this election, how can you or any American have confidence that your vote will not be ignored in a future election? That is all we have asked since Election Day: a complete count of all the votes cast in Florida. Not recount after recount as some have charged, but a single, full and accurate count," Gore said. "We haven't had that yet. Great efforts have been made to prevent the counting of these votes. Lawsuit after lawsuit has been filed to delay the count and to stop the counting for many precious days between Election Day and the deadline for having the count finished. And this would be over long since, except for those efforts to block the process at every turn.

"In one county, election officials brought the count to a premature end in the face of organized intimidation. In a number of counties, votes that had been fairly counted were simply set aside. And many thousands of votes that were cast on Election Day have not yet been counted at all, not once. There are some who would have us bring this election to the fastest conclusion possible. I have a different view. I believe our Constitution matters more than convenience. So, as provided under Florida law, I have decided to contest this inaccurate and incomplete count, in order to ensure the greatest possible credibility for the outcome....

"This is America. When votes are cast, we count them. We don't arbitrarily set them aside because it's too difficult to count them. In the end, in one of God's unforeseen paths, this election may point us all to a new common ground, for its very closeness can serve to remind us that we are one people, with a shared history and a shared destiny. So this extraordinary moment should summon all of us to become what we profess to be: one indivisible nation. Let us pledge ourselves to the ideal that the people's will should be heard and heeded, and then, together, let us find what is best in ourselves and seek what is best for America.

"Two hundred years from now, when future Americans study this presidential election, let them learn that Americans did everything they could to ensure that all citizens who voted had their votes counted. Let them learn that Democracy was ultimately placed ahead of partisan politics in resolving a contested election. Let them learn that we were indeed a country of laws." 25

More Republican lies

But the only laws Republicans wanted to obey were ones that benefited them. And the Bush campaign made sure that Bush spoke on his behalf as little as possible and only in prepared remarks. Baker and campaign spokesman Karen Hughes handled most responses after Gore filed his election certification challenge.

Hughes reiterated the Republican Party line about how they had already won and Gore only wanted to change the rules - when he was merely following the established rules for getting an accurate count - in a press statement. "The original count, recount, and certification deadline are all behind us. The selective manual recounts and post-election, court-imposed deadline for certification of Florida's votes are behind us," she said.

"Now, having come up short in all those counts and all those times, Vice President Gore is proposing to make up yet another set of rules. He proposes yet another count and yet another deadline," Hughes continued. "We have previously talked about attempts to change the rules in the middle of the game. Now, regrettably, it appears the vice president wants to go back and change the rules after the counting is over." 26

In the midst of the legal battle, another strange scene emerged: a Ryder truck carrying 463,000 ballots from Palm Beach County to a courthouse in Tallahassee on Nov. 30 after a judge requested them for a possible recount. Some in the national media covered that boring truck ride with more enthusiasm than the real issues of the election. It was like they were covering O.J. Simpson, who was embraced by the Banana Republic of Florida when even California wouldn't have him after he beat the double murder rap, trying to elude the police. And all that attention went for naught, as the state judge in the case, Sanders Sauls, didn't even examine the ballots.

On Dec. 1, the U.S. Supremes heard arguments from Republican and Democratic attorneys over the Florida Supreme Court's decision to allow hand recounts to continue. Outside the court, hundreds of people, including from Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, conducted a prayer vigil to call for fairness. Rev. Jackson also called for the Justice Department to investigate voter fraud and intimidation in Florida. "American Democracy ensures that every vote counts, and everybody counts," he said. "Not to honor this treasured American ideal threatens the foundation of fairness and Democracy, upon which this nation is built." 27

But in Florida on the same day, the Supreme Court there rejected the Gore campaign's request for an immediate recount, as well as a request from Palm Beach County residents to grant relief from the butterfly ballot.

Two days later, the Miami Herald published a blockbuster report that analyzed all of Florida's 5,885 precincts and concluded that Gore would have won by a whopping 23,000 votes - much more than the 537-vote margin that Harris gave to her candidate - if every ballot had been counted the way voters intended. The analysis was conducted by Stephen Doig, an Arizona State University professor and Pulitzer Prize winner, who examined all of the undervotes - ballots that didn't record a vote for president - and overvotes - ballots that had more than one presidential candidate marked. 28

The study confirmed what Democrats long suspected and many believed was no accident - voters in Democratic precincts had a much greater chance of having their ballots rejected than those in Republican precincts. Only one of 40 ballots was rejected in precincts that Bush won, while one of 27 ballots was tossed in precincts Gore won. Many more ballots in counties that used punch cards rather than optical systems - such as Democratic strong centers like Palm Beach and Broward - were rejected, the study concluded.

Another study by Democrats.com found that hundreds, maybe thousands, of Florida votes for Gore and Bush were not counted because marks in the “write-in” section of the ballots caused election officials to incorrectly treat the ballots as overvotes. The legally valid votes were wrongly rejected by machines and elections officials failed to correct the machines’ mistakes. Such votes were illegally excluded from the certified totals of at least eight counties, including Lake and Duval. Florida law stated that every ballot that had a potential write-in vote must be examined in person, separately from the machine-counted ballots. This was not done in those counties. 29

Of course, such studies were ignored by Republicans. On Dec. 3, Cheney went on national talk shows and urged Gore to concede, suggesting he was harming the country and the economy by trying to gain the office Gore had rightfully won. Cheney, himself, helped bring down the economy by suggesting there would soon be a recession, trying to blame it on the Clinton-Gore Administration and lower Republicans’ expectations.

And the following day, the Herald study - and a legal brief that the ACLU filed urging the Supremes to let the Florida courts settle their own state’s matter - were ignored by the arch-conservative faction on the U.S. Supreme Court, led by Antonio Scalia. The right-wing court set aside the Florida Supreme Court’s ruling that extended the hand count deadline, dealing Gore a major blow.

On the same day, state Judge Sanders Sauls rejected the Gore campaign’s challenge of Florida’s certified result, and Gore appealed to the friendlier Florida Supreme Court.

On Dec. 6, another large demonstration attracted hundreds, including Rev. Jackson, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, and National Organization of Women President Patricia Ireland, outside Florida’s state capital. They noted that the Republican-dominated Florida Legislature was preparing to meet in a special session to hand Florida’s 25 electors to Bush.

“The Voting Rights Act of 1965, Section II, assures us of federal protection over the whims of state rights,” Jackson said. “The focus has been on chads and dimples, but the issues are really about intentionality, irregularity, and illegality.” 30

Florida Supremes give Gore hope

December 8 did not begin on a high note for Gore. The cases of Republicans illegally filling out absentee ballots in Martin and Seminole counties were rejected by the two Leon County circuit judges. Only the Florida Supreme Court could save Gore now.

The Democrat-strong court came through soon after the Leon County cases were announced with a gutsy 4-3 ruling that reversed Sauls and ordered a manual recount of undervotes in all Florida counties that had yet to be counted. “In close elections, the necessity for counting all legal votes becomes critical,” the court said. “This election should be determined by a careful examination of the votes of Florida’s citizens and not by strategies extraneous to the voting process.”

The court also criticized Judge Sauls for refusing to review ballots. “The trial court has presented the plaintiffs with the ultimate Catch-22, acceptance of the only evidence that will resolve the issue but a refusal to examine such evidence,” the court wrote. 31

The court called for as many as 170,000 ballots in 64 counties to be recounted - all but Palm Beach, Broward, and Volusia counties, where manual recounts had been completed. The decision whittled Bush’s lead to an ever-so-close 154 votes, counting undervotes in Palm Beach and Miami-Dade.

The Gore campaign was ecstatic. Campaign manager Daley said the ruling was “not just a victory for Al Gore and his millions of supporters. It is a victory for fairness and accountability in our Democracy itself.” 32

Numerous Democratic Congress reps also embraced the decision. “There is no harm in taking the time to allow our courts and legislative bodies, state and federal, to make sure that the right of every voting citizen is protected,” said Congresswoman Eva M. Clayton, the first woman elected to Congress from North Carolina. “On the other hand, it would do great harm to our Democracy and shake the very foundations of our republic, if the votes of even one, let alone thousands of citizens are discounted.” 33

The Bush campaign immediately appealed the decision to the U.S. Supremes. “This is what happens when for the first time in modern history, a candidate resorts to lawsuits to try to overturn the outcome of an election for president,” said Baker, who is obviously not a historian. 33 There had been legal challenges to presidential elections before in modern times, including by the Republicans in 1960. And it was the Republicans who filed the first lawsuit, remember, Baker?

Baker also hinted he knew what the U.S. extremes would do - was there an underhanded deal involved there? “The Florida Supreme Court’s ruling placed “the court once again at odds with sound judgments of Florida’s lower courts, the Florida Legislature, local election officials, and, in our view, the U.S. Supreme Court,” he said.

Nonetheless, the next day, volunteers throughout Florida went to county election offices to start counting - once again. It would be the shortest count in this process, thanks to the U.S. supreme partisans.

U.S. extremes strike again

Only a few hours after some volunteers started counting ballots in Florida, the extremists on the U.S. Supreme Court struck again. By a 5-4 vote along ideological lines, the court ordered the counts stopped and set a hearing on the case for Dec. 11 in Washington, D.C.

In a signed document, some 673 U.S. law professors stated there was no valid basis in law for the justices to grant the emergency injunction to halt the vote count. NYU law professor Ronald Dworkin even said the five arch-conservative justices crafted a bogus opinion simply to install Bush. In an unusual move that put his prejudism in the case on public display, Scalia wrote a statement asserting that Bush had the stronger argument, or “a substantial probability of success.” How could Bush lose with this Republican-dominated court?

The hearing was just a formality as the five arch-conservatives on the court - Scalia, Clarence Thomas, William Rehnquist, Anthony Kennedy, and Sandra O’Connor - obviously had their minds made up long before. Indeed, when the networks first called Florida for Gore on Nov. 7, O’Connor commented at a party how terrible that was and that now she couldn’t retire since a Democrat could pick her successor. Besides being members of the arch-conservative Federalist Society, Scalia and Thomas had obvious conflicts in the case. Scalia’s two sons were both lawyers working for Bush at the time he heard this case, one of whom later received a high-level position with the Bush administration as a partial payback. Thomas’s wife was also collecting applications for people who wanted to work in the Bush administration at the time he heard the case. Rehnquist and Kennedy also reportedly had conflicts in the case. No one excused himself from the case.

On Dec. 12, the court ruled 7-2 that the Florida Supreme Court’s decision to allow more recounts violated Bush’s right to equal protection under the Constitution. But the justices said nothing about Gore’s right to have votes counted and the disqualified voters’ rights to have their

voices heard. And the court ruled 5-4 that new recounts in Florida should not be ordered to remedy the problem since there was no time to do so. In fact, the court hypocritically set a binding deadline to have results in for 10 p.m. on Dec. 12 despite criticizing the Florida Supreme Court for arbitrarily setting a deadline.

Even though the Florida Legislature was set to certify results on Dec. 12, Gore could have kept fighting. Jan. 6, 2001, the day Congress was to certify results, was the actual deadline for states to get their results done. In 1960, Hawaii's votes weren't counted until Jan. 4. But Gore conceded.

As many legal experts noted, what the Supreme Court's decision did in effect was select Bush as president, despite almost 200,000 votes in the pivotal state of Florida remaining uncounted. Mark H. Levine, a Los Angeles attorney who graduated from the Yale Law School, noted that the five ultraconservative justices who supported the federal government getting involved in a state issue in the Gore case had ruled just the opposite in some previous cases, such as whether to tell states it had to bar guns from schools or force them to take measures to stop violence against women.

Levine called it "the Gore exception. States have no rights to have their own state elections when it can result in Gore being elected president. This decision is limited to only this situation." 35

Then there was a *New York Times* ad than ran shortly afterwards with the names of more than 550 law school professors that criticized the decision. "The five justices were acting as political proponents for candidate Bush, not as judges," the ad said. "It is not the job of a federal court to stop votes from being counted. By stopping the recount in the middle, the five justices acted to suppress the facts." 36

In his best-selling book, *The Betrayal of America: How the Supreme Court Undermined the Constitution and Chose Our President*, Vincent Bugliosi, a former Los Angeles deputy district attorney and author of books on O.J. Simpson and Charles Manson, ripped apart the Supreme Court's ruling. "The court committed the unpardonable sin of being a knowing surrogate for the Republican Party instead of being an impartial arbiter of the law," he wrote. "The U.S. Supreme Court was looking for a way, any way at all, to steal the election for their candidate, Bush." 37

Bugliosi, who wrote that he considered himself to be a moderate with both liberal and conservative friends, also said that the Florida Supreme Court based its decisions on solid legal principles, unlike the U.S. court. "The Florida Supreme Court was in a Catch-22 situation," he wrote. "One can't win when the other side [the U.S. Supreme Court] not only holds all the cards, but has the morals of an alley cat."

Alan Dershowitz, a Harvard University law professor who represented Palm Beach County residents in one case, detailed a similar opinion in another book, *Supreme Injustice: How the High Court Hijacked Election 2000*. "The unprecedented decision of the five justices to substitute their political judgment for that of the people threatens to undermine the moral authority of the high court for generations to come," he wrote in the introduction. 38

The other U.S. Supreme Court justices who didn't go along with the majority had some interesting comments in their dissenting opinions. "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law," said Justice John Paul Stevens, a Republican appointed by Gerald Ford. 39

"Before this court stayed the effort to [manually recount the ballots] the courts of Florida were ready to do their best to get that job done. There is no justification for denying the state the

opportunity to try to count all the disputed ballots now,” said Justice David Souter, a Republican appointed by Bush Sr. 40

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, a Democrat appointed by Clinton, noted that Rehnquist’s reasoning came down to how the counting of votes would “disrupt” Florida’s “Republican regime.” She said that the five justices’ assumption that time will not permit an “orderly judicial review of any disputed matters” did not hold water since the Florida Supreme Court had produced “two substantial opinions” within 29 hours of oral arguments. “The Court’s conclusion that a constitutionally adequate recount is impractical is a prophecy the Court’s own judgment will not allow to be tested,” Justice Ginsburg wrote. “Such an untested prophecy should not decide the Presidency of the United States.” 41

And Justice Steven Breyer, another Democrat appointed by Clinton, added, “There is no justification for the majority’s remedy...[We] risk a self-inflicted wound - a wound that may harm not just the court, but the nation.” 42

What the decision came down to was this: the only votes in this entire election out of more than 100 million cast around the U.S. that really counted were the votes of the five arch-conservatives on the U.S. Supreme Court.

“America is not a Democracy [now],” Levine said. “In America, in the year 2000, the guy with the most U.S. Supreme Court votes wins.” 43

A month after the decision, Justice Souter expressed frustration over the decision when speaking to a group of prep-school students from Choate, according to *The Accidental President*, a book by Newsweek Senior Writer David Kaplan. “If he’d had ‘one more day - one more day,’ he would have been able to convince Justice Kennedy to join the righteous four justices, Souter told the Choate students. Kaplan also said Justice Breyer called the decision “the most outrageous, indefensible thing the court had ever done” in discussions with some visiting Russian judges. 44

The court’s decision was a mortal blow to Democracy, said Bob Fertik, co-founder of Democrats.com, an Internet site for progressive Democrats launched in August 2000. “Even though American elections have been decided by hand counts since the very beginning of our nation, the Supreme Court ruled for the first time that hand counts violated our Constitution,” he said. “Of course, this decision was absurd on its face. It only discredited the narrow Republican majority of the Supreme Court, which violated its two sacred conservative principles - original intent and federalism - to reach its illegitimate decision.” 45

The decision made it harder for people to believe the nation’s highest court was nonpartisan, said Democratic Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson from Texas, the chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus. “It is almost as if we suddenly found out that God plays favorites,” she said. “We run the significant risk of an international perception that no matter the will of the people, no matter what the law says, Democracy in this country only works as long as it works for the forces of entrenched power.” 46

California Congresswoman Barbara Lee, who in early December met with Attorney General Janet Reno and Justice Department officials to request a full-scale investigation of voting rights violations in Florida, said the decision forever changed the way Americans viewed the U.S. Supreme Court. “The court once stood as the protector of Americans who have been mistreated by our political system, but now will be realized as another political body with its own agenda,” she said. 47

And Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr., D-Ill., called the Supreme Court decision “a potential threat to our Democracy and potentially de-stabilizing to our Democratic institutions.” Scalia saying there was no legal right of suffrage in the Constitution means that lawmakers “may need to amend the

Constitution making the right to vote - which all Americans thought was implicit in our Constitution and laws - explicit in the Constitution. This decision, with the kind of thinking reflected by Justice Scalia, is a threat to our Democracy. It is hard to imagine that *Bush v. Gore* will be viewed as a high water mark in the history of the Supreme Court when viewed through the eyes of history. It will more likely be compared to other infamous decisions such as *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson*.” 48

His father, Rev. Jackson, expounded on those prior bigoted court decisions. “In *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court established a precedent - it aligned itself with the oppressive forces of bigotry and racial injustice,” he noted. “But in the wake of those decisions, people of conscience set their own precedent. They took it upon themselves to fight for their principles, and gradually, this righteous, non-violent movement won out.” 49

The court’s decision was not only bad for Democracy, but bad for Bush, Rev. Jackson noted. “Who wants to be sworn in as president by default? [Bush, of course.] The Supreme Court has said, there ought to be a full count of the votes, but there is no time for that. So, we have to settle for Bush.”

Rev. Jackson all-but predicted another grassroots movement rising. “When the right ingredients are present and the fuse is lit, an explosion happens...[In the 1950s and 1960s] the explosion took the form of a massive, nationwide, grassroots struggle to end legal segregation and ensure the right to vote for all citizens. These rights are gradually being eroded away, as evidenced by the violations of the Voting Rights Act that took place in Florida,” he said. “Our lesson today is that the fight that our parents and grandparents fought, a fight that many of us remember participating in, must never cease. In order for justice to prevail, the civil rights struggle must continue.”

Even some Republicans were uncomfortable with their party’s position in the post-election battle. In an essay entitled “*Bush’s Coup: The Fall of Democracy in America*,” W. John Walsh, Webmaster of the Mormon’s site, acknowledged he supported Bush. But he noted, “It’s important to note that at no time has anyone from the Republican side actually claimed that any substantial portion of the disputed ballots [in Florida] were cast for Bush. Their position is relatively simple: they know the votes were cast for Gore [at least the vast majority of them], they just want to find some way to legally exclude them from the totals. That someone would take this position is absolutely amazing to me.” 50

Bush also had to be held ultimately responsible for trying to intimidate people from voting, Walsh said. “His supporters called people and gave them false information about what was required to vote to discourage them from going to the polls. That these calls were made is indisputable. Can we prove that Bush was responsible for them? Perhaps we may never tie him personally to these actions from a legal point of view, but he can be directly tied from a moral perspective,” he said.

Added author and conservative commentator Kevin Phillips on National Public Radio: “Stealing Florida once left only a small ripple in the history books. Stealing it twice could leave a deep and damning stain on the Republican Party.” 51

The day Democracy died

While Gore spent most of Dec. 13 figuring out what to say in his concession speech, others urged him not to concede. Fertik outlined six ways Gore could still become president:

1) Gore could add his voice to the lawsuits in Seminole and Martin counties, which could be appealed to the Supreme Court using the equal protection amendment claim that Bush employed.

2) Gore could join the lawsuit challenging Cheney's residence, which was appealed to the Supreme Court.

3) Legislatures that had Democratic majorities in eight states that Bush won - Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia - could do what the Republican-dominated Florida Legislature was doing and override the voters in their states, switching their electors to Gore.

4) Three Republican electors could switch to Gore since in most states such electors were not required by law to vote for the candidate that voters chose.

5) Congressional Republican could switch parties or vote with Democrats to refuse to count Florida's 25 electors.

6) Bush could concede "for the good of the nation" to Gore, who had the stronger moral claim to victory.

"Gore has been the underdog from the beginning of the campaign," Fertik noted. "But he fought back from a 20-point deficit with determination and honor. Gore should continue fighting until he wins - not for himself, but for the good of the nation and our now-endangered Democracy." 52

Of course, the Florida Legislature did not care about such concerns. It spent much of the day devising ways to declare Bush the winner of the state's electoral votes even if the counts somehow went forward and Gore was rightfully found to be the winner in Florida. It seemed Republicans would do anything to hand the election to Bush even if he really didn't win.

With all that against him, Gore caved in to Republicans and most of the media, many of whom opined that Gore had already damaged a possible 2004 White House run by fighting more than a month. Gore was too gracious in his speech, going so far as to call for an end to "partisan rancor," as if Republicans would ever do that. He got in a bit of a shot to the highest court, saying he "strongly disagreed" with the U.S. Supreme Court but accepted it. He also got in a bit of a shot to Bush dodging the Vietnam draft by getting in the National Guard, where Bush went AWOL for months, as Gore referred to his service "from Vietnam to the vice presidency."

"I know that many of my supporters are disappointed. I am, too," Gore said. "But our disappointment must be overcome by our love of country... And while there will be time enough to debate our continuing differences, now is the time to recognize that that which unites us is greater than that which divides us." 53

Gore spoke about having one regret: "That I didn't get the chance to stay and fight for the American people over the next four years, especially for those who need burdens lifted and barriers removed, especially for those who feel their voices have not been heard. I heard you and I will not forget," Gore said. "I've seen America in this campaign, and I like what I see. It's worth fighting for and that's a fight I'll never stop. As for the battle that ends tonight, I do believe as my father once said, that no matter how hard the loss, defeat might serve as well as victory to shape the soul and let the glory out."

Meanwhile, Bush's speech, given from the Texas House of Representative's chamber in Austin, was more self-serving and insincere, and he predictably said nothing about continuing election troubles in Florida and other states. He also glossed over his Texas record, saying the Texas Legislature was "a place where Democrats have the majority, Republicans and Democrats have worked together to do what is right for the people we represent. We've had spirited

disagreements, and in the end, we found constructive consensus. It is an experience I will always carry with me, an example I will always follow.” 54

Bush neglected to mention how he fought all of the small gains made in such areas as healthcare, the environment, and wages in Texas. And that Bush worked with relatively few Democrats - only the ones who mostly agreed with him and would compromise their beliefs.

“[Bush] fought us on everything,” said state Rep. Lon Burnam, a Democrat from Fort Worth who was part of a truth squad that visited key battleground states before the election. “It took a lot of work to get any measure that would help more than just his contributors passed.”

Rep. Burnam was one of many Democrat House members not invited to the chamber for this speech in a typical Bush act of show over substance. All that mattered was Bush said that Democrats and Republicans were there listening to the speech - and most in the media bought it.

In the end, it was typical. Even in the moments after their White House theft was secure, after the Republican-led Florida voting roll purge, after Republicans denied African Americans and others their voting rights even when they had their legal registration cards, after throwing away legal, mostly Democratic votes, after the illegal Republican absentee balloting campaign, after polling sites were moved without notice, after some voters were denied their right to a second and third ballot, after non-English speaking voters were not supplied with an interpreter, after phone lines to central voting databases were blocked, after Democratic voters were given misleading instructions by a Republican election official, after carpools taking voters to the polls were stopped by police and harassed for not having a taxi license, after police put up a barricaded checkpoint near a largely black voting site, after some voters were told there were no more ballots and others were told there were ballots, after Republicans forced military overseas votes that did not have a witness’s signature or postmark to be counted but denied mostly Democrats’ votes who made similar errors, after the U.S. Supreme Court partisan decisions, after violating the 12th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, after the partisan decisions by Harris to certify Bush as Florida’s victor, after the butterfly ballot and others that confused voters, after the lies and propaganda that included blaming Gore for delays when Republicans filed the lawsuits blocking and delaying the legal vote-counting process, after the broken campaign promises like “I will abide by the will of the people,” Bush and the Republicans could not stop deceiving people.

Hail to the thief, indeed.

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As each day passes, my anger and outrage grow [regarding] the fraud residing in the White House.
- Robbie Small, Broward County, Fla.

Chapter III. Patriots Revolt

On a warm, partly cloudy day, four months into the illegitimate Bush regime, a wondrous sight greeted us along Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and Capitol.

We had arrived in Washington, D.C., shortly before noon on May 19. We drove around the Capitol, searching for the Voter Rights March. The march, organized by relatively new grassroots groups like Voter March that had grown in the aftermath of the stolen 2000 election, coincided with Armed Forces Day and Malcolm X's birthday.

How many others would still be angry enough to show up to make this important statement? How many people had just moved on with their lives after the Constitutional massacre, resigned that there was nothing they really could do about the theft of the White House?

In the preceding months, Bush's audacity and speed in which he moved on his far-right agenda had astonished many people. From Ashcroft to drilling for oil on protected lands, from dismantling workers' protections to pushing for a huge tax cut for the super wealthy, the Bush regime was proving to lean even farther to the right than his father's. And maybe even farther right than Reagan, although that was debatable.

It was discouraging, though not surprising, that Bush had broken campaign promise after campaign promise, from a pledge to supposedly restore honor and civility in Washington to a promise to regulate carbon dioxide emissions from power plants. The honor pledge started going out the door the moment Bush accepted the Supreme Court's dishonorable decision. If Bush's "major league asshole" crack during the campaign didn't do it, Cheney took care of the civility pledge, as his office already had received the nickname, "The Torture Chamber." It seemed Bush and Cheney spent more time trying to pay back wealthy campaign contributors and corporate interests than work on programs that would actually help lower- and middle-income people.

"Where is everyone?" Sharon asked as we circled the Capitol grounds. We only saw a handful of people on the Capitol steps and wondered if the turnout would be that dismal.

"Hopefully, more people will show up," Jackson said. "Let's hope so."

The Washington visit had been interesting so far. We had been heartened to hear about the efforts of a community group to save the natural area - which included habitat for bald eagles among the grassy marshes along Chesapeake Bay - from urban sprawl. The group, South Arundel Citizens for Responsible Development [SACReD], had stopped huge developments mostly the old-fashioned community activist way, with little money, employing protests, handing out leaflets, speaking at public meetings, using "true Democracy."

We had even witnessed another effective organization, Denver-based American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today [ADAPT], a national grassroots disability rights group, in action. Some 500 wheelchair-bound people from across the country rallied in front of the White House to protest Bush's lack of action on disability issues and potential appointment of judges who would gut the Americans with Disabilities Act. They held signs that pointed out how Bush had broken a

campaign promise to sign an executive order to implement the Supreme Court's Olmstead decision that would help people live in real homes, not nursing homes.

"The ADAPT Report Card had to give the president failing grades on disability issues for his first 100 days," said Barbara Toomer, ADAPT state organizer in Utah. "It's been over 100 days since he committed to issue the Olmstead executive order. Without the order and some funding to help the states achieve the swift implementation he wrote about, Bush's New Freedom Initiative remains a No Freedom Initiative." The protest was successful in forcing some Bush administration officials to meet with ADAPT leaders and agree to many of their requests, including the Olmstead order. 1

Joining the patriots

With such clear-cut examples of effective protests in mind, we parked and walked to the Capitol steps. There, some people informed us that most people were still at a pre-march rally outside the White House in Lafayette Park, where a gutsy woman named Concepcion Picciotto had lived since 1981 protesting the nuclear arms race. Usually joined by friend William Thomas, Concepcion said the Clinton administration had been kinder to them than the Reagan and Bush regimes, which put up more restrictions to try to get them to leave. They had been banished to another area for the first couple months of the W. Bush occupation even though Lafayette was a public park. The pair had survived daily harassment by police, physical assaults by U.S. Marine John Deming, who viciously punched them both and called them racial slurs in an unprovoked 1984 attack, and all sorts of weather to make their impressive statement on the need to preserve humanity. 2

One march participant, Jeannine Ross, a member of the Florida-based Oral Majority that had staged more than 100 protests of Bush since November, said she wouldn't have talked to Concepcion and William a year ago. "I would have thought their method was 'nuts.' Well, a lot has happened in the last year to change me," she said. "I understand their struggle now. They are good people doing something extraordinary. They are dedicating their lives for the greater good." 3

The crowd heard speeches from the likes of Bob Kunst, the leader of the Oral Majority, Democrats.com's Bob Fertik, and Palm Beach County official Deidre Newton. The speakers addressed the illegitimacy of Bush, how those who embraced American ideals had to work harder to oust him. World War II veteran Sgt. Joe Crisalli talked about the duty of patriotic Americans to fight a "new attack of tyranny and fascism - from within. And it is time to fight again, a fight against the right-wing Republicans who attacked our freedom in their stifling of a fair election in Florida."

Then the more than 1,000 marchers, some of whom traveled as far as California, Washington, Oregon, and Alaska, carried their signs down Pennsylvania Avenue. That was where we first saw the impressive procession that stretched as far as we could see. It was inspiring to see how many people had made the journey, determined to show the Bush administration that we were not going away. Their messages were creative and pointed. Among the signs were these: "Impeach Oilboy Bush and the Rehnquist 5," "Bush = National Disgrace," "Don't Blame Us, We Voted With the Majority," "GOP Stands for Gas, Oil and Petroleum," and "Black Voters Can Go to Hell, Right, W.? Right, Jeb?"

One participant wore a replica of the Capitol building as an associate carried a sign pointing out how money influenced Congress. Another wore a sign with a photo of Bush and the word "ILLEGITIMATE" crossed over it. Another sign depicted Scalia and read, "Wanted for the theft of

the presidency.” Other military veterans were present, carrying banners like one that read, “World War II Veterans Protest the Stolen Election.”

The mainstream media largely ignored this historic march and rally, although the Associated Press ran a photo and CNN carried a short story. There was better coverage for the ADAPT protest by disabled people in front of the White House. And there was better coverage the following day when Greenpeace dumped a bunch of coal and oil in front of Cheney’s residence to rightly point out how Cheney was bought and sold by the coal and oil industries. The creative demonstration by Greenpeace did more than any words could say to show how Cheney was paying back his campaign contributors and former oil company bosses by lobbying hard to open oil exploration on protected federal land, build more coal-burning power plants, and reduce restrictions on emissions at coal plants.

At the Voter Rights March, many people were participating in such a demonstration for the first time, letting the country know that they would not just get over the stolen election. As the marchers passed the Supreme Court, some stopped and vented into a microphone, calling for the five justices who selected Bush as president to resign or be impeached.

Mike Doyle, a 43-year-old hospital workers union representative who had traveled from Connecticut, pointed out how the matter never should have reached the nation’s top court. “Everybody fell asleep in Florida,” he said. “By Florida law, [election workers] have to take out the ballots and see if they can determine the voters’ intent.”

The march was a great lift to those who struggled to oppose Bush, Ross said. “Voter March solidified my belief that the people are on our side,” she said. “We had so much support along the way, and those of us who participated are not giving up!”

On the Capitol steps overlooking the Mall and Washington Monument, speakers reminded participants why they were there. “You are Democracy’s heroes,” said Robert Borosage, a labor movement veteran and co-founder of the Campaign for America’s Future. “We know what they did in Florida last fall. They blocked Democracy, and they stole an election....[U.S. House Republican leader] Dick Armey and the Republican Congress say you all should get over it. I don’t plan on getting over it, and I hope you’re not, either.”

Lou Posner, the march’s main coordinator and a New York attorney listed in Who’s Who in America, noted how Bush had demanded and received a hand recount in New Mexico, and how the Supreme Court forgot about that move in stopping the hand recounts in Florida. “But the high court chose to ignore this inconsistency, this inequality, and by so doing gave aid and comfort to all the irregularities and all the lawbreaking that accompanied this state’s vote,” Posner said. “People who get away with committing crimes with impunity, passed over by the highest court in the land, are only further emboldened to repeat them.”

Michael Rectenwald, the leader of Citizens for Legitimate Government, detailed how the U.S. government had been rendered illegitimate by the high court and other actions. “The standard of electoral Democracy was eliminated when the vote counting for the Florida electorate was abandoned, and judges selected a president,” he said.

Rev. Osagyefo Uhuru Sekou, an organizer of Democracy Summer 2001, a campaign in Florida to help organize a voter reform movement, spoke about how there was a more important matter than worrying about who was in the White House. “The fundamental question is what will we do to strike a blow in the project of freedom?” he said.

Other speakers sounded similar challenges. They included Lenora Fulani, the first black American and woman to run for president in 1988, Phil Berg, the former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania who filed a lawsuit in Florida to overturn the presidential election and another in

Texas challenging Cheney's Wyoming residency that had almost 2,000 plaintiffs, and Jerry Politex, author of the Bushwatch Internet site. There were entertainers like folk singer Jenny Hurwitz and blues band Memphis Gold.

Ronnie Dugger, founder of the Alliance for Democracy and Texas Observer, made a strong case to start a non-violent American Revolution, with people employing civil disobedience to shut down the government and take it back. Calling Bush a tyrant who illegally seized the White House, he spoke of how Bush and the five Supreme Court justices should be impeached, and how Democratic senators should block any of Bush's nominations to the high court. Dugger also called for citizen indictments against Bush, Cheney, Harris, Scalia, Thomas, and others for their role in the "conspiracy to steal the presidency."

"The first step in this revolt is to agree that we will not call Bush president," he added. "This is one unmistakable symbolic way we can nod to each other across political parties, recognize each other across colors, and join together across this beautiful continent as the free Americans who will not accept an appointed president of the United States."

The hundreds of people who stuck around for hours listening to such speeches cheered Dugger, raising their fists. They were angry. They were determined.

They were not going to get over the theft of the presidency.

Internet Democracy

The role of the Internet in helping such a movement to restore a legitimate White House grow was significant. Numerous Web sites like Democrats.com, CounterCoup.org, Legitgov.org, and DemocracyMarch.org flourished as the Bush administration took a harder turn to the right.

Democrats.com actually was started by veteran Democrats David Lytel and Bob Fertik in August 2000 as a voice and tool for Democratic voters and activists to employ the Internet to reach more people. Its first big issue was Internet privacy, under attack by companies like Intel, which employed serial numbers to track computer users, and Microsoft, which collected registration data on all Windows 98 users. 4

Dr. Lytel, who earned a doctorate in political communication from Cornell University, had helped develop Clinton's White House Web site, which in 1995 was called by Hotwired "easily one of the best sites on the Internet." A former Democratic elected official and Congressional campaign manager, Lytel's Internet business clients included Sony and AOL. Fertik had also been a consultant to numerous campaigns, including Geraldine Ferraro's 1998 race for U.S. Senate. He formed an Internet consulting firm called I-Progress, which specialized in working with non-profit organizations. Fertik also co-founded Women Leaders Online, the Women's Voting Guide, and Political Woman Hotline.

Democrats.com started sending out daily emails to people who registered full of news of protest rallies, the twists in Florida, and other events soon after the November election. Within the first few months, the group had organized hundreds of chapters in states across the country, and members numbered more than 40,000. In addition, Democrats.com launched campaigns like SmokingJet.com, which exposed Bush's absence from Air National Guard duty for two years, TrustThePeople.com, which fought for every Florida vote to count and organized rallies, JusticeInFlorida.com, which publicized the Seminole County voter fraud case, and AshcroftLied.com, which highlighted Ashcroft's many lies.

The organization also conducted important legal work, such as collecting thousands of affidavit ballots in Palm Beach County, filing lawsuits related to Cheney's Texas residency,

sending attorneys into several Florida counties to examine thousands of ballots for fraud, and writing the brief for the Congressional Black Caucus to use in challenging Florida's electors.

While TrustThePeople helped spread the word through the Internet of post-election, count-the-vote rallies, CounterCoup.org, a group that formed with a Web site listing rallies across the country on the day after the 2000 election, was the main cog in organizing the demonstrations on Saturday, Nov. 11. CounterCoup was founded by Zack Exley, who said he had low expectations for using the Internet in grassroots organizing as a union organizer in the 1990s. But the 30-something Massachusetts resident, who also worked as a computer programmer and sold anti-Bush merchandise, later used the Internet to great results. He not only formed CounterCoup but started parody sites like one he initiated in Dec. 1998 at gwobush.com, which Bush tried - and failed - to make Exley take down. When Bush made his infamous "there ought to be limits to freedom" quote during the campaign, he was referring to Exley, whom Bush further insulted by calling him a "garbage man."

In Oct. 2000, Exley spent about an hour building a Web site proposing nationwide protests if Gore won the popular vote but lost the Electoral College. When his prophesy came true in one sense - Gore also really won the Electoral College but Republicans stole it - hundreds of people emailed Exley wanting to know who was organizing rallies in their cities. "Like a chain reaction, word of the 'nationwide pro-Democracy protests' was spreading across the Internet," Exley wrote on his CounterCoup site. "Everyone wanted to know who was planning the protest in their city. I emailed them all back saying, 'These are spontaneous protests, no one is organizing them -- just show up! People will be there!' I tried to make a list of people willing to be local contacts, but it turned out to be too much to coordinate." 5

Exley linked the site to a Web-based news group, and within two days about 1,000 people had joined. Media like *ABC News*, *Boston Globe*, *National Public Radio*, and a Belgian radio station began calling. He encouraged each local community to coordinate their own protest and share ideas about signs and other matters through the Web site. "Using the Internet, hundreds of local organizers, who didn't even know each other, were coordinating their activities and lending each other support," Exley said.

On Nov. 11, when he and a friend journeyed to the Boston Statehouse, they expected only a handful of people. They were shocked to be greeted by a crowd of hundreds that included people with homemade signs displaying the slogans Exley had posted. After the rally, he learned of the thousands of people who gathered to call for all votes to count in more than 80 cities across the nation. Crowds ranged from several thousand in Los Angeles to more than 100 in smaller Olympia, Wash., and Athens, Ga. Most rallies were well-covered by both the broadcast and print media.

In Hartford, Conn., about 30 people had to endure the actions of a Bush supporter carrying an 8-foot-long Marine Corps flag who yelled at them that they and Gore were "trying to steal this election." Some tried to quiet him and remind him the issue was not a partisan one, it was to support basic voting rights of all Americans. But the man continued to shout about the supposed subversion of Democracy by Socialists and Communists. When a woman talking to him touched him on the arm, the man yelled, "DON'T YOU TOUCH ME! I'LL HAVE YOU ARRESTED!" He then pushed her away, and she almost fell over backwards. A police officer stepped in and quieted the man. 6

In Dallas and Fort Worth, the heart of Bush and Cheney country, dozens of Bush supporters even organized counter demonstrations close to the count-the-vote rallies. The Dallas crowd of about 80 included Roy Williams, a former Dallas Planning Commissioner and longtime civil rights leader who was a plaintiff in a landmark voting rights lawsuit that changed the City Council

structure in the early 1990s. The main organizer of the Dallas rally, Byron LaMasters, became a key organizer of demonstrations in Dallas afterwards at the tender age of 18, organizing protests like one of Scalia in February 2001. 7

Many people who participated in the demonstrations were doing so for the first time in their lives. "I'm concerned about the future for myself and my children if Bush gets in the White House. I know how bad it was for me under Reagan," said Tonya of Texas. "I've never demonstrated before in my life, but this is very important."

Protests continued the following weekend, and the CounterCoup group evolved into a national organization that also helped organize demonstrations during Bush's inauguration and beyond. To Exley, the experience highlighted a fundamental change that the Internet was bringing to grassroots organizing. Before, it might take months just to organize a meeting involving potential union or issue leaders, he said.

"The Internet allowed thousands of grassroots leaders to reach a consensus to act. Thousands of people talked via e-mail during their coffee breaks at work, or their time between classes," Exley said. "They were not sacrificing hours in planning meetings, they never had to risk going to a meeting where they might be the only ones, or where they'd find that those organizing the meeting were crazy or incompetent. This represents a radical breakthrough for grassroots organizing...Online, in those days after the election, I watched the same process I used to organize unions take place - but without an organizer."

Without the Internet, there would have been no way for a lone person to spread the word to so many people, he noted. "Before the Internet, this would have required an organization like the Democratic Party with a huge list of potentially interested people and a phone-banking effort involving acres of rented telemarketing space, thousands of volunteers, and countless phone lines," Exley said.

Other individuals used the Internet to stick it to Bush. When Bush broke a campaign promise to establish mandatory emission reductions for the pollutant carbon dioxide at power plants in April 2001, his handlers lied and denied Bush had ever made such a promise. But some alert people pointed out that the pledge was on Bush's own campaign Web site, and Bush's handlers had to change their stories.

During the campaign, the Bush people wasted thousands of contributors' dollars by buying up sites like bushsucks.com and bushbites.com in a strange attempt to keep people from using those. The campaign backfired, as people found creative domains Bush missed, such as bushsuckz.com.

After stealing the White House, Bush continued to harass those who used the Internet against him. In Jan. 2001, Bushoccupation.com Webmaster Mike Hershdorfer was intimidated by two Secret Service agents and a police officer who wanted to know what Web sites he visited and whether he had ever threatened to blow up the White House. They also wanted to search his Maryland home and review his medical records. Hershdorfer and his site did not advocate violence, nor did he consent to a search of his home. 8

Other groups grow

Another grassroots organization that grew in the aftermath of the stolen election was Citizens for Legitimate Government, which obtained a good share of media attention. Founded by Dr. Rectenwald, who teaches in the English department and works as a writer/consultant for the Robotics Institute of Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pa., the group's site carried this

motto, a quote from Margaret Mead: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world, indeed, it’s the only thing that ever has.” CLG was formed as a strategic grassroots group to counter the activist interventionism of America’s judicial system and the elimination of the democratic presidential election process, to expose the coup and counter the Bush Occupation, Dr. Rectenwald said.

“We are not radicals, but honest, tax-paying citizens in a country where we shouldn’t accept taxation without representation,” Dr. Rectenwald said. “We are simply using the rights we have left to protest this anti-democratic outcome. Many in our group have never been active in politics before this ‘election.’” 9

CLG’s first big action was displaying an aerial banner above the 87th Rose Bowl Game on Jan. 1, 2001, in California. The message, “Bush Lost - Protest ‘Inaugural’ in DC,” made an effective statement that was broadcast across the country. The organization also was involved in the massive inauguration protests on Jan. 20 in Washington, organized a demonstration against Bush when he threw out the first pitch in Milwaukee in April, coordinated a “Roll Your Own Blackout” event in June, and flew another banner over Super Bowl XXXV on Jan. 28 in Tampa, Fla. That banner, which read “Instant Replay - Bush Lost,” was severely restrained by police, who also used surveillance cameras to secretly videotape attendees to see if they matched photos of known felons and terrorists.

“The excessive police response to the expression of our moderate voices of dissent is a very disturbing development,” said CLG member Rod Schoonover. “We are not radicals, criminals or terrorists. We are normal citizens exercising our constitutional right to peacefully but loudly assert our opposition to the illegitimate presidency of George W. Bush.” 10

Another group, Voter March, the main coordinator of the May 19 event and of a similar march on inauguration day, began protests against Bush the Saturday after the Nov. 7 election. Calling for voting reforms like abolishing the Electoral College, the group organized more than 10 protests by July 2001. “Like many other similar organizations, we have been ignored by the [major] media,” one member said. “My question has been: ‘If there is a protest and the media doesn’t cover it, did it make a sound?’”

The group’s May 19 march did result in an AP photo and short story by CNN. And the Web site generated more than 1 million hits by mid-April 2001. The organization built more than 60 state and local chapters, many of which had several hundred members, by then. Voter March email lists and egroups numbered more than 10,000 individuals.

DemocracyMarch.org was another grassroots, Internet-based organization that formed immediately after election day. The group helped organize a rally of about 1,000 people in New York’s Times Square on the Saturday after the election, and it took off from there. “From that day until the political decision of the Supreme Court, we rallied every weekend in different locations throughout New York to ask that every vote be counted and to have our voices heard,” said Teresa Ward, a DemocracyMarch.org spokesperson.

The organization sent seven busloads of protestors from New York City to Washington, D.C. for Bush’s coronation in January. DemocracyMarch.org also organized a Not My President’s Day rally in Union Square in February and a demonstration outside of Fox News in April to protest biased news coverage. Ward even asked Fox bigwig Roger Ailes if in light of Dan Rather’s apology for appearing at his daughter’s fundraiser, he thought Fox should apologize for having Bush’s cousin run the election coverage that night. “He arrogantly refused to do so,” Ward said. DemocracyMarch members also were among the hundreds of protesters of Bush’s July 2001 visit to New York City.

Other groups that widened their audience after the election included the Oral Majority and Citizens Against Bush. The former was led by Bob Kunst, a longtime Florida activist who staged more than 100 demonstrations in the six months following the November election. The latter was led by Juliet Stewart, a Cincinnati, Ohio, activist who began Friends of Bill in 1997 and expanded it to Citizens Against Bush after the coup.

Then there was the Election Reform Information Network, a non-partisan, non-profit site promoting efficient, accurate elections and containing news articles, legislation, and information about what is being done to further this cause, begun by Dave Adams right after the election. "I am not an elected official or public servant or politician," he said. "I am not an authority on election administration or election laws. In fact, I have never been active in any civic organizations; previously, all of my time has been devoted to my family and my career. I am just a concerned citizen. But I am very concerned."

His 13-year-old son, Kevin, helped Adams create the site after Kevin's enthusiasm for the presidential campaign turned to disillusion in the ugly aftermath. "I then decided I owed to him - as well as to myself - to try to do whatever I could," Adams said. "Since I am a computer professional, and since my son is very interested in computers, I decided to create a web site. That would be my way of expressing my opinions of how and why our election process should be reformed. And also a way of sharing the news, commentaries, links and other information I find in my continuing quest to learn how elections are conducted, what the problems and issues are, and how they can be improved."

Many others who didn't attend demonstrations became active letter writers to the media, politicians, Internet message boards, chat rooms, and other sources. "I spend my days surfing the internet looking for petitions to sign and trying to find anything I can do to make certain that this outrage does not go unchallenged," Nicki Lynn May, a Cincinnati homemaker, said in a Valentine's Day 2001 email. "I am driving my poor husband crazy because I just cannot let this go, it is killing me! I can't watch the news anymore, and I am a news and a political junkie, but every time I see that thief's face or hear his whinny condescending voice, I scream! I cringe every time I hear him slaughter the English language! I don't know how I am going to survive the next four years with that moronic idiot sitting behind JFK's desk in the Oval Office!"

Lawsuits continue

Despite Gore's Dec. 13 concession, individuals pressed on with legal campaigns addressing the stolen White House. Texas Wesleyan University law student Stephen E. Jones, Linda D. Lydia, and Caroline Franco - the trio who filed the 12th Amendment case against Cheney in Texas - appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. But predictably that Republican-biased court rejected this obvious case of violating the federal Constitution in January 2001 after hypocritically intervening in a non-federal case.

At the same time, the Supreme Court also rejected two other cases arising from the legal battle in Florida. In one, Democratic voters sought to throw out 2,400 of Florida's overseas ballots because they arrived after Election Day. In the other, three Republican voters from Florida tried to challenge the hand recounts of ballots.

More than 1,900 voters from 40 states also signed on as plaintiffs in a 12th Amendment amicus brief filed by Pennsylvania attorney Berg. But again, the case was rebuked by Republican-leaning judges.

In late 2001, Berg wrote to the Supreme Court's Scalia, Thomas, and O'Connor, asking them to voluntarily disbar themselves for failing to recuse themselves in the famous case due to conflicts and other violations. He noted that almost 3,000 people signed a petition asking for their disbarment.

But in late 2000, many people focused their letter-writing efforts on Dec. 18 when state Electoral College members' votes were officially announced. Lists were circulated of key electors asking people to write and call them to urge them to switch their votes to Gore. But that campaign had little effect on Republicans, who all cast votes for Bush, giving him one more vote than he needed to grab the White House. Gore actually lost a vote when a District of Columbia elector refused to cast a vote to protest that entity's lack of formal federal representation.

Then, people focused on Jan. 6, 2001, when Congress certified the election results. People's letters and calls helped convince 14 members of the House of Representatives - Corrine Brown of Florida, Eva Clayton of North Carolina, Elijah Cummings of Maryland, Peter Deutsch of Florida, Bob Filner of California, Alcee Hastings of Florida, Jesse Jackson Jr. of Illinois, Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas, Barbara Lee of California, Sheila Jackson Lee of Texas, Cynthia McKinney of Georgia, Carrie Meek of Florida, Patsy Mink of Hawaii, and Maxine Waters of California - to protest Florida's results.

Most of the challengers were members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Senators, mostly white men, with no African Americans in that body, refused to respond to their constituents' calls and letters. That meant that the House members' challenge would not be formally recognized to allow debate since both a House and Senate member had to object.

A few days before the certification, CBC members met to iron out a strategy for protesting Florida's electors. Rep. Hastings said it was their duty to publicly state their strong opposition to accepting the Florida result. "Let's face it: Vice President Al Gore won this election. The American people are looking to us not only for public outrage, but also for leadership. In this case, leadership calls for courage," Hastings said. "While the rules may prevent the hearing of our challenge, they do not relieve us of our responsibility to the voters in this country who stood in line to make their voices heard, only to find that their voices had been muted by injustice." 11

Added Rep. Johnson, the chairwoman of the CBC: "Vice President Al Gore may have conceded his judicial contest to George W. Bush, but that is irrelevant. There is not provision for the concession of candidates in the Constitution. There is, however, a process set out in law for Congress to consider challenges to electoral votes. With all due respect to Vice President Gore, the Congress, on behalf of all Americans, is the final judge of how much election fraud to accept.

"Millions of Americans have already expressed their public outrage at the myriad injustices which occurred in the making of George W. Bush's mistaken victory," she continued. "But public outrage is not enough. The laws of this country, and the spirit upon which rests our very foundation, provide for the objection which we herein make on behalf of freedom, justice and Democracy." 12

Rep. Barbara Lee, who co-sponsored a bill to create a nonpartisan commission to recommend voting reforms, said it was important to make a strong statement in the face of widespread voter intimidation and other problems. "We will not stand silently by while African-American voters are intimidated, dismissed from polling places, forced to use antiquated machines, and denied their rightful voice," she said. 13

But on Jan. 6, the courageous stands were ironically overruled by Gore himself, who presided over the proceedings as the sitting vice president. One by one, the 14 representatives interrupted the proceedings to question the legality of Florida's electors. Each time, Gore overruled

them, and the representatives marched out of the hall in further protest. Rep. McKinney even noted that Title 3, Section 18, of the Voting Rights Act allowed a question to be put to either House on a motion to withdraw the electors. But still Gore would not allow such a motion.

“Today, Democracy was trampled upon in this Joint Session of the United States Congress,” Rep. McKinney said. “The Florida election results are representative of far more serious voting irregularities for black and Latino voters across this nation that must be addressed. Unless people of color in this nation can be assured that their votes count then there is a risk that the pressure valve may become the streets of America and not the House and Senate Chambers, as it should be.” 14

Groups like Democrats.com organized rallies in front of the Capitol and certain Congress members that day, including Paul Wellstone, Dick Durbin, Zell Miller, Robert Wexler, and Rick Santorum. Democrats.com also conducted a rally outside Congress. In further defiance, Rep. Barbara Lee said she would boycott the inauguration of Bush on Jan. 20.

“I cannot in good conscience celebrate the inauguration of George W. Bush when in Florida, thousands of Americans were harassed, turned away, or otherwise disenfranchised in the November elections,” she said. “In losing the popular vote and being selected president by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling, Bush has no mandate from the people. I challenge him to live up to his claim of being a unifier by embracing electoral reform legislation before Congress and directing the U.S. Department of Justice to fully investigate voter disenfranchisement in the 2000 elections in Florida.” 15

Inauguration protests

With most Congress members meekly accepting the Republican theft, all that was left was to organize a massive protest for Jan. 20 during Bush’s dismal coronation. Bracing for the worst, Bush officials planned real tight security with an army of police. They made it as hard as possible for organizers like the Justice Action Movement, a coalition formed just for the inauguration protests that included groups that supported past actions such as the April 2000 protests in Seattle against the World Bank.

In fact, organizers had to go to court to force officials to allow them to carry out their First Amendment rights. On Jan. 19, protest organizers won an important court victory that enabled demonstrators to arrive at permitted demonstration sites. An earlier pressure campaign by the International Action Center, a New York-based organization formed by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and other groups against authorities had won permits for several demonstration sites.

The legal team, headed by the Washington-based Partnership for Civil Justice and the National Lawyers Guild, sued the government in U.S. District Court, insisting that an injunction be granted that would strike down the government security plan that included many checkpoints because it was a “pretext” to eliminate the First Amendment rights of demonstrators. While U.S. District Court Judge Gladys Kessler described the checkpoints as “odious” and having a “chilling effect,” she denied the plaintiffs’ request. That was based on guarantees given by government attorneys that the checkpoints would not be used in a discriminatory fashion to prevent, obstruct, or keep the demonstrators from reaching the permitted demonstration site, as well as the sections of the parade route that were open to the public.

“We believe the police never intended to give us a permit or allow demonstrators to have access to Pennsylvania Avenue and the inaugural route,” Larry Holmes, co-director of the IAC,

said. "They hoped to shield the Bush administration from the political embarrassment of having thousands of demonstrators lining the parade route. But they were overruled by the strength of the movement." 16

Indeed, organizers did an excellent job in getting tens of thousands of people from all over the U.S. - as far as Texas and California - and other countries to march and line the parade route, despite freezing cold rain. Estimates of the number of protesters were as high as Rep. McKinney's 100,000 - believed to be the most at any presidential inauguration since Nixon's in 1973.

Besides the aforementioned, groups involved in the protests included the National Organization for Women, Voter March, Democrats.com, New Black Panther Party, Billionaires for Bush, and the Shadow Inauguration. At a rally at Dupont Circle, thousands heard speakers like NOW President Patricia Ireland, Miami-Dade County Democratic Party Executive Committee member Arthur Buonamia, cross-country marcher Doris Haddock, or Granny D, Posner, Dugger, Berg, and Lytel.

Granny D, who walked across the U.S. to raise awareness for campaign finance reform in 2000 at the age of 90, spoke about the deeper issues beyond the theft of the White House. "For how can we serve each other's needs and preserve our very earth if we allow greedy interests to steal from us the reins of our own Democracy? There's the issue, friends: not the theft of an election, but the theft of a Democracy," she said. 17

Dugger noted that Congress and the presidency had already been compromised by campaign finance corruption and this election delegitimized the third branch of government. "The corporate media will not record it, but let's say it together: When Mr. Bush is sworn in an hour from now by the chief justice who abused his power to select him, the government itself is being seized," he said. "Bush is not the president - he is the special master appointed by the Supreme Court."

Lytel eloquently spoke about the new opposition movement being formed against the Bush forces. "If we are to successfully counteract the extremist urges that are being built into the Bush presidency, we need to build an effective progressive coalition and create bold and confident new leadership," he said. "If progressives are to prevail, we will have to get fearlessly out in front of all our politicians and reach back and pull them with us. We are the leaders that we have been waiting for.

"How can anyone with eyes and ears not be shocked by the crimes against Democracy that took place in Florida in this election? Surely we must hold our own country up to Democracy's simple rule - every vote counts - or risk losing America's very important place in the world as a beacon of liberty. America will reach its 225th birthday this year not because we are perfect but because we fix what is broken. It is undeniable that the election system in Florida and elsewhere is broken. If we permit the Congress to move on to other business and turn a blind eye to these violations of the law, we are dishonoring ourselves and the hundreds of thousands of Americans who have died so that a government of the people, for the people, and by the people would not perish.

"We cannot allow our children and our grandchildren to see us turn away from justice if we ever hope to teach them to love and honor it. As freedom is our birthright, so must we honor it by renewing it in each generation. This stolen presidential election is our generation's opportunity to rekindle the spirit and the practice of Democracy. America, it has been said, is not a place. America is an idea. If we truly love the idea of America, we cannot learn to tolerate widespread injustice, or we risk setting our country on the course to a future in which power is valued more than truth." 19

Some blocks away at Al Sharpton's Shadow Inauguration, more than 1,000 people, mostly African Americans, listened to civil rights legends Walter Fauntroy and Dick Gregory speak. Fauntroy urged people to continue to vote with a "we will overcome" address. Gregory sent a more direct message to Bush: "If you stole my car, I'd do everything I could to see to it that you have a bad ride." 20

Both groups' marches were contained and separated by the police army, which confiscated some signs and literature and searched people without reason. At some places, protesters seemed to outnumber Bush supporters and even took over a grandstand reserved for Bush friends, some of whom nonsensically yelled at the protesters to "get a job." Most protesters - many of whom were protesting for the first time - had jobs and were there to exercise their Constitutional rights, unlike the Bush crowd, which was there to support an illegitimate president and unconstitutional power grab.

Bush was so shook up by the protesters who dominated the parade route he could only walk a small part of the route - unlike Clinton and his father who had walked much of the route - and stayed in his limousine most of the time. Eggs and other objects were hurled at the limo. Signs like "George Wanker Bush," "Hail to the Thief," "Selected not elected," "Bushwhacked by the Supremes," and "Golly Jeb, we pulled it off!" were numerous. One poster featured a caricature of a toothless Bush in the image of Mad Magazine's Alfred E. Neuman. 21

Salon reported that the inauguration contained the greatest number of cops ever. There were representatives from every police department in the District of Columbia - the Supreme Court police, the National Park police, the Capitol police, the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and Washington's Metropolitan Police Department. Cops from Maryland and Virginia were also there to help form a barricade between the people and the parade and restrict people's freedom of movement on public, taxpayer-financed sidewalks and streets. The mainstream media's coverage of the protesters was virtually non-existent, although it was better than in later demonstrations.

The police checkpoints violated the oral guarantees given in Judge Kessler's court on Jan. 19, noted Brian Becker of the IAC. "Though thousands of demonstrators were held back and slowed down at the checkpoints, there are many cases of Bush supporters being waved through the checkpoints in large numbers," he said. "The checkpoints were an unprecedented effort by the police authorities to restrain free speech on behalf of a private organization, the presidential inaugural committee." 22

Still, the inauguration protests, which also were done in other U.S. cities, were successful in voicing vigorous dissent despite an excessive police force and Republican-led campaign to squash First Amendment activity. "Despite media and governmental reports that the inauguration was an historical and peaceful transition of power, known arrests, injuries, detainments, and outright threats by police against activists and average citizens say otherwise," a JAM press release said. 23

To some, the day signified an important step in the movement for social justice, with more protesters than Bush supporters lining Pennsylvania Avenue. Holmes of the IAC offered this assessment of the crowd: "We saw the faces of this new movement - and they were young, militant, and multiracial. They included union activists, like those from UNITE Local 169, marching with workfare workers and other low-wage workers." 24

With so many police, many protesters were surrounded and illegally detained, even though they had permits. While the D.C. police reported nine arrests, JAM was aware of ten such arrests - and there were probably more. Two people were charged with felonies, and two were taken to the hospital. Protesters' injuries at the hands of police included a broken knee, a broken wrist, bruises

from baton blows to the head and face, and injuries from being pepper sprayed, according to JAM. 25

In the face of such violence and police tactics, the Partnership for Civil Justice, International Action Center, and Justice Action Movement filed a federal lawsuit against the police, park service, and Bush inaugural committee challenging the constitutionality of the unprecedented checkpoints and other police methods employed during the protests of Bush's inauguration. The police even turned over one checkpoint at Freedom Plaza to the Republican organizers, who closed it, the lawsuit said. Furthermore, police allowed undercover agents to beat peaceful protesters and stage mock arrests of them, and they blocked protesters from peacefully lining up along the parade route, the suit said. 26

The IAC, Alliance for Global Justice, and other organizations also filed a lawsuit against police, the park service, and federal agencies for similar First Amendment violations and violence committed against protesters of the World Bank in April 2000. Authorities arrested and held protesters without cause, seized protesters fliers, banners, and other items, and used excessive force against peaceful demonstrators, the lawsuit said. More than 1,300 people were arrested. 27

Besides the violence and questionable tactics by authorities, Rep. McKinney noted the further insult in Bush being sworn in by Rehnquist, who once wrote that the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision, a bigoted ruling that said the Constitution allowed segregation according to race that was later struck down, was correct. "The Rehnquist court handed the presidency to the Bush family and the Republican Party; now America faces an uncertain future with a president whose legitimacy is questioned," Rep. McKinney said. "America's powerless and disenfranchised will never be the same, because they will not forget. And just as civil rights protesters two generations ago had the active support of huge segments of white America, today the boldfaced disfranchisement of minority voters has served as a call to conscience for white America to stand up for dignity, and justice, and the right to vote for all Americans." 28

There were other protests on that day across the country, including ones of about 15,000 people in San Francisco and 5,000 in Los Angeles. About 1,000 people attended a march and rally at the State Capitol building in Tallahassee, Fla. Speakers included Rev. Jackson, Joseph Lowery of the Black Leadership Forum, John Sweeny of the AFL-CIO, labor leader Dennis Rivera, and Kweisi Mfume of the NAACP.

"As the new administration is sworn in, we will turn our attention to the chicanery that occurred on November 7th and the crowning of a new president that followed," Rev. Jackson said. "We, as people of faith, will remain rooted in our struggle for equal protection under the law and work to secure our franchise." 29

More protests ahead

The inauguration protests were just a sign of things to come. Bush ignored the election mandate to govern from the center and pushed for selfish, narrow-minded, right-wing programs that would mostly benefit his wealthy campaign contributors in his first few months. He did so despite the majority of the American people voting for a left-of-center candidate - 51 to 48 percent when combining Gore and Nader voters - for the first time since 1964. But Gore's populist message seemed more popular than he was, and the Bush campaign was good at blurring the issues to make Bush appear more moderate than he was, concluded a December 2000 report conducted by the Campaign for America's Future, a progressive organization formed in 1996.

“Gore’s populist message and progressive agenda allowed him to win the election,” concluded Robert Borosage of the Campaign for America’s Future. “But his advantage on message was squandered significantly by his liabilities as a candidate....The hangover of the bitter Clinton scandals that Gore was personally implicated in, the limits of the Gore agenda that enabled Bush to blur the difference, and the liabilities of Gore as a candidate allowed George W. Bush to make the election close enough to steal.” 30

Others had a different take, noting that Gore captured more popular votes than any Democrat in history and did not have the luxury that Clinton had in 1992 and 1996 of a stronger right-wing challenger like Ross Perot to siphon votes away from the Republican candidate. “Asking why Gore lost is demonstrably the wrong question since Gore won the popular vote, Gore won the Florida vote, and Gore therefore rightfully won the Electoral College,” Dr. Rectenwald of Citizens for Legitimate Government said.

Once the White House was safely in his pocket, Bush changed from surface moderate to conservative. He nominated arch-conservative supporters like John Ashcroft and Gale Norton to his cabinet. He outlined a huge tax cut plan for the super wealthy who mostly bankrolled his record \$100 million campaign and pushed for a missile defense system that would not work and only funnel billions to his defense contractor campaign contributors. He proposed transferring public school money to richer private schools headed by supporters. He campaigned to allow oil company executives who were also large campaign contributors to pollute a pristine, protected part of Alaskan wilderness, which had been federally protected by former Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower four decades before.

Bush also helped talk the country into a recession to benefit large company executives who contributed to his campaign by increasing the labor pool, driving down wages, and making employees work harder for fear of losing their jobs. And he detailed a program to weaken environmental protection laws that affected large polluting companies whose executives also contributed to his campaign. With two oilmen in the White House, energy executives felt comfortable in drastically raising gasoline prices in the spring of 2001, which the Republicans wrongly tried to blame on the previous administration.

Even though Bush pushed for such right-wing policies, he still tried to talk like a moderate and act as if he was reaching out to Democrats - and the mainstream media largely bought the act. Still, a lot of people didn’t buy it, as grassroots organizations became stronger and more people showed up to protest at his appearances across the country, including 150 in February in Columbus, Ohio. Hundreds also protested the appearances of Scalia, Cheney, and even Laura Bush when they spoke in various cities.

Also in February, hundreds returned to Washington to protest Bush on “Not My President’s Day.” Among the speakers was Berg, who vowed not to give up his legal battles to gain some justice in Florida. Similar demonstrations were conducted in cities throughout the country.

Even in states that Bush easily won like North Dakota and Montana, a significant number of protesters showed Bush he was not welcome. Some 200 people protested Bush’s March appearance at a sports arena in Fargo, N.D., where Bush tried to drum up support for his tax cuts for the super wealthy. And about 75 protesters demonstrated against his environmental policies in Billings, Mont.

That same month, more than 500 people demonstrated against Bush in Kalamazoo, Mich., and about 200 protesters, some coming from as far as Boston, greeted Bush in Maine despite a spring blizzard. And protesters attended a New Jersey Chamber of Commerce meeting where Bush spoke. They dressed as wealthy beneficiaries of Bush’s tax plan, including one in a tuxedo who

waved a large cigar and handed out money to the crowd. “Instead of huge tax breaks, people need health care and a prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients,” said protester Staci Berger of a New Jersey citizen watchdog group that belonged to Fair Taxes For All, a coalition of some 500 organizations. “We’re wearing fake jewels and furs because the Bush tax plan is a bad imitation of good policy. It’s a huge giveaway for those who need it least. [Bush] is pretending this tax plan will help most people, so we’re pretending to be the people who will benefit, the wealthy.” 31

Top official resigns in protest

One of the most courageous acts by an individual in the first few months of Bush’s administration - before Sen. Jim Jeffords’ defection from the Republicans in late May, an act that resulted in death threats being made against him by presumably angry right-wing Republicans - came on March 27. Michael P. Dombeck resigned as chief of the Forest Service, a position he held since 1997, after Bush administration officials told him they wanted to bow down to timber and mining companies - which had given Bush large campaign contributions - and allow road building and oil, gas, and mining operations in some 60 million acres of federally-protected forests. As a career forestry employee, Dombeck had been protected from being reassigned by the Bush administration.

“Please remember that the decisions you make through your tenure will have implications that last many generations,” Dombeck wrote in his letter of resignation to his boss, Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman. 32

Allowing road building in roadless national forest areas “would undermine the most extensive multi-year environmental analysis in history, a process that included over 600 public meetings and generated 1.6 million comments, the overwhelming majority of which supported protecting roadless areas,” Dombeck wrote.

Conservation groups bemoaned the loss, saying Dombeck was a true hero. Dombeck was the first official to make the Forest Service look out for conservation interests, not timber companies, said Bill Meadows, president of the Wilderness Society.

Another courageous act came by actor and activist Martin Sheen. In February 2001, Sheen, who plays the president in a dramatic series called *West Wing*, called Bush “a bad comic working the crowd, a moron, if you’ll pardon the expression.” 33 Sheen was one of the few celebrities to publicly state such a candid view. In an April 2001 appearance at the White House by “West Wing” cast members, Sheen and Bush were conspicuously absent. 34

Just as some took on ambitious cross-country marches to protest Reagan’s policies in the 1980s, a similar heroic effort was launched in April 2001 by Jeanette Wallis, a 30-year-old former apathetic Generation Xer who loathed politics while growing up in Texas. Wallis moved to Seattle in 1993 and started practicing Buddhism. She became a political activist after she was tear-gassed while walking home from the store in 1999 during protests against a World Trade Organization conference. She started attending demonstrations with unionists, environmentalists, and others and was really active in protests against the 2000 presidential election. Wallis took the nickname “Mantra” as her “forest name” in December 2000, when she helped the environmental group Mattole Forest Defenders protect an ancient Douglas Fir forest in Northern California from being clearcut.

When Florida VoterGate occurred, Wallis was tempted to move out of the country. “But I think there’s far more important work to be done right here,” she said. Inspired by Granny D, Wallis quit her job as a psychiatric counselor and hit the road from Seattle, calling her project “The

Walk for Democracy.” By September, she had completed more than 1,000 miles of the roughly 4,500-mile journey and planned to reach Washington, D.C., in 2002 to present Bush with hand-written grievances from people upset about the stolen presidential election and Bush policies. After conditions for a lone walker opposing Bush became too risky following Sept. 11, Wallis returned to Seattle in the fall of 2001. But she vowed to continue the project in March 2002.

While she didn't belong to any particular organization, Wallis received support and endorsements from the United Steelworkers of America, Voter March, Democrats.com, the Pierce County Labor Council, and the Umatilla-Morrow Central Labor Council.

“I'm from Texas, too, and I can be just as stubborn and willful as [Bush] can - just ask my parents,” Wallis told a crowd of some 2,500 during a January 2001 rally in Seattle against the stolen election. “But [Bush is] going to have to remember that the job is to represent the people - not those corporations that spent \$400 million on his party [Jan. 20]....If it takes some crazy white girl from Texas walking across the country to remind him of that, well then, I want to be that crazy white girl!” 35

Police rough up protesters in Florida

When Bush returned to the scene of the crime in Florida in March, scores of people protested. He cowardly avoided Democratic-strong areas, mostly remaining in the Republican-strong panhandle, although he ventured into Orlando. In Panama City, Bush tried to insist that people had already forgotten about the 36-day post-election battle. While some might have forgotten so soon, the protesters were there to remind them about what happened.

“There will be questions about his legitimacy for the next four years,” Bill Boyd told *The Associated Press*. 36

Among the protesters there was Bob Kuntz of the Oral Majority, who held a “Bush Stole The Election” banner. The sign was read by attendees in a civic center and media who interviewed him. 37

In early June, Bush returned to Florida to attend a rally in Tampa, where police, responding to requests by Republican officials, violated people's First Amendment rights by harassing them when they tried to hold up signs related to Bush stealing the election. Police even arrested three protesters who merely carried out their Constitutional rights, 59-year-old grandmother Sonja Haught of Clearwater, 55-year-old Jan Marie Lentz of New Port Richey, and 37-year-old Maurice Rosas of Tampa. Rosas, a member of Oral Majority, had a severe health problem similar to Muscular Dystrophy and almost passed out as police carted him off with handcuffs painfully pinning his arms behind his back.

Haught also was charged with disorderly conduct as police claimed the grandmother tried to resist arrest. In a first-person report circulated on the Internet, Haught, also known as Grandma Suni, disputed resisting arrest. She said all she did was ask an officer why she knocked over 81-year-old Walter Sorenson of New Port Richey as they carted the trio away.

“A very large policewoman who was much shorter than Jan, but muscular, had her handcuffed and used our Jan as a shield to bludgeon her way through the crowd,” Haught reported. “She pushed her through with such force that she knocked over our new friend, Walter.....I was so angry at what this officer of the law did to this old man that I told her so. I said, ‘Why did you do that?’ To which she answered, ‘Assault on a Policeman!’ And they handcuffed me.” 38

At the request of Republicans, officials cordoned off most protesters - about 150 - in a field about a half-mile from the rally at Legends Field, which by the way was a publicly-owned stadium

where any person had the right to peacefully assemble. *Tampa Tribune* columnist Daniel Ruth put it best: “Can you imagine that on Dec. 16, 1773, a bunch of demonstrators who were about to dump 342 chests of tea into Boston Harbor to protest onerous import duties would have willingly complied had British authorities arrived on the scene and said, ‘Oh, do be good fellows, won’t you hold your demonstration over there on dry land in the designated protest zone?’” 39

Haught, Lentz, Sorenson, and Rosas did not accept this trampling of their constitutional rights. Tampa police blamed Secret Service for the nazi-like segregation of protesters, as a spokesperson claimed holding signs that said “Investigate Florida VoterGate” near Bush violated Secret Service policies. 40

But a Secret Service spokesman denied that, saying they don’t consider people with signs as a security risk and blamed Tampa police acting at the request of Republican officials. 41

The foursome noticed pro-Bush banners and signs throughout the stadium. Sorenson said he asked a security officer why people could wave pro-Bush signs and they couldn’t display their signs. In a reply better suited for a dictatorship than a Democracy, the officer reportedly said, “You don’t make the rules. We make the rules.” 42

Haught reported an officer at the checkpoint said it was OK to display signs if they were taken off the sticks. Rosas also got a sign in that read “June is Gay Pride Month.” Haught said people around them were harassing them for displaying their signs, and a young, supposedly compassionate, conservative Bush supporter even called her an “asshole.” Although the officer at the checkpoint said they could display their signs, another officer near their seats told them to put them away. Haught said officers grabbed her signs and searched her purse for others. Then an officer tried to get Rosas to give up his sign and take a pro-Bush sign, and he refused. Sorenson did put his “Investigate Florida VoterGate” sign away and was not ever arrested, although he was injured by the officer who knocked him over.

Officers told the foursome to leave, and they pleaded their case, noting that many other people were holding much larger pro-Bush signs. Then they handcuffed Rosas, and Haught and Lentz held his arms as they started walking. At one point, Rosas fell, dragging Haught down to the ground with him. While on the ground, Haught said the same Bush-supporting woman who called her an “asshole” kicked dirt on her. That was when an officer had Lentz handcuffed and used her as a battering ram, knocking over Sorenson in the process. After Haught asked the officer why she did that, she was handcuffed and later charged with disorderly conduct, even though it was police and Bush supporters who were disorderly. The charges were eventually dropped, though Florida Assistant State Attorney Pam Bondi and the head of the Tampa office of the Secret Service supported the way police handled the protesters. In October, the trio sent Tampa officials a letter of their intention to sue the city over violations of their constitutional rights. 43

“What can I expect in the future from all of this?” Haught asked. “Do I live in America? Whatever will I tell my grandchildren? Grandma Suni was handcuffed in Tampa because she held up the wrong sign? Heil to the thief who stole our Democracy!” 44

A couple days later, Kunst announced he was running for Florida governor. In a letter to Jeb Bush, he also pledged further legal action about the shameful treatment of the four protesters. “Your Gestapo-like tactics to treat two grandmothers and a gay man from Oral Majority with arrests, and to throw down an 81-year-old man who were protesting against you and your brother’s outrageous politics in Tampa on Monday will bring from ourselves, a major lawsuit that the nation is already picking up on,” Kuntz wrote. “Your dismissing the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights this week as partisan, and all of the above, is why I am going to run against you in the Democratic

Primary. That is to make sure we fully discuss this high treason of yours, and you and Katherine Harris stealing this election for George.” 45

The Oral Majority was relentless in pursuing Bush and organizing protests. Most of the more than 100 protests between November 2000 and July 2001 were in Florida. And the group even demonstrated in front of the Orlando convention center in May, where Gore gave a speech to a travel industry group, holding signs like “Welcome President Gore, Why Are You Hiding?” The organization also organized protests in other states, such as at Seabrook Island in South Carolina where Republicans honored Katherine Harris and Judge Sauls in June and in front of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York City the same month, where Bush spoke. “We have been to 25 cities with these protests, and the public is with us no matter how much the media wants it to go away,” Kuntz said in his letter to Bush.

Daily protests outside White House

Outside the White House, there were almost daily protests beyond the large ones in January and May. In fact, the one led by Concepcion had been going on since 1981 against nuclear weapons.

In March 2001, members of the union representing Northwest Airlines mechanics demonstrated outside the White House to protest Bush’s decision to intervene in contract talks and thus hurt their campaign for better pay and working conditions. Northwest eventually agreed to increase pay for a senior mechanic by more than 24 percent to \$30 an hour and raise pension payments by 112 percent.

In April, hundreds protested outside the White House on Earth Day weekend, with signs saying messages like “POLLUTION STARTS HERE.” Among the speakers were Earth Day founder Denis Hayes and Greenpeace Executive Director John Passacantando. The following day, the Greenpeace leader joined Rainforest Action Network President Randy Hayes and other activists who locked themselves inside the Environmental Protection Agency to further protest Bush’s anti-environmental agenda. All were arrested.

Greenpeace also targeted Bush’s 1,500-acre ranch in Crawford, Texas, around Earth Day by unveiling a large banner on the small town’s 86-foot-high water tower that read, “Bush the Toxic Texan: Don’t Mess with the Earth.” For two hours, three activists refused to climb down and remove the banner, ignoring the mayor, county sheriff, and the U.S. Secret Service. Melissa Riber and Rani Riber of Washington, D.C., and Kelly Osborne of Flower Mound, Texas, finally came down and were arrested for criminal trespassing. 46

“We’ve taken our message from President Bush’s ranch, to the White House and now to the EPA,” said Passacantando. “We want this Toxic Texan to know that trashing 30 years of environmental gains, then making a few token green announcements for Earth Day is an unacceptable environmental agenda.

“The environmental community is shocked at how much damage one president can propose in less than 100 days. Even President Reagan took four years to propose his short-sighted environmental agenda and trash the earth.” 47

A few days after those protests, thousands of abortion rights supporters from around the country rallied around the Supreme Court and Capitol. Among the speakers was NOW President Ireland. And some 150 people protested Bush’s return to his former residence in Austin, chanting “He’s not our president!”

Then in mid-May right before the Voter Rights March, ADAPT conducted its effective demonstration at the White House with some 500 wheelchair-bound people from 39 states. After a two-hour meeting with Bush officials, Diane Schacht, special assistant to the president for justice policy, announced to the crowd that Bush would sign the Olmstead executive order within a month. Bush took a little more than a month to sign it, but the deed occurred June 18. ADAPT also rallied outside the barricaded office of Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Mel Martinez, who agreed to meet with leaders to address affordable, accessible housing for persons with disabilities. Before coming to Washington, ADAPT officials had written to Martinez asking for a meeting with no luck. 48

And in conjunction with the Voter Rights March, thousands of working people went on strike from their workplaces to protest the stolen election.

That same month in New York City, a group of activists protested the media's biased coverage of the stolen election by rallying outside *USA Today*, *The Associated Press*, and *The New York Times*. Besides locals, thousands of tourists from around the world saw their signs. In Fort Lauderdale, Fla., about 75 people held signs that read "Never Forget Selection 2000" and "Injustice Scalia" and chanted "No Justice, No Peace" outside the hotel where Scalia spoke in May. And in St. Paul, Minn., some 300 people greeted Bush with placards reading "President Bush Give Us Clean Energy, Not Polluted Power" and "Good Conservatives Conserve Energy." Even more people - over 500 - protested Bush in Cleveland. Many were union members holding signs with messages like "Jobs, not Charity."

Also in May at Yale University, Bush was soundly booed by students as he gave the commencement speech. Hundreds held paper signs protesting against his policies in an action organized by Jon Bexell, a member of Citizens for Legitimate Government. Some 170 professors signed a petition denouncing the university giving Bush an honorary degree. When Bush mentioned that he graduated in 1968, a student yelled, "Barely!" 49

Hundreds of students and professors raised similar objections against Bush in his appearance at Notre Dame University. And when an image of Bush appeared on a screen during a Womens National Basketball Association game in Miami, a loud chorus of boos erupted. Even children protested Bush; in a May action involving about 100 people outside Camp Pendleton near San Diego, 10-year-old Natasha Hull-Richter led a chant of "Gore won Florida, Bush go home, Gore won Florida, Nazi go home!" over her megaphone. Response from most of the people driving by, including Marines, was mostly positive, said Ruth and Mark Hull-Richter, a member of the Southern California chapter of Democrats.com. Around the same time, as many as 900 people joined a protest of Bush in Los Angeles. 50

On June 21, 2001, thousands of people across the country protested by voluntarily turning off all electricity for three hours to point out the misguided nature of the Bush administration's energy plan and raise awareness for conservation efforts and the development of alternative energy sources. Organizations like Citizens for Legitimate Government, Roll Your Own Black Out.Com, Voter March, Democrats.com, Fringefolk, Bush Brothers Banana Republic, and Center for a New American Dream coordinated the campaign. The event received widespread media coverage, and even those like Jay Leno's *Tonight Show* participated.

That same month, protesters targeted Secretary of the Treasury Paul O'Neill, who raised funds from Wall Street firms to help pay for a \$20 million advertising campaign to promote the privatization of Social Security. It was highly inappropriate for the chief economic policy officer of the Bush administration to beg Wall Street and multi-national corporations for money to support a propaganda campaign that furthered the political goals of the administration, said Roger Hickey,

co-director of the Institute for America's Future, which helped organize the protest against O'Neill in New York.

"The Treasury Department and other parts of the White House have regulatory responsibilities over many of the corporations O'Neill is soliciting, and it is impossible for him to avoid the perception or reality of conflict of interest while raising money from them," said Hickey, also organizer of the New Century Alliance for Social Security coalition. Other organizations that helped with the protest included the AFL-CIO and the New York State Seniors. 51

In early July 2001, a Bush supporter assaulted Democrats.com member Daniel Brown as he protested the appearance of Felonious Five Justice O'Connor in Minneapolis, Minn. The man muttered something to Brown as he walked past, slapped his arm and then hit him in the face, according to fellow protester Shirliana Webb. Brown, Webb, and another protester followed the man, who cowardly ran from them. Webb got his license plate and reported it to police.

Webb said the brute's act reminded her of other Republicans' behaviors at a November 18, 2000, rally. "Is this a prerequisite for being a Republican? You must be a bully, a brute, and a coward, and use force and fists to get your message across?" she asked. 52

Bush could not escape protesters even on the 4th of July, when he visited Philadelphia. As he spoke to an outdoor crowd, more than 70 demonstrators chanted: "Not my president!" They held signs like "George Bush Resident Thief." A few days later, more than 500 protested Bush in New York City with similar signs.

Protesters arrested in California

Also in July, police arrested 15 Greenpeace protesters and two European journalists for protesting Bush's Star Wars plan at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. Authorities tried to send a police-state message as they were charged with felonies, carrying a maximum sentence of more than 11 years in prison and fines of up to \$500,000. The group was represented by Katya Komisaruk of the Just Cause Legal Collective, who was key in getting all the charges against some 600 World Trade Organization protesters in Seattle in 1999 dropped. In a plea bargain, the government dropped all charges in exchange for guilty pleas to a charge of conspiracy to enter a military property without permission. Most were expected to receive probation. 53

And in August 2001, hundreds protested Bush's tour of Colorado during his month-long vacation, the longest voluntary vacation taken by a modern-day American president. In some places like Rocky Mountain National Park, police violated protesters' First Amendment rights by herding them in zones about a mile from Bush. In Estes Park, John R. Fischer, 35, of Longmont was arrested during a protest in which police said he handed out rolls of toilet paper imprinted with the president's likeness and urged others to lob them at the motorcade. Fischer, who sells the paper and other items on his web site at www.whatpresident.com, wrapped himself in toilet paper as part of the protest. He denied he told people to toss the toilet paper, saying some younger protesters were to blame for that. He said he was questioned by police and Secret Service for four hours and fined \$150, which he vowed to contest. Sales of the toilet paper rose after his arrest, but he also received more hate mail from Republicans. 54

That same month, some 40 people protested Cheney's appearance in Minneapolis, Minn. One participant, Linda Bernin, said they had good support from observers, but not the media. A television journalist who interviewed a protester said the footage would probably not run because someone held up a sign with a photo showing the man in Genoa who was murdered by police. 55

While many protests against Bush's policies were curtailed and limited by authorities, those protesting on issues with which Bush agreed were treated with more respect. In July 2001, armed protesters outside Sen. McCain's Arizona office were allowed to demonstrate for weaker gun laws even though some openly carried guns. A few days later, some 1,000 anti-abortion protestors were given red-carpet treatment as they paraded through downtown Wichita. 56

As Democrats.com noted, the contrast contained some similarities to Nazi Germany in the 1930s. There, Hitler Youth and Nazi groups were allowed to demonstrate unchecked, while Jewish, Social Democrat and Communist protestors were curtailed and even shot by authorities.

Some patriots refused to succumb to protest zones. In August, a small but determined group from Home of the Brave protested Bush in Waco as he clumsily cut his hand in trying to help a Habitat for Humanity project during his small-town tour, designed to boost his sagging approval ratings. The group followed the press to get closer to Bush, hiding the slogans on their t-shirts with manila folders. Once they got there, they ignored police's requests to go to a cornered-off zone well away from the site. They were prepared to be arrested, but no arrests occurred.

"This whole thing was just one big photo-op," a protester named Redcat said in an online report. "[Bush] probably worked on the house for about 5 minutes." 57

She described how a police officer yelled at her and threatened to handcuff her, and she moved away somewhat - but not too far - to avoid an uglier scene.

"I did push the envelope," Redcat said. "I felt I had to establish my ground....When the Waco sergeant in charge on the scene came out, he demanded that we go to this First Bullshit Zone that was supposed to be set up for us....I said, 'Every piece of public property in this free United States is a First Amendment zone.' He said I was going to get myself in trouble if I didn't go. I said that he was going to get himself in trouble if he tried to make me.

"I had warned everyone in our group and my husband that I would not be put in any stinking BS zone - period! I warned them that it might get me arrested in GW's fascist state," Redcat continued. "Americans died so I could have this right to speak in public on this street and no one is going to take it from me without a fight!" I told the sergeant."

Redcat compromised by moving back a little but not as far as the sergeant wanted, and she threatened to sue if she was arrested as local media witnessed the confrontation. When Bush's vehicle passed by, she chanted, "Jail to the Thief!" She also yelled out, "Your whole life is a lie, George! You can't fool all the people all the time, George! You are a common thief, George, and everywhere you go you will be met by an American patriot to remind you of your crime! You will fall in shame, George! Selected not elected! Shame, shame, shame!"

By this time, the Secret Service wanted the police to arrest Redcat, but the police apparently convinced them it might cause too much trouble for just one vocal protester. They also pointed out how they would have to move everyone, including the residents who had to leave their homes. "We all were patriots, and we have proudly served our country," Redcat said. "We didn't drop the flag."

Cheryl, another Home of the Brave member, discussed presidential coverage with some local media members, who acknowledged that hated doing such "puff pieces" but "had to eat." They said certain reporters who asked softball, prearranged questions were invited to the conferences.

"I miss the good old days of the Big Dog and Big Guy," Cheryl said. "They would let the people in and let them shake hands. There were never extras brought in to stage an event. Not this pResident, even the people that lived across the street from the house were standing with us. I was told they were asked to leave or stay in their homes while the pResident was there. I asked them

how they felt. ‘Honey, we are accustomed to being used, but he will not abuse us anymore come November 2004,’ [one said].” 58

She also registered two voters, some of whom were down about votes not being counted.

Protests don’t stop after Sept. 11

After the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, many people understandably pulled back their protests against Bush administration policies to focus on a response. But some didn’t stop. A few days after the tragedy, with Bush leading the beating of war drums to boost his militaristic agenda, students on some 150 college campuses across the country staged rallies and marches to urge a more peaceful response based on justice, not vengeance. Calling it the “National Student Day of Action for Peaceful Justice,” the actions included a march of some 1,000 at the University of California at Berkeley and a rally of several hundred with speakers using megaphone at Harvard University. The idea originated at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, and student organizer Mary Thomas said the campaign employed the Internet to get organized. “We started sending out e-mails Friday morning and by Sunday we already had 80 schools,” Thomas told *ABC News*. 59

Other students protested by playing songs over their college radio stations that had been banned by owners of the stations in an authoritarian order given to presumably boost patriotism and war fever. Those banned songs included “Imagine,” which was sung by Neil Young during a Sept. 21 nationwide telethon event, “Bridge Over Troubled Water,” “Hey, War Pig” by Katrina and the Waves, and any song by Rage Against the Machine.

And for the rest of the year, many more protests and meetings were organized, especially to coincide with the one-year anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in December. Democrats.com organized events in Washington, D.C., and New York City, where speakers included state Senator Tom Duane, New York University professors Todd Gitlin and Mark Crispin Miller, State Comptroller Carl McCall, Nation columnist John Nichols, and White House correspondent Ellen Ratner. Other events commenced in Norfolk, Va., Tampa, Fla., Orlando, Fla., Denver, Colo., Oakland, Los Angeles, Santa Ana, Calif., and Eugene, Ore.

Numerous student protests targeted environmental issues. “When I got involved [five years ago], we were this scrappy band of student environmentalists,” said Oberlin College senior Dave Karpf. “A lot more people are involved now and they take what they do very seriously - it’s very professional.” 60

Working to get the Senate to ban drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge was a top priority, he said. “If we can’t stop [Bush] there, where can we stop him?” Karpf asked.

In early January 2002, crowds continued to protest Bush visits. In Portland, Ore., about 500 people marched toward a job training center where he spoke. The group, organized by Portland Peaceful Response Coalition, which objected to civilian casualties in Afghanistan and crackdowns on civil liberties, was prevented from walking on the public sidewalks to the center by riot police. Some police cleared the crowd with their horses. Two people were arrested. Some protesters held catchy signs like “Election-Stealing Terrorist President Not Welcome Here” and “Another Bush, Another Recession.” 61

More than 100 people gave Bush a similar unwelcoming reception in Ontario, Calif. Bushies tried to keep the event at a public convention center secret, but news leaked out anyway. Protesters with signs were corralled in a zone. As participant Natasha pointed out, “Nothing in the First Amendment mentioned any zones.” 62

And in Austin, Tx., more than two dozen people protested Bush's appearance at the state Capitol for the unveiling of a painted portrait. Some held signs like "He's not my president" and displayed an "alternative portrait gallery" that featured Bush as Rambo and Alfred E. Newman. Many more people attended a speech by journalist Bill Moyers a few blocks away in which he blasted greedy politicians and corporations using Sept. 11 to push through tax breaks and other policies that benefited them. 63

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The need for key officials to exercise leadership in protecting the right to vote is imperative. This was not a responsibility that [Florida] officials were willing to accept during the 2000 election.

- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Chapter IV. The Establishment Responds - Sort Of

While many grassroots organizations organized street protests against the stolen presidency, there was no shortage of more established organizations filing lawsuits, lobbying for electoral reform, and opposing Bush and Cheney's misguided, right-wing policies.

And that was a good thing because the response from the official governmental agencies that should investigate electoral wrongdoing was generally abysmal - although a few agencies like the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights did their jobs.

Despite formal requests for investigations, the U.S. Senate, U.S. House of Representatives, and Attorney General John Ashcroft refused to investigate the vast evidence of fraud in Florida. They also refused to investigate the Republican protesters, who were mostly Congressional staffers, who intimidated Miami-Dade County election workers to see if they broke laws related to rioting, trespassing, vandalism, interfering with voting rights, obstruction of justice, and carrying out partisan political activities on government time.

They did not go after Katherine Harris, the co-chair of Bush's presidential campaign, to find out whether her rulings helped ensure that Bush would win Florida's electoral votes no matter what. Florida statute 104.31 prohibited a state official from using "his or her official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election ... or affecting the result thereof." They did not investigate alleged fraud related to cutting voters off the rolls in Florida or allowing Republicans to illegally doctor absentee ballots.

While Bush promised to make electoral reform a top priority in the immediate aftermath of his coup d'état, such promises, of course, were just more empty words from him. His administration rejected its first formal chance in March 2001 to help fix the problems. A Bush administration panel that included Cheney and O'Neill nixed a request from the Federal Election Commission for \$5.5 million over two years to help develop standards that would ensure elections were run properly. The administration also asked the FEC to cut \$1.4 million from its \$42.8 million budget request.

Several national Democratic leaders were quick to point out how Bush broke another campaign promise. "George W. Bush, Jeb Bush, and the Republican Party are at it again with their double-talk, two-step strategy," said Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe. "On the one hand, they send out Katherine Harris and say they are in favor of reform, but, on the other hand, they refuse to fund real reform efforts on a national or statewide level. All the Bush brothers are doing is paying lip service to the very real need for true election reform....This is another area where Bush has failed to lead, and the voters of this country won't forget." 1

Added Congressional Black Caucus Chairwoman Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas: "It is sad that the American people had to press Bush to agree to support election reform initially, and even sadder that when presented with a clear opportunity to make good on his promise, he has let

the American people down....Bush's first priority this year should have been election reform. The indication he has given through the rejection of the FEC proposal is that election reform is not even on his agenda." 2

Through 2001 and into early 2002, Bush continued to refuse to seriously address election reform. He issued the usual hollow statements about supporting broad goals like keeping the primary responsibility for elections with the states, something he hypocritically did not support in 2000 with his appeal to federal courts over Florida. Bush and most Republicans ignored Rep. Conyers' report on election problems throughout the country released in August, with some even saying that only a certain class of Americans should be allowed to vote.

But some House members started addressing the electoral reform issue early. In December, Reps. Peter Defazio, D-Ore., who noted that a confusing ballot in 1988 caused some 79,000 people to skip the 4th Congressional District race in Oregon, and Jim Leach, R-Iowa, filed a bill to establish a bipartisan commission to examine what could be done. In mid-February, U.S. House Democratic Minority Leader Dick Gephardt of Missouri appointed Rep. Maxine Waters, D-Calif., to head the Democratic Caucus Special Committee on Election Reform. She noted that the problems were not confined to Florida.

"While Florida's voting irregularities and in some cases questionable activities in minority communities are fresh in our minds, election problems were not limited to any one state or jurisdiction," Rep. Waters said. "Among the irregularities reported in Louisiana were incompatible lists of voters compiled by local election boards and the state's department of motor vehicles. In Maine, many voters were improperly purged from voter rolls. In Virginia, voters reported being asked for multiple identification documents." 3

She pledged to make the electoral reform committee's work her top priority. "There is no doubt our election system is in need of reform - we can and we must restore confidence in our cherished franchise," Rep. Waters said. "We will listen to the people of this country and gather information about what states and counties are doing to strengthen their voting systems. We will make recommendations about what the federal government can do to ensure that every citizen has the opportunity to exercise his or her right to vote as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States."

Democratic Senators also took quick action. In February, Florida Sens. Bob Graham and Bill Nelson wrote to Ashcroft and U.S. Civil Rights Commission Chairwoman Mary Francis Berry requesting detailed monthly updates on the voting rights investigations in Florida. Despite Ashcroft pledging to keep Congress updated during his confirmation hearings, Graham, who voted against confirming Ashcroft due to concerns over his commitment to the voting fraud investigation, and Nelson received only a brush-off from the Justice Department. But they continued to demand information on how much was being spent and the expected completion date. The civil rights commission did respond with detailed letters.

There were some fair-minded Republicans who took quick action. In December 2000, U.S. Rep. Leach, joined Rep. Defazio to sent a letter to Bush asking him to support their bill to establish a bipartisan Federal Election Review Commission that would examine the federal electoral process. In February, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., along with Democratic Sen. Fritz Hollings of South Carolina, filed legislation to develop voluntary standards to ensure greater registration and counting accuracy, as well as provide grants to local entities to improve their voting systems. Sen. McCain noted that African-Americans' votes were cast aside at greater rates.

"How can we encourage young Americans to vote if they believe their vote may not be counted? We must modernize our voting machinery and improve our voting process without

barraging the state and local governments with excessive rules and regulations,” Sen. McCain said. “The fact that an overwhelming number of precincts reported voting machine flaws is an embarrassment to our Democracy....We cannot encourage and expect every American to vote if we ignore the inequalities that are inherent in our entire voting system.” 4

Sen. McCain, as chairman of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, also started hearings on the matter before his colleagues in March 2001. Among those testifying was Rep. Carrie Meek, D-Fla., one of the 14 House members who walked out during the election certification in January. Wearing a pin that said, “Remember Florida”, Rep. Meek, the granddaughter of a slave, said that blacks’ votes being discarded in larger percentages than other groups in her state in November was nothing short of outrageous. Committee members, who included Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., agreed punchcard systems needed to be replaced by optical scanning systems. 5

Meanwhile, even Sen. Lieberman became less friendly to Republicans after being pilfered by the GOP in Florida. He visited black churches and synagogues in Florida right after Bush took office to discuss how he and Gore really won the White House.

Civil rights commission takes center stage

The main response to the fraud allegations from the federal government came from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which held hearings in Florida starting in January 2001. Among the more than 100 people testifying was Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, who passed the buck. He said elections head Katherine Harris was responsible for overseeing the election and tried to steer the focus away from Florida, saying other states had voting problems. 6

Harris also passed the buck, telling the commission that the state’s 67 county supervisors of elections bear primary responsibility. Then some supervisors blamed the state for failing to provide them with enough funds to educate voters, causing Commissioner Victoria Wilson to call the testimony “a merry-go-round called denial.” Harris referred most questions to Clay Roberts, director of the Elections Division, saying she had delegated him authority for day-to-day operations. Commission Chairman Mary Frances Berry described Harris’ testimony as “laughable,” saying she should understand her role and not pass the buck. 7

Berry also asked Bush whether he had conversations with his brother or other election officials about the sharp increase in voter registration among blacks and what type of effect it could have in the presidential campaign. Bush said he didn’t.

Commission Vice Chairman Cruz Reynoso noted that Harris could have allowed Palm Beach County to finish its recount after a 5 p.m. Sunday deadline by not opening her office until Monday morning, as the Florida Supreme Court order permitted. Harris claimed the decision was made before it was known that Palm Beach would be late.

Attorney General Bob Butterworth testified that his department received some 2,600 complaints of election irregularities, all but 300 of them in response to the controversial butterfly ballot in Palm Beach County. He said he was also concerned about the Florida Highway Patrol checkpoint set up on Election Day near a largely black voting precinct outside Tallahassee. Col. Charles Hall of the Highway Patrol defended the checkpoint, although he admitted there were violations of department policy. Those included the location not being on the monthly list for checkpoints and local news media not being notified as required. 8

Many of the stories told before these hearings and others conducted by the NAACP were horrifying, something out of the Jim Crow 1950s era. One African-American man said he was

pulled out of the voting line that day by white sheriff's deputies who said they wanted to check his voter's registration. The man said the deputies took him to a dark place outside, roughly handcuffed and frisked him, then let him go. They warned him that something much worse would happen to him if he was found in the voting line. The man had nightmares about being beaten, shot, and thrown into a swamp in ensuing nights and soon moved out of Florida. 9

While some in Florida thought the commission would hold a few hearings and fade away, that was not the case. When Jeb Bush gave little notice to election problems in his annual state of the state address in early March, Berry fired off a strong letter to him, telling him that her commission planned to hold more hearings and was not satisfied with officials' responses.

"I am writing to express my deep disappointment with your statement of priorities that was presented during the opening of the Florida legislative session, in which you did not address the most serious problems that occurred in Florida during the 2000 elections," Berry wrote. "My disappointment is based on my preliminary assessment that these problems would not be resolved even if the Legislature approved your request that new technology for recording votes be acquired and put into place. Voting technology reforms are necessary, and your support of them is a step in the right direction. These measures standing alone, however, are insufficient to address the significant and distressing issues and barriers that prevented qualified voters from participating in the recent presidential election." 10

Berry cited the need for a better process to identify felons who were ineligible to vote, more funds for better training of poll workers, and more voter education.

Sure enough, in June 2001, the commission's final report concluded that there were "serious" violations of the federal Voting Rights Act in Florida that "resulted in an extraordinarily high level of disenfranchisement, with a significantly disproportionate impact on African-American voters." 11

The commission's six-month investigation concluded that the election was plagued by faulty machinery, problems with access to polling places, wrongful purging of voter rolls, and a lack of attention by officials to evidence that growing numbers of voters would overwhelm outdated systems. The commission adopted the report by a 6-2 vote, with the members appointed by Republicans voting against it.

Berry said that since the disputed elections she had thought there would be more interest in electoral reform. The commission recommended that the Justice Department investigate the problems in Florida to determine whether criminal charges should be filed against certain officials.

While the report stopped short of concluding that Jeb Bush, Katherine Harris, and other officials conspired to disenfranchise voters, the commission noted that they "failed in fulfilling their responsibilities and were unwilling to take responsibility."

Commissioners said Jeb Bush insisted he had no specific role in the election, yet after the election he took on a leadership role in appointing a task force. They pointed out how Harris denied responsibility for the problems in the election and blamed county officials, yet "her claims of no responsibility sharply contrast to her actions in the immediate aftermath of Election Day, when she asserted ultimate authority in determining the outcome of the vote count." These state officials also ignored the pleas of county officials for guidance and help, the report said.

"The need for key officials to exercise leadership in protecting the right to vote is imperative," the commission said. "This was not a responsibility that [Florida] officials were willing to accept during the 2000 election."

Specific "serious" problems, which the panel said could have been prevented in many cases, cited in the report included a general failure of leadership from Bush, Harris, and others, inadequate

resources for voter education, training of poll workers, and for Election Day trouble-shooting, inferior voting equipment and ballot design, failure to anticipate the high volumes of voters, including inexperienced voters, “a poorly designed and even more poorly executed purge system,” and a resource allocation system that often left poor counties, which usually contained the highest percentage of black voters, adversely affected.

Bush’s response to the commission’s report was to largely ignore it and try to appoint more Republicans to the panel.

CBC starts electoral hearings

In February, as most Congressional Republicans refused to confront the main issue of 2000, the Congressional Black Caucus, which consisted of 37 Democratic members of Congress, started its hearings on election reform in Washington, D.C. CBC Chairwoman Johnson set a goal of Congress passing reform legislation by July 4 to solve the problems for the 2002 elections. But thanks largely to stalling by Republicans and their greater interest in other matters like rewarding their super wealthy campaign contributors with huge tax cuts, July 4 passed with federal electoral reforms nowhere in sight.

CBC members had met with Attorney General Janet Reno in December to request a Justice Department investigation into the Florida vote fraud. They also had met in late January with Bush and Cheney at the White House, although Florida CBC members boycotted that meeting in protest of the voting irregularities there. The meeting covered issues like electoral reform, Ashcroft, civil rights enforcement, education reform, tax policy, information technology, and Africa.

U.S. Rep. Eva M. Clayton, D-NC, chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, said the meeting went well and lasted about 90 minutes, nearly twice the scheduled length. “We conveyed the deep pain felt by many people in this country, especially voters in Florida who feel disenfranchised. We expressed our sincere concerns and disappointment with his nomination of Mr. Ashcroft, and the need for him to take positive actions to heal the divisions in this country,” she said. “[Bush] committed to work towards necessary election reforms, to increase public confidence in our justice system and in the Department of Justice, and to make Africa a priority.” 12

Such commitments by Bush were more empty words. In March, Bush withdrew the nomination of Roger Gregory, a respected African-American attorney from Richmond, Va., for a seat on the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals. That nomination was among the issues highlighted by the CBC in its January meeting with Bush.

Among those to testify before the CBC in February was Rep. Carrie Meek from Florida, who put the recent problems in historical context. “Within my lifetime, every conceivable effort was made to keep African Americans from voting, and to keep our votes from counting,” she said. “My generation, like my parent’s and grandparent’s generations, struggled mightily against poll taxes that you had to pay before they would let you vote; and ‘literacy’ tests that required African Americans - and only African Americans - to recite whole sections of state Constitutions or answer obscure questions to the satisfaction of examiners who could never be satisfied.” 13

Rep. Meek presented detailed statistics showing that a disproportionate number of African-American voters lived in counties that employed unreliable punch-card voting systems and had their votes discarded. She cosponsored a bill to provide \$6,000 per precinct to replace punch card voting machines and added she would introduce legislation to require supervisors of elections to

notify voters before they were purged from the voting rolls, and provide voters with the right to challenge such purges.

Rep. Conyers, the second most senior member of the House of Representatives and a CBC founder, observed that poll taxes and literacy tests had been replaced by punch card machines and butterfly ballots. “This is not just about machines....The polling place can have the best machine in the world, but if a police roadblock intimidates you from voting or if you are illegally purged, the machines won’t matter,” Rep. Conyers said. 14

Rep. Robert Wexler, D-Florida, testified that many Jewish and Italian retirees in his Palm Beach County district were confused by their ballots, while Congressional Hispanic Caucus Chairman Silvestre Reyes, D-Texas, spoke of intimidation of Latino voters. Added Rep. Barbara Lee, D-California: “To hear of these voting rights violations nearly 150 years after passage of the 15th Amendment, and over 35 years since the passage of the Voting Rights Act, is simply unacceptable. We would denounce these occurrences in other countries, and we must do the same here.” 15

Also speaking at the hearing were representatives of the NAACP, ACLU, and People for the American Way. NAACP President Kweisi Mfume outlined a 12-point plan to reform elections, including retraining of all poll workers, modernizing voting procedures and equipment, improving voter education, streamlining the absentee ballot process, and making wider use of bilingual ballots.

DNC Chairman Terry McAuliffe commended the CBC’s efforts on electoral reforms while blasting Republicans. “I must express my grave disappointment in the Republican leadership for failing to do more than appear in photos with the people of color who were the voters most predominately affected by this disenfranchisement,” he said. “While the Republican leadership preaches compassionate conservatism, that compassion does not evidently extend into the realm of making sure that every vote counts and that the will of the people is expressed. Only when both sides of the political system recognize and pledge to fix these problems will we ever be able to say that the results of our elections are the true indication of the people’s will.” 16

Maynard Jackson, chairman of the DNC’s newly-formed Voting Rights Institute, added, “Over the past few months, we have come to recognize the two faces of the Republican Party; one preaches compassion and diversity, and one seeks to do nothing about things like the mass disenfranchisement of minority voters and other Americans. If there is ever to come a time when voters are sure that their votes are counted and that their will is expressed, something needs to be done about the gross inequities in our system. Democrats are trying to do that, but the Republicans drag their heels. The Congressional Black Caucus has made great strides in examining the issue and looking for solutions.” 17

Philip A. Klinkner, an associate professor of government at Hamilton College in Clinton, N.Y. also released a report about the same time that backed up the U.S. Civil Rights Commission’s conclusion that there were higher rates of ballot problems in mostly African-American counties. Dr. Klinkner debunked an analysis by Illinois author Richard Posner that literacy was a significant factor for the ballot problems. He found that Posner used data that was in error for some counties. 18

Congress introduces reform bills

On March 14, inspired by the Black Caucus and other groups and individuals, Congressional Democrats unveiled voting reform legislation. The bill introduced by U.S. Sens. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., and Tom Daschle, D-S.D., and Rep. Conyers was called the Equal

Protection of Voting Rights Act. It would provide state and local entities with \$3.5 billion to improve their voting systems and form a temporary bipartisan commission to review the process. The bill would also set uniform performance standards for voting equipment, allow voters to correct any balloting errors, and provide language interpreters for voters, with state and local election officials required to meet standards by 2004.

“Voting represents the critically important voice of the people - and sadly as recent events have proven far too clearly - too many people just aren’t heard,” said Sen. Dodd, who led a Democratic task force examining voter disenfranchisement and other issues. “This initiative will help amplify that collective voice by correcting current inequities, ultimately ensuring that each and every person’s vote is counted on election day.” 19

The bill had 194 cosponsors in Congress by August 2001 and was supported by the NAACP, AFL-CIO, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Organization of Women, National Council of La Raza [NCLR], and National Federation of the Blind. Another strong supporter was the DNC, which announced the formation of the Voting Rights Institute, which had its own toll-free number to report abuses and make suggestions at 1-866-512-VOTE, in early May. The institute, designed to highlight flaws in the voting system and encourage solutions, started conducting hearings of its own May 7 in Florida, with others in Newark, Detroit, and Albuquerque.

“I encourage Republicans in the Congress to follow the lead of Senate Democrats who have unanimously rallied behind the Equal Protection of Voting Rights Act, and to work with Sen. Dodd and Rep. Conyers to institute genuine accountability for the protection of every ballot and every vote,” McAuliffe said. 20

Voting Rights Institute Chairman Maynard Jackson added, “The DNC has diligently worked through our Voting Rights Institute to raise the level of awareness on the issue of election reform and to find real short-term and long-term solutions to the problems which challenge our Democracy. As in the passage of the federal civil rights laws of 1954, 1964, 1965, and 1990 ending school desegregation, discriminatory voting statutes for minorities, and unequal access to public places, the Equal Protection of Voting Rights Act is yet another measure to obtain true civic parity for all Americans.” 21

Few Republicans support Dodd bill

While few Republicans supported the legislation, Sen. McCain filed his own bill in February and other Republicans like Sens. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., and Sam Brownback, R-Kansas, supported another less specific bill introduced in May. Sponsors of the Bipartisan Federal Election Reform Act included Democratic Senators Charles Schumer from New York and Robert Torricelli from New Jersey. The legislation would form another panel to further study the issue and report back within six months, as well as a new bipartisan agency, the Election Administration Commission, to distribute \$2.5 billion in grants over five years to states to improve their voting systems.

“This legislation combines the strongest elements of the two leading reform bills on the table into a compromise measure that has the broad support needed to break through congressional gridlock and make hanging chads a thing of the past,” Sen. Schumer said. 22

While several provisions were similar, Sen. Dodd said there were some critical differences. “The Dodd/Conyers bill would establish three requirements throughout the states - independent of whether they accept federal funds,” he said. “One, that all voters have the benefit of studying sample ballots before election day, so they are not flying blind when they enter a polling booth.

Two, that voters be allowed to provisionally vote - so they know that a second effort will be made by elections officials to ensure that their vote, if lawful, is counted. Three, that all polling places provide equal access to voters - whether they be able-bodied or disabled, sighted or visually impaired, English-speaking or non-English-speaking.” 23

Sen. McConnell responded that a carrot rather than stick approach was better and said there were already two federal agencies involved in election issues, the Federal Election Commission and the Department of Defense. “Introducing a third or fourth entity into the process, with little to no expertise, will impede rather than expedite solutions to these problems,” he said. “Rather than dictate from Washington, we should empower the states and localities with essential data from a centralized source, as well as provide financial resources overseen by experts in this arena.” 24

In May, U.S. Rep. Elijah Cummings, D-Md., introduced legislation that targeted minority vote dilution and disfranchisement. The bill would call on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to do a more focused investigation of minority voting disfranchisement, and require the president, attorney general, and Department of Justice to make the elimination of minority voting dilution a top priority. 25

Many Republicans in the House were largely silent on the issue. House Majority Leader Dick Armey, R-Texas, even told CNN that working on a bill to reduce taxes for the super rich was more important, which Congress passed in May before doing anything on electoral reforms. Armey also hypocritically said that federal lawmakers had to be careful to respect “the rights of the states to manage their own elections,” something he, the U.S. Supreme Court, and Republicans did not do in Florida. 26

The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee conducted a two-day hearing on election reform in May. Among those who pledged to address the problems was Sen. Lieberman, who noted that “many intended to record a choice for president, but had their votes discarded for any number of reasons, including confusing ballots, faulty voting equipment, rushed circumstances, and scores of other, sometimes more elusive, factors.” 27

The Armed Services Committee Military Personnel Subcommittee also held hearings on voting rights in May. Rep. McKinney testified that there was purposeful manipulation of the votes in Florida. “Nothing short of state-sanctioned voter fraud took place in Florida,” she said. “Minorities were victimized directly by the circus that ensued.” 28

In late June, Sen. Dodd started conducting hearings as the new chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee. Among the first witnesses was Berry of the civil rights commission. Sen. Dodd said the issue was “perhaps the single most critical issue facing the Congress this year: how to ensure that every American qualified to vote has an equal opportunity to cast a vote and have that vote counted.”

“To this day, many millions of Americans remain deeply hurt and offended by what took place last year - not just in one state, but in states and precincts throughout our country,” Sen. Dodd said. “It is unamerican and wrong to have an election system where certain classes of voters - racial minorities, language minorities, the blind and disabled - are disenfranchised at significantly higher rates than voters not in those classes. And until we can say as one nation that the differences in their disenfranchisement are insignificant, then our work as a Congress and a country is unfinished.” 29

In December 2001, the House of Representatives passed a \$2.65 billion election reform bill, while the Senate approved a \$3.4 billion proposal that, led by Sen. Dodd, had more teeth and enforcement capabilities. Leaders were expected to debate a final measure in early 2002 that would then be sent to Bush. Neither version proposed getting rid of the Electoral College, but focused on more money for election equipment and forming uniform voting standards and ballot-counting

methods. And the delay made it clear that reforms would not be in place by the November 2002 elections, possibly not even before 2004.

Florida grapples with some voter reforms

In early January, the NAACP, ACLU, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and People for the American Way kept the heat on Florida officials by filing another lawsuit contending that the state's presidential election discriminated against minority voters. Faced with such pressure from these groups, the Civil Rights Commission, and other sources, Florida officials had little choice but to do something about election reform.

On March 5, Jeb Bush, who was haunted by media reports of having an extramarital affair with Harris, as well as a former Playboy bunny who he appointed to a state office with a \$114,000 salary, to the point he denied having affairs under oath and before the media, endorsed a state task force's recommendations. He urged the Legislature in Tallahassee to adopt a uniform statewide balloting standard, abolish the punch-card voting system, and lease precinct-based optical scan machines in time for the 2002 elections. The estimated cost was about \$20 million.

But in Bush's State of the State address to the Florida Legislature a few days later, he paid little attention to election reform. The Civil Rights Commission was not the only source to criticize Bush. "The Bush brothers are content to bury their heads in the sand and pretend that last year's election never took place," the DNC's McAuliffe said. "Jeb Bush gave a long list of his priorities. A tax cut for the wealthiest was high on his list, but he found election reform barely worth mentioning. The similarities between the Bush brothers become clearer every day: they both care more about passing massive tax cuts for the rich than taking care of the issues their constituents care about most." 30

Still, the Florida Legislature passed some reforms in May under the Florida Election Reform Act. But the changes were mostly limited to the mechanics of voting and did not address how thousands of voters were cut off the rolls and disenfranchised, as well as the fraud questions.

In July 2001, the U.S. Department of Justice decided to delay implementation of the Florida legislation after the ACLU and others raised concerns about some provisions. The department questioned posting "Voter Responsibilities" lists at polling sites, a new felony purge process, and the disqualification process for provisional ballots. "The DOJ has taken an excellent first step in recognizing the gravity of the [Florida Equal Voting Rights Project's] concerns that these sections will disenfranchise minority voters," said Howard Simon, executive director of the ACLU of Florida. 31

"We are heartened by the fact that the Department of Justice is taking our concerns seriously," stated JoNel Newman, project co-director and counsel on a lawsuit filed in August 2001 to challenge the provisions. "We are certain that with more information, DOJ officials will reach the same conclusion that we have - that some of these electoral reforms push minorities voters back into the past rather than moving us all into the future." 32

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission noted that while Florida leaders deserved credit for tackling some reforms, they could have prevented most of the 2000 presidential election problems had they showed the same level of leadership in the months preceding the election. Furthermore, the legislation did not address accessibility for persons with disabilities, language assistance, and the purging of voters who had committed felonies. Legislators should hasten to "take up the issues they did not address in the last legislative package, such as making rules on purging of former felons less punitive and more in line with the mainstream of other states," the commission said. 33

Quietly, Florida changed its felon purge policy in a Feb. 2001 letter sent to county election officials. The letter said that felons who gained their voting rights in other states should be allowed to vote, a distinction that kept thousands from voting in Nov. 2000. 34

But according to Democrats.com, Florida also passed a separate secret felons purge law allowing the Republican-controlled Florida Division of Elections to send lists of voters that it “believes” were felons to county election supervisors for purging. The new purge law would use state funds set aside to help counties buy new voting equipment, especially counties with large minority populations that employed punch card machines in 2000. 35

The secret law [98.0975(5)] was distinct from a new felony purge statute [FS 98.0977] passed under the Florida Election Reform Act, Democrats.com said. The latter statute would not take effect until July 2002 so the state needed an interim law, which was a last-minute conference committee addition to an appropriations bill, SB2002, sneakily approved at the end of the Florida legislative session. It was so secret that Pasco Supervisors of Elections Kurt Browning, who monitors legislation for the Florida Association of Directors of Divisions of Election, and Democratic Florida State House of Representatives Minority Leader Lois Frankel were not aware of its existence.

“These things do not happen by accident, especially with appropriations implementation bills like this,” Frankel told Democrats.com. “Somebody had a conscious intent when they added this provision in the conference committee.” 36

When the Justice Department was notified about the secret purge law, which had not been submitted for pre-clearance, all the department did was call two Florida officials. When Democrats.com called them, they referred calls to Clay Roberts, who was unclear about whether the secret law could be implemented.

In a June 2001 issue of the Weekly Standard, Florida Republican Party Chairman Al Cárdenas revealed what many Republicans really thought about the disenfranchisement of minority voters. Cardenas, also a member of the Republican National Committee’s minority outreach committee, said Republicans would just write off African-American voters, while attacking the credibility of black leaders.

“These comments by a leader of the Republican Party are appalling and outrageous, and they disturbingly endorse an overtly discriminatory strategy of attacking African-American leaders,” McAuliffe said. “These statements are another notch in the belt of a party determined to permanently diminish the voice of the African-American voters.” 37

Others noted that Republicans’ plans to attack black leaders hypocritically followed Republican denials that they deliberately undermined African-American voters after the civil rights commission’s final report was publicized. “The Republican Party preaches minority inclusion while it plans to practice an assault on the credibility of African-American leaders,” said Lottie Shackelford, DNC vice chair for voter registration and participation. “This hypocrisy is a grave insult to the great sacrifices that the African-American community has made to advance and defend our country’s Democracy.”

Cardenas’ remarks came a couple months after Republican Florida state Rep. Allen Trovillion displayed his true bigoted colors before a group of gay and lesbian students who visited him to lobby for discrimination protection in Florida schools during a youth lobbying program. Trovillion, a regular on Democratic Underground’s “Top Ten Conservative Idiots,” reportedly told the students that God will “destroy” them and that they were causing “the downfall of this country, which was built on Christian principals.” 38

Once again, McAuliffe spoke out about such bigoted comments, saying he was shocked and disappointed. “This type of remark by a public official only legitimizes an atmosphere of intolerance, discrimination, and violence,” McAuliffe said. 39

Also in June, Republicans further upset gays and lesbians when Bush refused to recognize Gay and Lesbian Pride Month. “Gay men and lesbians have made invaluable contributions to our society,” McAuliffe said. “Just as it is wrong for Bush to exclude gays and lesbians from equal employment and hate crimes laws, it is disheartening to think that he would turn down an opportunity to recognize the community’s impressive role in our nation. This is the type of divisive politics and discrimination that is detrimental to the progress of our country.” 40

Group funded by mostly Republicans conducts election hearings

Besides governmental agencies conducting hearings, an establishment semi-private group, the New York-based National Commission on Federal Election Reform, started holding hearings on voting reforms in March 2001. Billed as a bipartisan effort that did not use public funds, the commission was founded in January 2001 by the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and The Century Foundation, a private, nonpartisan research foundation.

The commission’s claim to be a total private, nonpartisan effort was not quite accurate. The Miller Center was partly funded by public money through the university and governed by a board comprised of public and private officials. University of Virginia President John Casteen was on that council, as were numerous people who contributed directly to Republican politicians like Bush. Casteen, himself, took the unusual step for a college president of contributing \$250 in 2000 to the Sallie Mae Political Action Committee, which supposedly focused on student loan issues. But this PAC, based in conservative Reston, Va., gave far more money to Republicans than Democrats in 1999-2000, including \$15,000 to Republicans Bush and McCain and a big, fat zero to Democrats Gore and Bradley. Open Secrets, a project of the Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics, reported that Sallie Mae gave 62 percent of its federal contributions to Republicans in 1999-2000. The Century Foundation appeared more nonpartisan, with a good mixture of both Republican and Democratic contributors on its governing board.

Funding for the commission came from several foundations, led by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation. While commission officials said the funding did not come with any political strings, a questionable statement in itself - is there really such thing as a contribution with no strings attached? - federal records showed that both Hewlett and Packard donated to mostly Republicans in the past.

With former presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford as honorary co-chairmen, the commission first met in March in Washington to develop some more specific goals. “This is not a commission to rewrite the Constitution or refight the contest in Florida,” Carter and Ford said in a joint statement. “Instead, we hope to bring together thoughtful people from across the political spectrum to think about how our democratic institutions can improve the way our nation elects the leaders of our federal government, including the use of state-of-the-art technology.” 41

Among the problems the commission agreed to examine were voting techniques, ballot designs, the integrity of voter registration, how election results were released, absentee and overseas military voting, procedures for contesting and recounting election results, new technology, and the need for new oversight commissions. Noticeably absent were voter fraud, discrimination against largely African-Americans, and states’ practices of cutting former felons off voting rolls.

The commission developed task forces headed by professors like David King of Harvard University and John Mark Hansen of the University of Chicago. The commission claimed to be able to move quicker as a private entity, but the public civil rights commission issued its report a month before this private body. The private commission held four hearings between late March and early June at the Carter Center in Georgia, Reagan Library in California, Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Texas, and Ford Library in Michigan. In typical fashion, the national press largely ignored the hearings.

Some criticized the group for ignoring other political parties and having too narrow of a focus. "We find it unlikely that the commission will take the grievances of third parties and independents seriously," said Scott McLarty, a spokesman for the Association of State Green Parties, which reported in May 2001 that a record 88 Green politicians in 21 states held elected office in the U.S. San Francisco was the largest city with a Green council member, while seven states had at least three Green officeholders - California, Wisconsin, Oregon, Colorado, Minnesota, New Mexico, and Massachusetts.

"The commission's worthy but limited agenda - mechanical reforms like ensuring accurate vote counts - suggest that ideas like instant run-off voting and proportional representation and the reform of ballot access laws are not on the table," McLarty said. "Greens advise Americans to recognize the real purpose of this sham, self-appointed commission: strengthening the two-party system, rather than strengthening Democracy." 42

In late July, the commission issued its final report, which was to no surprise welcomed more by Republicans than Democrats and Greens. The panel did not recommend that the federal government require states to conform to federal standards, in contrast to the Dodd-Conyers bill. Sen. Dodd, while praising the Carter-Ford commission's work, said his bill was the best one for reform.

"In our view, the disenfranchisement of upwards of 6 million Americans - who are disproportionately poor, minority, and disabled - merits more than a voluntary approach to reform. The effective exercise of a citizen's fundamental right to vote should not depend on whether that citizen's home state has decided to accept federal funds - any more than it should depend on that citizen's race, income, or physical abilities," Sen. Dodd said. 43

Among the Carter-Ford recommendations were for states to adopt uniform systems of voter registration and what constitutes a valid vote, the allowance of provisional ballots, conducting national elections on holidays like Veterans' Day, felons to have their voting rights restored after serving their sentences, no more than 2 percent of votes could be discounted due to errors in counties, and a federal agency should develop national standards for voting machines. The commission also recommended that the media refrain from projecting winners before polls close in any of the 48 continental states. Federal grants of up to \$400 million would be available to states. 44

In a move of sheer hypocrisy, Bush the election thief appeared with Carter and Ford at a conference to announce the report. Carter had recently criticized Bush in a newspaper article, saying he was "disappointed in almost everything he has done." Carter reportedly backed away from the article, telling Bush he had praised him, as well, but the comments were omitted. 45

Rep. Conyers noted that the Carter-Ford commission, while doing some "valuable work" for election reform, did not take a position on "the most vital issue facing Congress, whether we should adopt minimal and mandatory federal standards for federal elections, as the Conyers-Dodd bill would do, or whether we should allow states to opt out of reform simply by refusing to cash a federal check, as the conditional grant scheme would do."

“If we had adopted a states’ rights approach to voting reform and civil rights in the last four decades, many of us would still be paying poll taxes and drinking from separate water fountains,” Rep. Conyers said. 46

He also questioned Bush’s commitment to electoral reform. “Before today’s Rose Garden ceremony, where has the president been? It has been 192 days since he became president, five months since he allocated no money for election reform in his budget, five months since he promised the Congressional Black Caucus he would act on this issue, and four months that the Democratic Caucus has been waiting for a response to its letter asking for the president’s views on reform.”

Other groups make proposals

In August 2001, the National Task Force on Election Reform, a 37-member panel of state and local elections administrators sponsored by the Houston-based Election Center, recommended that the federal government become more active in developing and financing national election standards, but stopped short of dictating to states what should be done. The panel also called on the Justice Department to investigate allegations of civil rights violations. 47

The report said most of the problems in Florida could have been avoided if the state had a uniform definition of what constitutes a valid vote and a uniform procedure for recounting votes. Most 2000 election problems resulted from conflicting laws created by people, not machines, the task force said.

Another quasi-private group, the Voting Technology Project that involved the California Institute of Technology, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Carnegie Corporation, reported in July 2001 that from 4 to 6 million votes were cast out in the 2000 presidential election due to problems with ballots, equipment, registration, and others. “For many years, we have ‘made do’ with this deeply flawed system, but we now know how poorly these systems function,” Caltech President David Baltimore and MIT President Charles M. Vest said in a joint statement. “Until every effort has been made to insure that each vote will be counted, we will have legitimate concerns about embarking on another presidential election.” 48

The report also found that optical scanning was the most reliable method and that Internet voting was hampered by the threat of computer hacking. Among the group’s recommendations were to do away with punch-card and lever systems in favor of optical scanning, equip all polling sites with laptops to provide instant access to voter registration data, replace absentee balloting with early voting, and establish a National Elections Research Lab or program to develop better voting equipment and systems.

“We are hopeful that the report will become a valuable resource, and that it will help to bring about real change in the near future,” said Steve Ansolabehere, a professor of political science who headed up the MIT team. 49

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Dick Arme y and the Republican Congress say you all should get over it. I don't plan on getting over it, and I hope you're not, either.

- Robert Borosage, co-founder, Campaign for America's Future

V. Getting Stronger Every Day

As the Bush administration's far right agenda became more apparent, the opposition by individuals, grassroots groups, established organizations, and some politicians strengthened. More coalitions like Fair Taxes For All, comprised of some 500 organizations, formed to create a stronger, more organized opposition. Organizations like Democrats.com, Citizens for Legitimate Government, the Sierra Club, and NAACP saw their membership grow as people mobilized to stand against Bush's policies.

Even President Clinton, who vowed not to criticize the Bush administration in its first few months, attacked Bush for not doing enough to combat AIDS in a speech in late April 2001 in Africa, according to *The New York Times*. Clinton warned Democrats not to take Bush lightly, that Bush was a craftier politician than many people gave him credit, and he was doing much of what he said he would in his campaign if one read between the lines of Bush's messages.

While praising the Bush administration for such aspects as its discipline, Clinton criticized Bush for tearing down his policies like on the environment, ergonomics, and adding police officers, saying Bush found it easier to destroy than create. Clinton also said Bush had not followed through on certain promises like reaching out to Democrats and did not move fast enough to condemn reports that Clinton trashed the White House and Air Force One. Clinton was also stunned that Bush only devoted about five hours to prepare his first budget proposal, while Clinton spent about 75 hours on his initial one. And Clinton still thought Gore really won the election but admired how Gore handled himself during the recount battle, and that the media treated Bush far better than himself. ¹

Coalitions form against Ashcroft

Opposition campaigns by groups like Democrats.com started with Bush's Cabinet nominations, particularly Ashcroft and Norton. Almost every group attacked Ashcroft, who was nominated for attorney general by the Senate by a 58-42 margin. Democrats.com even formed a web site, ashcroftlied.com, to focus on his record and lobby for Congressional Democrats to filibuster to block Ashcroft's nomination.

"The record shows that Ashcroft lied to the Senate about the record of Judge Ronnie White, that he lied to the public about his awareness of the racist policies of Bob Jones University, and that he lied to the people of Missouri about the regular and routine misuse of his public office to advance his personal political fortunes," Democrats.com's David Lytle said. ²

A filibuster was appropriate since Ashcroft himself conducted filibusters against qualified Clinton appointees such as Surgeon General David Satcher, Bob Fertik noted. "In using every

measure at their disposal to block Democratic nominations during the Clinton administration, Ashcroft's spokesman once bragged, 'We're making business as usual impossible.' Now it is time to serve Mr. Ashcroft some of his own medicine," he said. 3

But Democratic Senators backed down, as they had to the call to oppose Florida's electors on Jan. 6. Though no Senator had the courage to filibuster, the 42 opposition votes sent a weaker message that Bush's nominees would not just sail through the process. And some Senators made strong statements against Ashcroft. They noted that as Missouri Attorney General, Ashcroft resisted desegregation laws in St. Louis, and as a senator he sponsored a constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortion even in cases of rape or incest. Ashcroft also called African-American Judge Ronnie White "pro-criminal" in opposing him for a higher job, and he opposed James Hormel for an ambassador position simply because he was gay.

"Ashcroft's promises to the Senate also must be assessed in light of his treatment of a job applicant, who says then-Governor Ashcroft asked him about his sexual orientation," Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, D-N.Y., said. "They must be assessed in light of his decision to grant an interview to a magazine that celebrates the Confederacy and even the Lincoln assassination. And they must be assessed in light of his honoring a university by his presence without making any criticism of that institution's anti-Catholic beliefs or segregationist practices." 4

Ashcroft misrepresented the truth numerous times during his Senate testimony, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., said. For example, Ashcroft testified that he never opposed integration. "But that's not true. In fact, he referred to the St. Louis voluntary desegregation plan as 'an outrage against human decency.' And he fanned the flames of racial division by campaigning against the desegregation plan in his race for governor in 1984," Sen. Kennedy said. "He's wrong on civil rights, wrong on a woman's right to choose, wrong on needed steps to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children." 5

But for eight Democrats - John Breaux of Louisiana, Ben Nelson of Nebraska, Chris Dodd of Connecticut, Robert Byrd of West Virginia, Zell Miller of Georgia, Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, Kent Conrad of North Dakota, and Byron Dorgan of North Dakota - to support Ashcroft was an affront to the Democratic Party, said Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr., D-Ill. "During Mr. Ashcroft's confirmation hearings, we found out that this so-called man of integrity had just plain lied about Judge White. Now Mr. Ashcroft has convinced his former colleagues to ignore his actions, actions that apparently prompted him to keep company with racially-intolerant institutions such as the neo-Confederate Southern Partisan magazine and Bob Jones University," Rep. Jackson said. "To have Justice Clarence Thomas swear him in only adds insult to injury." 6

The Sierra Club voiced concern that Ashcroft's past opposition to anti-pollution laws would result in him not vigorously enforcing these laws as attorney general. During the hearings, Ashcroft pledged to defend Clinton's initiative to protect 60 million acres of roadless areas in national forests from destruction.

"The narrow vote puts John Ashcroft on notice that he should not let corporate polluters off the hook as America's top environmental cop," said Carl Pope, executive director of the San Francisco-based Sierra Club. "In his hearing, Ashcroft pledged to uphold the laws safeguarding our families from pollution, and we'll make sure he doesn't duck that commitment." 7

In addition, a coalition of campaign finance reform organizations and Missouri voters filed a complaint in March 2001 before the Federal Election Commission alleging that Ashcroft's failed 2000 Senate campaign violated federal campaign finance laws. Ashcroft's political action committee contributed a fundraising list of 100,000 donors to Ashcroft's Senate campaign in Missouri after already donating \$10,000, the legal allowable limit, according to the complaint.

Groups that filed the complaint included Common Cause, the Alliance for Democracy, and the National Voting Rights Institute. But of course, nothing was done since Ashcroft was the nation's top cop.

Such groups also mobilized against Norton as Secretary of the Interior. She was approved by a larger margin than Ashcroft, 76-24, but that was smaller than other Bush cabinet members like Christie Whitman as EPA head. In 1981 only 12 Senators had the courage to vote against Norton's mentor and fellow environment destroyer, James Watt, who was Interior Secretary under Reagan. Like failed Bush nominee Linda Chavez, Whitman was another hypocritical Republican who broke the immigration law by hiring illegal workers, while pledging to uphold the country's laws. But unlike Chavez, the Senate let Whitman slide.

The Sierra Club's Pope noted that Norton ducked questions, such as how she would protect against damaging mines, but made some commitments to enforcing laws that she previously opposed as a lawyer and lobbyist. Those included laws protecting endangered species' habitat like American bald eagles' nests. "Norton's nomination is a giant reward to the oil, gas, and mining industries that funded Bush's campaign," Pope said. "If Norton pushes policies that profit polluters at the expense of our clean water and spectacular lands, Americans will howl in protest and Congress will stop her dead in her tracks." 8

Sadly, that was not to be on several proposals, as Norton expanded road-building and mining in parks and on federal land under an executive order following Sept. 11.

Opposing the refuge plan

In Bush's first few months, much opposition centered on his environmental policies, particularly his plan to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, an Alaska wilderness protected by the Republican Eisenhower administration four decades before, to oil development. That proposal was opposed overwhelmingly by Americans in a Feb. 2001 Associated Press poll by a 53 to 33 percent margin.

On Feb. 26, the Republicans unveiled their energy bill, which among other aspects called for drilling the refuge to supposedly help with California's energy crisis. Rep. Bob Filner, D-Calif., noted how wrong Republicans were when they blamed the state's problems with energy deregulation on environmental regulations and the supposed lack of power plants. In remarks before Congress, he recalled how families' energy bills doubled and even tripled within two months of deregulation.

"What caused this incredible price increase? Yes, supply was tight, but demand was less than the previous summer had been. The cost of production had not even risen at that point significantly," Rep. Filner said. "The answer was market manipulation, in my view criminal manipulation by a wholesale energy cartel. There is evidence that has been supplied to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, the Attorney General of the United States, the State of California Attorney General, our local district attorneys, evidence of supply illegally withheld, transmission data falsified. Based on such evidence, last December the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, known as FERC, found wholesale prices in California to be illegal." 9

Rep. Filner called on Congress to pass his bill, the Electricity Consumers' Relief Act, which he and Sen. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., introduced in September 2000. The legislation would require that FERC set immediate cost-based rates for electricity and require that energy producers and marketers that profited from illegal rates refund the overcharges to consumers and utilities.

“We know from evidence in San Diego that there was power in California during our whole electricity crisis,” he said. “It was not being provided because the energy cartel wanted to make the market work for increased prices....[Energy companies’] quarterly reports show increased profits by nearly 1,000 percent. We must hold this cartel accountable and provide the relief that Californians and all Americans so desperately need and deserve.”

A Public Citizen report exposed the coziness of the Bush regime with energy companies that greatly profited from the California energy crisis in early 2001. Nine power companies and a trade association that stood to gain the most from Bush’s hands-off policy in California contributed more than \$4 million to Republican candidates and Party committees during the 2000 election, according to Public Citizen. Three of the companies - Enron, Reliant Energy, and Dynegy - were based in Texas and gave more than \$1.5 million to Bush’s campaign, his inauguration committee, and the Republican National Committee. Two companies - Enron and Reliant - were headed by close Bush advisors Kenneth Lay and James Baker III. Enron, Reliant Energy, and Dynegy reaped huge profits in 2000, increases of 42 percent, 55 percent, and a whopping 210 percent, respectively, according to company financial reports.

“It seems clear that the Bush administration is trying to return the favors done by friends and donors,” Public Citizen President Joan Claybrook said. “Bush is helping out his buddies at the expense of every consumer in California, and his refusal to cap wholesale prices is threatening to wreak havoc on the entire western region of the United States.” 10

The Bush administration had the authority to intervene in the crisis through FERC, but Bush declined, Claybrook noted. There were similar charges raised against energy companies when retail gasoline prices skyrocketed in early 2001 and many top Bush contributors like Exxon and Mobil made obscene profits.

In testimony before the Senate Committee for Governmental Affairs during a hearing on the California energy crisis, Sen. Barbara Boxer called the situation “the biggest fraud since the S&L scandal. With each day that passes, consumers in my state of California pay higher and higher prices for electricity. Meanwhile, CEOs of the electricity generators continue to rake in record profits.” 11

Rather than investigating price gouging at the pump, Bush was content to let working Americans use their portion of the tax cut to increase the profits of Big Oil, Sen. Boxer said. “What this nation needs is a balanced approach that couples energy efficiency with new energy from renewable sources and environmentally-sound fossil fuel production,” she said. 12

Rep. Martin Frost of Texas, who chaired the Democratic Caucus energy task force, also noted that Bush officials refused to pressure the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries to increase production quotas for crude oil. Some Bush officials even denied that OPEC production cuts affected high energy prices, Rep. Frost noted. Among those was Cheney in a May CNN interview, who blamed the problem on the supposed lack of new refineries.

In contrast, officials with the Department of Energy’s Energy Information Agency testified before the House Energy and Commerce Committee that actions taken by OPEC and other crude oil exporting countries were largely responsible for the sharp increase in oil prices from the \$10 levels in December 1998. OPEC dramatically reduced crude oil production in 1998 and early 1999, they said, to help world inventories drop to extremely low levels. Rep. Frost also pointed out that in January 2000, Bush criticized the Clinton administration for not doing enough to bring oil prices down and called for pressure on OPEC to increase oil production.

“Instead of defending OPEC, the administration should provide consumers with relief from high gas prices by convincing oil producing nations to increase production - as the president promised to do in last year’s campaign,” Rep. Frost said. 13

Even some Republicans oppose Bush oil plan

As parts of Republicans’ energy bill were publicized, a bipartisan Congressional coalition, led by Sens. Lieberman, D-Conn., and Hillary Rodham Clinton, D-N.Y., and Reps. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn., and Ed Markey, D-Mass., filed legislation to protect the refuge from oil exploration. “The Arctic Refuge is part of what makes our country so unique, so beautiful, and so precious. It deserves protection, not exploitation,” Sen. Clinton said. “What we need are incentives for energy efficient products and alternative and renewable fuels, and improved conservation....Most of us here may never have a chance to see the Arctic Refuge. But we value places like the refuge because they say something about who we are as a people. We benefit as a country because the refuge is there, untouched, as God created it.” 14

Sen. Bob Graham of Florida, another co-sponsor, said the country could come up with a less destructive way to meet its energy needs. “Destroying an irreplaceable environment forever, in return for a few months worth of oil, hardly seems like a reasonable trade off,” he said. 15

Added Sen. Jim Jeffords, I-Vt., who visited the refuge in 1997 as part of a Senate delegation: “As a nation we must continue to protect this vital ecosystem while working to bring good jobs, education, and health care to these native communities....Drilling and exploration in this gentle Arctic wilderness could have a lasting impact that would forever damage the environment of this region.” 16

The energy task force that developed Bush’s plan, led by Cheney, met mostly in private despite being a public body using taxpayers’ money. Cheney refused to supply names of people who met with the panel, whom many suspected were mostly campaign contributors associated with oil and gas firms.

In April 2001, Rep. Henry Waxman of California, the ranking Democrat on the House Government Reform Committee, and Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich., the ranking Democrat on the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, asked the General Accounting Office to investigate the task force. “The process of energy development needs sunshine,” the congressmen wrote. “At a minimum, the public has the right to know who serves on this task force; what information is being presented to the task force and by whom it is being given; and to learn of the costs involved in the gathering of the facts.” 17

Cheney and his counsel refused to give any such information, citing “executive privilege” and claiming that the GAO lacked the authority to investigate the matter. Reps. Waxman and Dingell wrote several more letters to the task force and other agencies, pointing out how only the president can invoke executive privilege. The GAO wrote several letters to the task force and in June 2001 warned that if it did not receive the information requested, the Comptroller General would issue a formal demand letter, giving the agency 20 days to respond. If the agency failed to respond to that, the Comptroller General could bring legal action to force the task force to reveal who was its members and what exactly it did behind closed doors.

“It is past time for the American people to find out what went on in Cheney’s Energy Task Force,” Rep. Dingell said. “What are they hiding?” 18

There is absolutely no question that the GAO has the authority to investigate the task force, Rep. Waxman said. “The vice president should stop stonewalling and start cooperating with GAO’s investigation,” he said. 19

But Cheney even stonewalled the GAO, causing Comptroller David Walker to write Congress a letter highly critical of Cheney in August 2001 and appealing to Bush to release the information.

Unlike the GAO, the Ashcroft-led Justice Department refused to do its job in investigating charges that U.S. House Speaker Dennis Hastert, R-Ill., and House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, took bribes from companies in exchange for access to Bush administration officials. Even the conservative legal watchdog group Judicial Watch criticized Hastert and DeLay and called for the Justice Department to investigate. But Ashcroft was more interested in cracking down on environmentalists and preserving a person’s right to own an assault weapon. 20

Meanwhile, environmental groups and leading Democrats, who unveiled a new web site at www.GrandOldPetroleum.com to focus on Bush and Cheney’s lack of solutions and provide resources to take action against the plan, wasted little time attacking Republican proposals. “Drilling for oil in the Arctic Refuge coastal plain makes no sense from an environmental, economic or energy perspective,” said Gregory Wetstone, program director for the Washington, D.C.-based Natural Resources Defense Council. “One can quibble over just how much economically recoverable oil there is under the coastal plain’s tundra, but there’s not enough to make a difference. The real solution to our energy problems is increased fuel efficiency. It would be faster, cheaper and cleaner than drilling in the refuge.” 21

Wetstone disputed Republicans’ claims that the U.S. Geological Survey has said the Arctic Refuge contains as much as 16 billion barrels of oil. He noted that the USGS predicted there was only a 5 percent chance of there being that much recoverable oil. A more likely figure was 3.2 billion barrels - less than what the U.S. used in six months.

The plan would have no impact on California’s energy woes since it would take at least 10 years for oil from the refuge to reach West Coast refineries. And California relied very little on oil.

“The United States cannot produce its way out of oil dependence,” said Dr. Daniel Lashof, an NRDC senior scientist. “The United States today produces only about 12 percent of world petroleum supplies, so even a significant boost in domestic production would have a marginal effect. What we can do is dampen U.S. consumption, which amounts to about 25 percent of world petroleum demand.” 22

Increasing the average fuel efficiency for new cars, sport-utility vehicles, and light trucks to 39 miles per gallon by 2010 would save 51 billion barrels of oil through 2050, he said. That was more than 15 times the likely yield of oil from the Alaskan refuge. After Jim Jeffords courageously bolted from the Republican Party in May 2001 and Democrats controlled the Senate, even Republicans admitted the issue was dead, although the House tried to revive it.

While Bush clearly sided with his corporate contributors in his first few months, even the U.S. Supreme Court sided with public health in refusing to water down EPA standards under the Clean Air Act on Feb. 27. The court overturned a lower court’s ruling to revive a 70-year-old legal doctrine that would have prevented the EPA from carrying out key Clean Air Act provisions to protect public health against corporate polluters.

“The Supreme Court rejected outrageous industry claims suggesting that the Constitution denies EPA the authority to protect public health and the environment from air pollution,” said David Hawkins, director of the air and energy program for the Washington-based Natural Resources Defense Council. 23

Bush under more fire

Bush also came under fire in mid-March when he broke a campaign promise to regulate carbon dioxide emissions from power plants. “In breaking this promise, the president also breaks his promise to leave no child behind,” Sen. Clinton said. “Because the real victims of global warming will be our children, and their children, who will inherit an Earth suffering severe environmental consequences.” 24

Bush broke ranks with Cabinet members like EPA Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, who had pledged to reduce carbon dioxide emissions in a recent international meeting, and Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, who advocated for greater action on global warming. Bush’s “flip-flop threatens to undercut America’s efforts to convince other nations to do more to reduce emissions that contribute to global warming,” Sen. Clinton said. “By not cleaning up our own house, we will, in effect, ask our global neighbors to do as we say, not as we do. In that sense, the president’s new stance on global warming represents a global license to pollute.”

But there were some Republicans who did not share Bush’s passion for polluters. In mid-March, Sen. Jeffords, who was still Republican at that time, along with Sens. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., and Lieberman, introduced the Clean Power Act of 2001. The bill called for substantial cuts in emissions of nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, mercury, and carbon dioxide at power plants, particularly those exempted from current clean-air standards, by 2007. “An energy crisis is not a ticket to pollute,” Sen. Jeffords said. “Today’s energy emergency should not result in tomorrow’s environmental catastrophe.” 25

Later in March, Bush announced the intention to roll back a new drinking water standard for arsenic, a known human carcinogen. The standard would have followed the recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences and brought the U.S. up to international standards. “I think it’s regrettable that we would turn our backs on an effort to update a standard which has not been revised in almost 60 years,” Sen. Clinton said. 26

Sen. Clinton, along with Sens. Joseph Biden of Delaware, Barbara Boxer of California, Richard Durbin of Illinois, Bill Nelson of Florida, Chuck Schumer of New York, and Paul Wellstone of Minnesota attended a press conference to unveil legislation to block the Bush administration’s moves on arsenic. The bill would cut the acceptable level of arsenic in drinking water from 50 parts per billion to 10 parts per billion. “The administration clearly caved in to mining interests rather than safeguarding the public and the environment,” Sen. Nelson said. 27

The decision was further baffling in that children would be exposed to arsenic levels in their drinking water that led to a 1 percent risk of cancer, Sen. Tom Daschle, D-S.D., said. “Cost should not be an issue. Instead, we must provide communities with the assistance they need to supply healthy drinking water,” he said. “We can keep consumers’ and municipalities’ costs down and keep drinking water safe.” 28

On April 24, the Washington, D.C.-based League of Conservation Voters strongly criticized Bush administration actions during its first 100 days in office. “The environmental assault during its first 100 days has failed the majority of Americans who want stronger, better enforced environmental safeguards,” said LCV President Deb Callahan. “In the end, Bush’s environmental agenda is driven by special interests, not the public interest, and his actions threaten decades of progress to protect our health and our natural resources.” 29

In particular, the LCV blasted Bush wanting to cut \$2.2 billion in environmental funding from the federal budget, drill for oil in the Arctic Refuge, delay protections against arsenic in drinking water, and not reduce carbon dioxide emissions.

Later in April, Bush and Cheney further infuriated environmental organizations and Democrats by rejecting the Kyoto Protocol, which called for the U.S. to substantially reduce pollutants emitting from industrial plants. Some 13 Democratic Congress members, including Barbara Lee of California, Bob Menendez of New Jersey, Cynthia McKinney of Georgia, and Alcee Hastings of Florida, sent Bush a letter opposing that move.

“We must send a strong message to the president and the country that Congress will hold Mr. Bush to his campaign pledge, that it recognizes that global warming poses grave dangers to our environment, our economy, and our national security, and that this country must reduce its CO2 emissions,” Rep. Lee said. 30

Though Bush campaigned as a moderate, people should not be surprised at his abrupt turnaround once he obtained the presidency, Rep. McKinney said. “It has been no secret that Bush has aligned himself with industry and placed corporate profits above the interests of the people or the planet,” she said. “For the first time in eight years, the big oil, gas, and chemical companies have a friend in the White House allowing them free reign in their industrial practices.....Bush would still be watching baseball games in Texas were it not for the campaign donations of these large companies, bent on destroying what’s left of our environment.” 31

Reps. Lee, Hastings, and Menendez also co-authored the State Department Authorization Bill, which emphasized the dangers of global warming and the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and complete negotiations for the Kyoto Protocol. Lee also authored the Carbon Dioxide Emissions and Global Climate Change Act of 2001, which called for reducing CO2 emissions to 1990 levels by 2010. The legislation had more than 40 co-sponsors and was also endorsed by groups like the National Environmental Trust, Natural Resources Defense Council, World Wildlife Fund, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Sierra Club.

In May, when Cheney’s task force unveiled its entire plan, some Republicans tried to upgrade their image as conservationists by posing with a hybrid vehicle. Rep. Frost, the Democratic Caucus Energy Task Force chairman, noted the hot air emanating from the public relations stunt.

“To believe the Republican rhetoric, you have to ignore six years of Republican energy inaction - as well as the Bush budget. All the photo opportunities in Washington cannot hide the fact that the Bush-Cheney energy plan does virtually nothing for consumers today - or that the Bush budget guts investment in conservation by 26 percent and in energy efficiency by 27 percent,” Rep. Frost said. “For the past six years, the Republican Congress has alternated between blocking Democratic energy independence proposals and killing them outright. Before that, Republican administrations killed off most of the programs designed to promote investment in conservation, efficiency, and renewables. That combination of Republican inaction and hostility to balanced energy policy is a major reason for America’s energy problems today.” 32

The Democrats’ energy plan provided a balanced approach that boosted OPEC oil production, stressed conservation, and protected the environment, Rep. Frost said. “It’s time for Republicans to start working with us - before Americans are forced to choose between filling up their grocery carts and filling up their gas tanks this summer,” he said.

Sens. Tom Daschle and Tim Johnson of South Dakota called Bush’s energy proposal a return to the past. “It relies almost exclusively on the old way of doing things - drilling more oil wells, burning more coal and using more natural gas,” Sen. Daschle said. “We are not going to drill or dig our way out of this problem. We need a balanced national energy policy that deals with the

immediate problem of high energy prices, invests in renewable sources of energy like ethanol, and lowers consumer energy bills by improving efficiency.” 33

The senators strongly disagreed with Bush officials’ statements that immediate energy relief for Americans was unlikely. They proposed increasing spending and eligibility for LIHEAP, a relief program, developing a streamlined system of gasoline specifications to ensure flexibility in the market, making sure production at refineries was not curtailed during blackouts, and requiring federal vehicles that could use alternative fuels to do so. They also called for a bipartisan Senate committee to investigate the situation. “This issue is reaching crisis proportions - talking about high gas and energy bills isn’t enough. We need action,” Sen. Daschle said.

In June, a report by the National Academy of Sciences, issued at the request of the White House, confirmed that the Earth’s temperatures were rising and vindicated the findings of the United Nation’s International Panel on Climate Change. “The White House can no longer deny or question the scientific basis for action,” said Sen. Lieberman, who attended the international negotiations in Rio de Janeiro, Kyoto, and Buenos Aires. “Climate change is real and potentially disastrous and will only get worse unless we take steps to address this problem.” 34

The Bush administration’s reliance on voluntary measures don’t work, Lieberman noted. “We tried that in 1990, and our greenhouse gas emissions have only risen,” he said.

As the Bush administration continued its harmful policies, environmental organizations like Greenpeace kept the heat on by unfurling a 300-foot banner in July 2001 on Miami Beach reading “Global Warming = Sea Level Rise” and “Stop Global Warming or Kiss this Beach Goodbye.” The group also resurrected the Rainbow Warrior ship to sail on a tour of eastern port cities through September 2001 to call attention to Bush’s lack of action on global warming and related issues.

“This [Kyoto] agreement marks the salvation of the most important global environmental treaty of the 21st century,” said John Passacantando, executive director of Greenpeace USA, “and having the U.S. on the sidelines is a global embarrassment... The Bush administration’s retrograde environmental positions have galvanized broad efforts to move this treaty forward.” 35

The alignment of Bush with corporate polluters was nothing new to people in Texas who had fought him on such issues for years. Those included Dallas teen-ager Josh Schonborn, an asthmatic who participated in numerous protests of Bush’s policies in Texas. In one, Bush asked police to arrest protesters who dared to ignore an order to move away from the front of the Governor’s Mansion in Austin.

“He doesn’t want to listen to people like me, who are affected by the industrial plants that pollute. I can’t even go outside on many days because of the pollution,” said Josh, who has to miss several weeks a year at the William B. Travis Vanguard/Academy for the Academically Talented and Gifted in Dallas to get oxygen treatments. “Texas has the worst air quality in the nation. [Bush] paid no attention to the air quality here, and now I’m afraid that he won’t be concerned about the air quality of the nation. That worries me most of all.”

The tax cut battle

Bush and Cheney’s \$1.6 trillion plan to give tax cuts mostly to super-rich people like themselves rivaled their environmental policies as lightning rods for criticism. Another Bush lie came out in this battle; during the presidential campaign he said that most of the money would go to lower-income Americans. But in reality, more than 60 percent would go to the wealthiest 10 percent of Americans, according to Citizens for Tax Justice, a Washington-based organization.

After Bush unveiled the plan in February 2001, Fair Taxes For All formed in early March to oppose him. Among the hundreds of coalition members included the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the AFL-CIO, the Invest in America Coalition, the Coalition on Human Needs, the National Council of Women's Organizations, and the National Low-Income Housing Coalition.

"The battle we're stepping up to fight is for the majority of Americans," said Ralph G. Neas, president of People For the American Way and co-chair of Fair Taxes For All. "We're fighting for lower- and middle-income working families, for children, for seniors, for people of color and people with disabilities, for women. We're here to fight for every American who expects our government to play fair and to act responsibly....Bush's proposed tax cuts favor the rich at the expense of everyone else. They offer a roll of the dice at the risk of our nation's economic health and stability." 36

Neas noted that Bush was proposing the same "voodoo" economic policies of massive tax cuts and more spending that Reagan put forth, despite opposition from Bush Sr. "Well, George H.W. was right, and George W. is wrong," Neas said. "Bush's tax cut proposal offers a return to the '80s and its days of budget slashing and growing deficits that we have just recovered from. I've been in many battles in Washington and when I look back, I really only have one regret. It's that I and most of the progressive community did not fight hard enough against the 1981 Reagan economic package. We're still working to make up the ground we lost because of it. We're not going to make that same mistake again. We're building an army here, and we're ready to fight."

People For the American Way, a citizens watchdog and civil rights organization, also pointed out how many Bush nominees were members or had strong ties to the arch-conservative Federalist Society. The organization had great clout with Bush; for example, Bush's broken campaign promise to regulate carbon dioxide emissions was based on a controversial report by a society founding member, the group reported. Among the roughly 34 Federalist members or those with strong affiliations nominated for high-level positions in the Bush administration as of July 2001 were Ashcroft, Norton, Department of Energy Secretary Spencer Abraham, Solicitor General Theodore Olson, and Eugene Scalia, Solicitor of the Labor Department. The latter two played important roles in the Supreme Court ruling, with Olson as the lawyer arguing Bush's case and Scalia, the son of Justice Antonin, as the political payoff for the Scalia-led decision. 37

Bush's proposed budget was the kind that no responsible family would undertake, said Martha McSteen, president of the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare, a nonprofit grassroots organization and a coalition member. "Common sense dictates we hold off on such a large tax cut until we see whether the surplus actually materializes," she said. The group projected that Bush's plan would cost \$2.6 trillion over a decade, much more than the \$1.6 trillion Bush used. 38

Students across the country were also disappointed with the tax proposal, said Ali Fischer, president of the United States Student Association, the nation's oldest and largest national student organization and a coalition member. "The best investment we can make as a nation is to arm our citizens with an education so they can face an uncertain future," Fischer said. "\$1.6 trillion could be better spent expanding access to college than deepening the divide between rich and poor." 39

As the grassroots opposition organized, many Democrats in Congress lobbied hard against the tax proposal. "His tax plan is just as unfair and irresponsible as anything we've seen from right-wing Congressional Republicans over the past several years," said Rep. Martin Frost, D-Texas, the Democratic Caucus chairman. "The truth is, much of his 'fuzzy math' just doesn't add up - unless you raid the Medicare Trust Fund, shortchange education and defense, and saddle America with more than \$1 trillion in long-term debt. That's like squandering your kids' college savings on a

personal vacation. And the last time Republicans sold the country a bill of goods like that, Americans spent two decades paying for it with huge deficits, high interest rates, and a recession that cost millions of jobs.” 40

In contrast, Rep. Frost co-sponsored the Sales Tax Deduction Act in February. The bill would allow residents in states like Texas that did not have a state income tax to deduct the sales taxes paid from federal income taxes. The cost would be a drop in the bucket compared to Bush’s plan - about \$18 billion over ten years, he said. 41

Rep. Filner noted the hypocrisy of Republicans saying they need to run government more as a business and then supporting this plan. “There is no business I know - there is no family I know - that would take a projected windfall and spend it all right away,” he said. “All families I know - all small businesses I know - will take a balanced approach to such a situation. They would look at their credit cards and pay off that debt. They will look at deferred maintenance and fix the roof and buy the new washing machine. They will provide for the educational future of their children and their own retirement.” 42

The better approach would be to realize the surplus was only a projection and pay off national debt, invest in Social Security, Medicare, and education, and then give whatever was left as a tax break to working people who need it most, Rep. Filner said.

Sen. Jeffords also opposed the Bush tax cut plan. “We need to move carefully and cautiously on any tax cut proposal and be sure it targets those who need help the most, low- and middle-income Americans,” said Sen. Jeffords, a member of the Senate Finance Committee that considered the plan. 43

Sen. Jeffords was also disturbed that Bush’s proposed 2002 budget would cut child abuse programs, eliminate funding for the Early Learning Opportunities Act, which he co-authored, and slash \$200 million from the Child Care and Development Block Grant. 44

Rep. Lee also pointed out how Bush broke a promise to CBC leaders in their January meeting that there would be funding for electoral reforms. “Bush has once again shown that while he speaks of uniting the country and changing the tone in Washington, his actions and the policies of Congressional Republicans are very conservative and out of step with the beliefs and values of most Americans,” she said. 45

Bush’s proposed budget also cut all funding for the Boys and Girls Clubs, after Bush visited a Delaware club and praised it, DNC Chairman Terry McAuliffe noted. “George W. Bush has visited six different Boys and Girls Clubs - first as a candidate and now as president - and has spoken at length about the great things they do. Slashing their funding does not seem like the best way to encourage that kind of work,” McAuliffe said. 46

Bush also visited Egleston Children’s Hospital in Atlanta. He called the center “a place full of love” and then cut funding from a pediatric training program that benefited Egleston and other children’s hospitals. “George W. Bush has a funny way of showing his respect for programs he likes,” McAuliffe noted.

Bush, the supposed education president, also eliminated funding for the Reading Is Fundamental Program. Not only did he claim to support such literacy programs, but his wife, Laura Bush, was a former member of the program’s advisory board. “It is time that we stop letting the administration get away with saying one thing in an attempt to get positive press, and then gutting the programs that have a proven track record of accomplishing the very goal they promoted,” Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson said. “Once again, the president has talked the talk while having no intention of walking the walk.” 47

Bush's budget came to a vote in the House in late March 2001, and it passed, 222-205, with three Democrats supporting it. One of those Democrats was Rep. Gary Condit of California, who became the subject of a right-wing media feeding frenzy after admitting to having an affair with a missing intern. Rep. Condit was a conservative Democrat who normally voted with Republicans, especially on social issues, making his affair all the more hypocritical.

Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson sure was not a supporter. "Over half of black and Hispanic families with children would receive no tax reduction," she said. "The Bush plan would allow for privatization of Social Security. Social Security is the only thing standing between survival and poverty for an overwhelming number of seniors. It is the only source of retirement income for about 40 percent of blacks and Hispanics." 48

Rep. Waters of California noted that 85 percent of families would receive a tax cut of less than the \$1,600 promised by Bush in his speeches. Rep. Lee of Florida added that six million African-American and Latino families would receive no cuts at all. "These are hard-working families that have contributed to the nation's unprecedented economic expansion, but have not benefited greatly, and are struggling day-to-day to support their families," she said. 49

Rep. Lee supported the American People's Dividend, which would give every adult and child a \$300 tax credit annually regardless of income for ten years. The plan would use only one-third of the projected surplus, allowing for more funds for Social Security, Medicare, and other needed programs.

The tax cut was not only too big and unfair, the plan was being considered before the House adopted a budget "in violation of budget laws and common sense economic planning principles," Rep. Eva Clayton, D-N.C., said. 50

People forgot how Reagan's tax cut resulted in huge deficits and cuts in social programs, said Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr., D-Ill. "Bushonomics is based on tax cuts that top the expected surplus before shoring up education, housing, and health care. It ignores the lessons of Reaganomics of the past, and the realities of the present. Is this a new generation of 'compassionate, conservative' legislators who will say we can't afford needed programs for the American people during lean times, yet they do not supply them during times of surpluses either? The Bible says, where your treasure is, there will be your heart, also. It is obvious with this tax cut that Bush's heart is with the rich." 51

Even some billionaires oppose tax cut plan

During the battle, members of some of the nation's wealthiest families, including computer giant Bill Gates' father, expressed opposition to repeal of the estate tax and urged that the substantial resources instead be used to address serious problems the nation faces. Those included the 43 million Americans without health insurance, children in poverty, and the long-term financing gaps in Social Security and Medicare.

The Senate worked to reduce the tax cuts' size and approved a \$1.3 billion plan in May. Twelve Democrats - who could have helped stop the proposal - voted with Republicans. Most were the usual conservative Democrats, with a few twists like Sen. Feinstein of California.

Sen. Kennedy, who opposed the proposal, noted the stark differences between the Democratic budget plan and Republican one. Democrats would use one-third of the surplus for tax cuts, one-third for key programs, and one-third for debt reduction, while Republicans would use 90 percent of the surplus on tax cuts since it would cost about \$2.5 trillion due to increased interest and other factors, he said.

“Bush has talked about education, [but] it may come as a surprise to hear that education is one of the national priorities he has seriously shortchanged,” Sen. Kennedy said. 52

The claim that Bush increased funding for the U.S. Department of Education by \$4.6 billion was inflated since he counted \$2.1 billion that Clinton approved in 2000, he added. “In essence, Bush is asking working families to sacrifice while the wealthiest families in America collect far more than their fair share,” Sen. Kennedy said.

Sen. Graham of Florida noted that Bush’s plan did not offer an immediate stimulus to get the economy back on its feet. “Passing this budget is not the action of a Congress that understands the anxiety of the American people in the face of an economic slowdown,” he said. “It addresses neither this country’s long-term commitments nor the immediate needs of America’s working families.” 53

Sens. Graham and Jon Corzine, D-N.J., unveiled an alternate tax plan that would reduce the tax rate on the first \$19,000 of taxable income of a family of four from 15 percent to 10 percent; and the first \$9,500 for a single taxpayer. The plan would pump \$60 billion into the sagging economy in its first year - which was how much some economists said was the least amount of tax relief needed to stimulate the economy, Sen. Graham said.

Sen. Daschle, who became majority leader in late May, noted that Bush’s plan cut every rate except the 15 percent rate under which 72 million American taxpayers fall. “Our country deserves better than that,” he said. 54

The Democrats’ proposal would provide a tax cut for everybody, as well as marriage penalty relief in 2002, not 2006, Sen. Daschle said. It would also give a \$1,000 child tax credit to working families with incomes over \$8,000, estate tax relief, a college tuition tax deduction, savings incentives to encourage small firms to provide pensions for employees, research and development tax credits, and energy conservation tax incentives.

Maintaining the child tax credit refund was essential for low-income families, many of whom were headed by single women, said Nancy Duff Campbell, co-president of the National Women’s Law Center. The center, part of the Fair Taxes For All Coalition, formed in 1972 to protect women’s legal rights.

The refund would help more than 7 million families with some 15 million children receive tax relief, Campbell said. “The refundability provision will reduce the marginal tax rates of low-income families - the vast majority of whom are headed by women - who pay a substantial amount of their income to federal payroll taxes and to federal excise taxes.” 55

The final plan did maintain the low-income credit; in fact, it increased by \$88 billion over ten years the tax refund checks that low-income families with children would receive, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a Washington, D.C., nonpartisan, policy institute. But it also made it more complicated to obtain, requiring another separate tax form.

Still, “despite its low-income provisions, the tax bill as a whole remains heavily tilted toward those at the top of the income spectrum,” the center reported. “Moreover, because the tax bill is so costly that it will sharply reduce or eliminate the potential for improvements in various programs of importance to low-income families and may ultimately lead to cuts in a number of such programs, the overall impact of the legislation on low-income families is likely to be negative.” 56

By early June, the tax-cut plan was signed by Bush, and the damage done. An analysis by Citizens for Tax Justice found that the total ten-year cost of the Bush tax plan would be much more than \$1.35 billion, in fact, closer to \$2.4 trillion. That could also be a low amount - the Congressional Budget Office’s ten-year budget estimates had been off by as much as \$5 trillion

before. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities also reported that from 2012 to 2021 - when all provisions of the legislation would be in effect - the cost increased to a whopping \$4.1 trillion, even before adding the increased interest payments. 57

The plan rewarded the wealthiest one percent of all taxpayers with an average tax reduction of \$53,123 a year - almost 40 percent of the total tax cut, noted Citizens for Tax Justice. 58 Almost half - 47 percent - of the money would go to just 5 percent of taxpayers. Cheney and Bush, both of whom were in that group, would get cuts of about \$2 million and \$100,000 annually, respectively, at 2001 income levels.

Taxpayers in the lowest 60 percent of the income scale would get only 14.7 percent of Bush's tax cuts, with an average annual tax reduction of only \$347. The bottom 20 percent of taxpayers would see an average tax cut of \$66 a year. Twelve million low-income families who worked and paid taxes would get no cut at all.

"Congress has given the president what he truly cared about - gigantic tax cuts for the rich," said Robert S. McIntyre, director of Citizens for Tax Justice. "But Congress reneged on its promise to honor fiscal responsibility. Instead of a tax cut one-quarter less in size than the president's plan, Congress actually increased the fully-phased-in cost of the tax cuts by a fifth. As a result, over the upcoming years, average taxpayers will pay dearly for this tax cut plan in reduced public services, a return to budget deficits or, most likely, both." 59

As to the much-hyped rebate checks mailed to people in 2001, some 39 percent of Americans would not receive the full amount of the checks - about 51 million taxpayers. Some 34 million people, or 26 percent, would get no checks at all. The other 17 million, or 13 percent, would get only partial rebates, averaging about half of the advertised amounts of \$600 for couples, \$500 for single parents, and \$300 for others.

"Like the rest of the Bush tax plan, the rebates have been carefully designed to give as little as possible to those who need the money, and as much as possible to those who don't," McIntyre said. 60

Furthermore, most people, except the super wealthy, would not see many benefits after 2001, a conclusion by Citizens for Tax Justice supported by the nonpartisan congressional Joint Committee on Taxation. "For most Americans, the post-2001 Bush tax cuts offer little gain, but lots of pain," McIntyre said. "That's because most people will get little more in tax reductions after the first year, while losing large amounts in public services as the remaining upper-income tax cuts are phased in." 61

The proposal to repeal the estate tax by 2010 would benefit mostly the super wealthy, providing as much in tax reductions to the 4,500 largest estates, about \$28 billion in 2010, as the entire Bush tax plan would provide to 142 million people, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reported. Isaac Shapiro, who co-authored the report with Iris J. Lav and Jim Sly, said, "For a fraction of the cost of repealing the estate tax entirely, it is possible to provide relief to the small number of taxable estates that include a family-owned farm or small business and make other modest changes in the estate tax. That way, more resources would be preserved to address pressing national needs." 62

Rep. Meek noted that the CTJ study found that 26 percent of married couples earning between \$27,000 and \$44,000 would receive no rebate. "These are among the hardest working Americans who are barely getting by, yet the Bush bill totally ignores them," Rep. Meek said. "This bad legislation was rushed through Congress with little input from the general public." 63

The study found that a family of four would need to earn at least \$30,000 and claim around \$18,500 in standard deductions and exemptions to reach the \$600 maximum rebate for married

taxpayers filing jointly. “Bush talks a lot about fairness and compassion, but it’s clear that his idea of fairness and compassion is much more about how much he can deliver for the wealthiest Americans,” Rep. Meek said.

The bill’s final cost could preclude significant investments in Medicare and Social Security, said McSteen. “If the budget surpluses do not materialize over the next ten years, then the government will have to dip into the Medicare trust fund to finance these tax cuts,” McSteen said.
64

Bush’s tax bill also threatened being able to increase military pay, which most Republicans supported, Rep. Frost noted. “During the presidential campaign, candidate Bush repeatedly promised our troops that ‘help is on the way.’ But since taking office, Bush has repeatedly put his tax plan ahead of help for our troops,” Rep. Frost said. “And when he signs the tax bill today, the surplus will be largely squandered, and I’m afraid America’s troops will find themselves squeezed out. Fixing that will require a new era of bipartisanship - and an end to the Republican partisanship that led to this tax bill.” 65

Even many conservatives did not like the tax plan, saying it was disappointing and full of false promises. Wrote the conservative *Business Week*: “Not since the invention of the federal income tax in 1913 has there been a tax bill that promised to do so much with so little. Sure, \$1.35 trillion sounds like a bucketful. But to make all these promised cuts fit into that trillion-dollar-plus box, Congress created a shooting gallery of tax breaks that appear and disappear, just like those hokey pop-up ducks in an arcade. One year a tax provision is in effect. The next year, good-bye.” 66

By August 2001, the federal budget surplus had shrunk from more than \$120 billion in Jan. 2001 to only \$1 billion, and the economy continued to decline. Most independent analysts agreed that the Bush administration’s tax cut plan for the super rich was a major factor in the surplus’ decline.

Jeffords defects amid false promises

The Republicans’ vow to “change the tone” in Washington was another of many false promises. In March 2001, U.S. Rep. Ray LaHood, R-Ill., admitted in a media report that Bush’s hardball tactics and abandonment of his campaign promise to be a moderate were not changing the tone or building up goodwill with Democrats.

“George Bush ran for office claiming that he would change the tone, but even Republicans are recognizing the huge gap between his words and deeds,” said DNC Press Secretary Jennifer Backus. “If I had an agenda as conservative as his, I would pretend to be moderate, too.” 67

After Sen. Jeffords bolted from the Republicans in late May amid death threats and partisan pettiness, acid Republican leaders - some of whom cried like babies when they learned they would lose their committee leadership positions - vowed to resume their war against Democrats. They refused to heed the honest, blunt warnings of Republican Sen. McCain, who said he respected Sen. Jeffords’ integrity and service.

“For his votes of conscience, [Sen. Jeffords] was unfairly targeted for abuse, usually anonymously, by short-sighted party operatives from their comfortable perches in K Street offices, and by some Republican members of Congress and their staff,” Sen. McCain said. “Perhaps those self-appointed enforcers of party loyalty will learn to respect honorable differences among us, learn to disagree without resorting to personal threats, and recognize that we are a Party large enough to

accommodate something short of strict unanimity on the issues of the day. Tolerance of dissent is the hallmark of a mature party, and it is well past time for the Republican Party to grow up.” 68

But the abuse against Sen. Jeffords by Republicans only intensified after he bolted. Some were immature pranks, like a photograph of Sen. Jeffords being placed in a urinal in the Capitol Hill Club, a popular watering hole among Republicans right next to GOP headquarters. U.S. Rep. J.D. Hayworth, R-Ariz., also stuck a “Jim Jeffords Barf Bag” in a fundraising letter. 69

Others were more serious. Bush aide Rove, a veteran of dirty-tricks campaigns, and other top Republicans accused Sen. Jeffords of taking political bribes from the Democrats to defect, a charge he denied. Some Republicans threatened to boycott certain Vermont products. Sen. Jeffords’ own son, Leonard, was so opposed to his father’s defection that he reportedly threatened to name his son Reagan Nixon Jeffords.

Then there were the death threats, through the mail and telephone to Sen. Jeffords’ Washington and Vermont offices. A man from Texas mailed Sen. Jeffords a photo of a gun - and ignorantly included his return address. On June 7, a representative from the Louisiana chapter of the National Association of Home Builders entered Sen. Jeffords’s office and shouted out an implied death threat. Police, who beefed up security around Sen. Jeffords, took it seriously enough to question the man in the hallway. Officials with the organization later apologized, while they denied it was a threat, saying he was a “harmless old man.” 70

Bush aides kept harping on how Sen. Jeffords left the Republicans because he got a better deal on the other side, ignoring that Sen. Jeffords became an Independent, not Democrat, and forgetting how petty they had treated Sen. Jeffords before his defection. For instance, the White House refused to invite him to a ceremony honoring a Vermont teacher. They said they couldn’t understand why Sen. Jeffords didn’t defect earlier, such as when Newt Gingrich and other Republicans were trying to close the Department of Education in the mid-1990s. Sen. Jeffords replied that he was independent during those years, being one of the few Republicans to vote to acquit President Clinton during the witch-hunt impeachment trial. He also was the only House Republican to vote against Reagan’s 1981 tax cut plan. There was a difference in 2000 since Congress was dealing with a budget surplus, not deficit, and he thought the Bush administration was wasting the surplus and not doing enough for special education and disadvantaged children. 71

Erik Smulson, Sen. Jeffords’ communications director, said most public reaction was supportive, including many flowers sent and a woman saying she would name her child after Sen. Jeffords. Despite Republicans attempts to paint Sen. Jeffords as an opportunist, most people thought he switched out of principle. “Things have quieted down some,” Smulson said in late July 2001. “It was really busy here for awhile.”

In contrast to the harsh statements of Republican leaders, new Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle was conciliatory. “This will be America’s first 50-49-and-1 Senate. What does not change with this new balance of power is the need for principled compromise,” Sen. Daschle said. “We still face the same challenges. Bipartisanship - or I guess we should say ‘tri-partisanship’ - is still a requirement.” 72

Sen. Daschle noted that the Senate had rushed through bills like the tax cut without proper debate, which he hoped would change. He also referred to Democrats being the majority in the Senate in early January. “During those 17 days, we held hearings and expedited the confirmation of Bush’s cabinet choices. Some of the president’s nominations - like many of the issues we deal with in the Senate - were controversial,” Sen. Daschle said. “But we conducted the hearings efficiently and fairly. As long as we are in the majority, we intend to govern in that same spirit.”

Republicans obviously did not plan to join Sen. Daschle. In the ensuing months, even the conservative *Wall Street Journal* had to admit that Republicans were making Sen. Daschle their new target since President Clinton left. The paper noted that Republican leaders like Cheney, Lott, and Rove accused Sen. Daschle of everything from not honoring deals and being an “obstructionist” to being unpatriotic. A columnist even wrote that congressional Republicans were more “obstructionist” against Clinton than Democrats were against Bush.

“These attacks are duplicitous and hypocritical,” a columnist in the *Wall Street Journal* noted in Dec. 2001. “What this concerted campaign has in shrillness - one conservative group even ran ads in South Dakota linking the majority leader to Saddam Hussein - it lacks in substance. Sen. Daschle is not a mean-spirited partisan. Just watch him. It is instructive to examine the facts of the specific GOP charges. They are gross exaggerations and display a double standard that is egregious even for Washington...Tom Daschle's real sin, in the eyes of his increasingly venomous Republican critics, is that he's effective.” 73

Fraudulent health promises

Bush's promises to protect public health were exposed as fraudulent in the Justice Department's treatment of big tobacco companies, which contributed boatloads of money to Bush's campaign. The department pursued a settlement in mid-2001 of the civil lawsuit filed in 1999 under former Attorney General Janet Reno against the tobacco industry. Ashcroft opposed the lawsuit as a senator and urged the department to settle or dismiss the action as attorney general. The Bush administration also cut funding to pursue this lawsuit.

“The idea that special interests could dissuade the administration from pursuing this case, which would recover important health costs and protect children from tobacco and cancer, is simply disturbing,” Sen. Daschle said. He added that if the government dismissed the lawsuit, he would pursue legislation on the matter. 74

Another example of Bush breaking his promise to protect public health came when officials threatened to close the White House Office of National AIDS Policy in February. After press reports came out, Bush said the announcement was a mistake by a staff member.

“Over the past decade, we've learned that AIDS/HIV disproportionately affects African-Americans and is the seventh leading cause of death among 15-24 year olds,” Rep. Peter Deutsch, D-Fla., said. “It is critical that the office continues to be a meaningful part of discussions about all policy decisions that affect our nation's response to AIDS.” 75

False promises of protecting workers were also evident as Bush opposed rules that protected workers like receptionists, nurses, cashiers, computer users, truck drivers, construction workers, and meat cutters from repetitive motion injuries. In March 2001, the Senate voted 56-44 to overturn the rules, an action that John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO, denounced as “dishonest and disgraceful.” All 50 Republican senators supported nixing the regulations, as did six Democrats: John Breaux and Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, Max Baucus of Montana, Zell Miller of Georgia, Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, and Blanche Lincoln of Arkansas.

The regulations were issued by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in January 2001 following a decade of study and debate. OSHA said the repetitive motion rules would prevent 4.6 million musculoskeletal disorders, with an average annual savings to businesses of \$9.1 billion. They would cost businesses about half that.

Repealing this standard would have a devastating effect on all workers, especially women, said Sen. Clinton, who opposed the Senate vote. “Women make up 46 percent of the workforce, but

account for 64 percent of repetitive motion injuries,” she said. “This worker health standard not only helps workers, it can help businesses save money, too.” 76

A day after the Senate vote, the House followed along party lines. The campaign angered Democrats like Rep. Meek, who called it a “sellout of millions of American workers and their families. Workers shouldn’t have to suffer repetitive injuries and live with the crippling consequences just because big businesses want to fatten their bottom lines,” she said. 77

Another empty promise was to do something about health maintenance organizations. Bush, who obtained millions of dollars from HMOs, opposed the Bipartisan Patient Protection Act. The legislation was cosponsored by Sens. McCain, Kennedy, and John Edwards, D-N.C., and Reps. Greg Ganske, R-Iowa, Charlie Norwood, R-Ga., and John Dingell, D-Mich.

The bill would protect some 170 million self- and fully-insured people, giving patients and doctors more decision-making control and eliminating the legal immunity HMOs enjoyed, noted Sister Kathy Thornton, national coordinator of NETWORK, a Catholic social justice organization founded in 1971. “Quality health care is a fundamental human right,” Sister Thornton said. 78

Once again, Bush broke a campaign promise because he was completely beholden to corporate interests, DNC Chairman Terry McAuliffe said. “Back in the heat of the campaign, George W. Bush promised to support a Patients’ Bill of Rights,” McAuliffe recalled. “So why is he breaking his promise and threatening to veto a bipartisan bill now?” 79

The DNC ran an ad pointing out how Bush was conspiring to kill the patients’ rights bill. “Insurance companies. HMOs. Big corporations. They’ve contributed \$51 million to Bush and the Republicans,” the ad said. “And now Bush says he’ll veto a real Patients’ Bill of Rights...that lets patients hold HMOs accountable when they make bad decisions or medical mistakes.”

“George W. Bush is now the biggest obstacle to passing meaningful health care reform,” McAuliffe said. “Once again, just as he has on tax cuts, worker safety, energy, and the environment, Bush is putting the special interests ahead of the people’s interests.”

Then came the false problem of Bush supporting education. His campaign to take money from poorer public schools to give to richer private schools was severely misguided, Democrats said. Private schools vouchers will not improve public schools’ accountability and raise student achievement, Sen. Kennedy noted. “Private school vouchers leave too many children behind,” he said. “The bottom line is that public funds should be used for proven effective reforms in public schools.” 80

The voucher program was just one way Bush was misleading people with his “values campaign” that showed he really wanted to merge religion and government, according to Americans United for Separation of Church and State. White House staffers, for example, took part in weekly telephone conferences with conservative Christian activists to discuss strategy on stem-cell research, abstinence-only education, and other religion-related issues, the organization said.

Bush also continued to aggressively promote faith-based programs in which mostly conservative Christian churches would get tax money to religiously convert people who traditionally were treated by professional social workers.

“Bush is not only blurring the line between church and state, he’s also crossing the line between president and missionary,” an Americans United official said.

Democrats win key mayoral races

More voters were catching on to how out of touch Republicans were. In 2001, Democrats took back the governorships of Virginia and New Jersey. Dems won 32 out of 34 major mayoral

racers, including in Los Angeles, Houston, Seattle, Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Raleigh, San Antonio, Buffalo, Minneapolis, Omaha, El Paso, and Jersey City. And one the Republican victories – Mike Bloomberg of New York City – was a Democrat in early 2001 and ran on a Democratic message.

“Voters have spoken loud and clear: they trust Democrats when it comes to domestic leadership and economic security. They do not buy the outdated, last-century Republican tax cut message,” McAuliffe noted. 81

In May, Congressional Democrats started challenging the unethical and potential criminal actions of Republicans more. Besides Cheney’s energy task force, Rep. Waxman also sought an inquiry of Bush aide Rove, who met with Intel executives at the White House in March 2001 and reportedly discussed Intel’s merger with two other companies that required government approval while Rove owned more than \$100,000 in Intel stock. Waxman also noted that Rove held stock in oil and drug companies like Enron and Pfizer as he advised the president on energy and health care policies.

“Concerns appear to remain that you might have been involved in decisions that could have affected your stock holdings, since you are ‘involved in virtually every decision that is made’ at the White House,” Rep. Waxman wrote in a June 2001 letter to Rove. 82

White House lawyer Alberto Gonzales responded that Rove fully disclosed his stock and sold the stock under federal guidelines. But the lawyer admitted that “this process took longer than either Mr. Rove or I would have wished.” 83

Waxman kept the heat on and refused to drop the matter, sending Gonzales letters back that he had to respond to in August 2001.

In May, Rep. Waxman also called for investigations into plans for the White House and Bush administration resources to be used in Republican congressional campaigns, as well as Cheney planning a Republican national committee fundraising event at his vice president’s office and residence. Such activities were similar to ones that Republicans investigated the Clinton administration over, Rep. Waxman noted.

“Reports continue to proliferate regarding the use of Bush administration resources for campaign-related purposes,” Rep. Waxman wrote. 84

Treasury Secretary O’Neill, a former chairman of Alcoa, also came under fire for not selling his Alcoa stock until late June after the stock price went up and further enriched him. He had pledged to sell the roughly \$100 million in stock in March. The DNC estimated that O’Neill made as much as an extra \$62 million by waiting. O’Neill also was criticized for raising money for a campaign to privatize Social Security from Wall Street firms that his agency regulated that stood to benefit from the initiative.

While such Republican alleged crimes were largely ignored by federal prosecutors, they went after Juanita Yvette Lozano, a Democrat who worked for Bush’s media advisor during the 2000 campaign. They coerced Lozano into pleading guilty of mail fraud and perjury in June 2001 relating to a videotape and strategy book she allegedly mailed to the Gore campaign before the debates in the fall of 2000. The materials were not used by the Gore campaign and turned over to authorities.

In August 2001, Lozano was sentenced to a year in jail. Some Democrats said Lozano could have just been a scapegoat and following orders from the dirty-tricks Bush campaign, which wanted to try to entrap the Gore campaign into accepting the materials to make the Gore campaign look bad. Others said she was a hero for trying to turn the tables on Republicans, who have a long

history of such unethical behavior. The felony case took Lozano's voting rights away in Texas, unless she moved to a more progressive state in the future.

Oregon first to call for Scalia impeachment

In July, the Oregon Democratic Party voted to forward a resolution calling for Congress to conduct an impeachment inquiry into Scalia, Rehnquist, Thomas, Kennedy, and O'Connor. Jim Edmunson, chairman of the Oregon Democratic Party, said as far as he knew, no other state Democratic body had approved such a resolution. The party received letters and emails from hundreds of people across the country supporting the resolution, but none from Congress members. "This was just a glorious middle finger in the wind," Edmunson told *The Nation*. "The best thing you can do with your middle finger sometimes is poke someone in the eye with it." 85

The campaign was launched by Charles Porter, an 82-year-old former Democratic congressman from Eugene, Ore. He said the justices violated their oaths to uphold the Constitution. 86 In late August, the Orange County [Calif.] Democratic Party Central Committee followed suit in passing a similar resolution to investigate the five justices. The unanimous vote came after stirring statements made by 12-year-old Alexandar and 10-year-old Natasha.

"I will be eligible to vote in six years," Alexandar said. "But what difference will voting make if votes are not counted. Last year set a precedent for future elections. It showed that the president can be selected anytime a partisan Supreme Court chooses to stop the vote count when their guy is ahead. If we do not act to stop this abuse of power now, then when? If we do not support the right of the people to vote now, then when? When we finally support the right to voters to have their votes counted, will it be too late?...I ask that your generation not destroy the dreams of my generation by sitting back and doing nothing." 87

Natasha spoke about her dream of being an attorney. "I want to one day help protect the Constitutional rights of all Americans," she said. "Yet the very future of the Constitution is in jeopardy.....The governed said they wanted Al Gore for president. They did not consent to the government that was forced upon them by William H. Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, and Sandra Day O'Connor. Jefferson wrote, 'That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government. If Supreme Court justices can get away with selecting a president against the consent of the governed, then government 'of the people, by the people, for the people' shall perish." 88

That same month, Florida Democratic Party Chairman Bob Poe called for Katherine Harris' resignation after evidence showed she intentionally misled Floridians about the illegal use of her office for the Bush campaign.

"If there's anyone place in state government that needs to be free and clear of any hint of partisan politics, it's the Division of Elections in the Secretary of State's office," Poe said. "Secretary Harris illegally used her office to benefit the Bush campaign and to call the race for George W. Bush long before she knew results of the Palm Beach County recount.

"Katherine Harris has violated the public trust with the Florida voters and proven she is not capable of being an impartial Secretary of State. It's time for her to end the charade and the nightmare of her tenure and simply resign." 89

In September, Democrats.com unveiled its "fall offensive" in a first-time D.C. press conference involving Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. and author Vincent Bugliosi. The growing organization's co-founders, Bob Fertik and David Lytel, detailed overwhelming evidence that Gore

won, including evidence of some 60 potential crimes committed by Republican officials that deserved to be investigated. The group planned to continue to lobby for substantial election reform, a voting rights Constitutional amendment proposed by Rep. Jackson, the impeachment of the Supreme Court 5, and the defeat of Republican politicians. Other Democratic leaders planned similar campaigns and even remembrances of the one-year anniversary of Bush's crime. For example, Democrats in Palm Beach County planned a huge event in Nov. 2001 with Sen. Lieberman, gubernatorial candidate Janet Reno, and rock bands expected to attract thousands. That event was postponed after the Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks.

And in response to the avalanche of Bush's broken campaign promises and failures, Rep. McKinney and the DNC started compiling lists on Internet sites to call attention to his hypocrisies. Even with the mainstream media putting out pro-Bush propaganda almost without questions, the public gave Bush a 51 percent disapproval rating in a July 2001 Zogby America poll. That was the highest such disapproval rating for a modern-day president in his first year. Of course, that would rise significantly after Sept. 11 when the Afghanistan war began and people traditionally rally around whoever was in the White House.

The list of Bush failures included:

- * Bush pledged to represent all of the people, then named the wealthiest cabinet in U.S. history and campaigned for a tax cut that mostly benefited the super wealthy.

- * Bush pledged to be in charge, then members of his cabinet made statements on various issues, from CO2 to Iraq, contradicting each other.

- * Bush pledged to be his own man, then named a high number of Reagan's and his father's retreats to his administration. Those included Otto J. Reich as the State Department's top Latin America official. Reich led the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1980s, which was accused of running an illegal propaganda effort against Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government.

- * Bush pledged to keep the economy strong, then talked it down, resulting in almost four times as many job layoffs in the first six months of 2001 as the same period in 2000 under Clinton.

- * Bush pledged to protect the environment and regulate carbon dioxide emissions, then gutted environmental regulations and backed away from regulating CO2 emissions. In a memo, EPA Administrator Whitman asked Bush to at least "appear" to be interested in addressing global warming, as if such appearances was enough. He also named Linda Fisher, an executive with Monsanto Co., a leading developer of dangerous chemicals and biotech foods, for the second-ranking EPA job.

- * Bush pledged to protect Americans from high electric bills, then he kept the federal government largely out of the California energy crisis as Texas energy companies racked up heavy profits.

- * Bush pledged to support programs like the Boys and Girls Clubs, then his first budget severely cut their funding.

- * Bush pledged to support open government, then his energy task force met mostly in private and refused to even divulge who was on the panel.

- * Bush pledged to protect consumers, then lobbied for a bill that would enrich credit card companies, whose executives donated much money to his campaign, and make it harder for consumers to wipe away debts.

- * Bush pledged to protect people's health, then substantially cut programs for people without health insurance.

* Bush pledged to carry out electoral reforms, then nixed a request by a federal elections agency for funding to do that. Bush's budget provided no money to upgrade voting systems.

* Bush pledged to practice sound budget methods, then spent \$250,000 for a private fireworks display for the president of Mexico at the White House in Sept. 2001 in the midst of a budget crisis. The fireworks display at 11 p.m. on a school night woke up hundreds of thousands of parents and children in the D.C. area. He also vowed to spend almost \$6 million on renovations to the White House, including to the swimming pool, kitchen floor, and phone system.

* Bush pledged not to touch the Social Security surplus, then broke that promise when the federal budget surplus shriveled up due to his tax cuts for the rich plan.

"During his first 100 days in office, George Bush has managed to roll back the clock on the progress made by Democrats over the past eight years," McAuliffe said. 90

"Bush introduced America to the idea of compassionate conservatism, and indeed Bush has demonstrated a high level of compassion," Rep. McKinney said. "Unfortunately, his compassion has been reserved for the moneyed interests who filled his political coffers and helped to secure his theft of the presidency. After all, special interest groups contributed an unprecedented amount of campaign contributions, and now the chickens have come home to roost." 91

Republicans blame Democrats for Sept. 11

When some Republicans inexplicably blamed the Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks on Democrats, McAuliffe responded, "To place blame for this horror on the shoulders of American citizens is most un-American. We must not turn against each other in this difficult hour. Those who attacked us believed they could weaken us with fear. I call on all our members to reject prejudice and do what they can to help repair the frayed fabric of America." 92

Democrats.com's Fertik went farther, pointing out how Gore would have handled the crisis better than Bush. His reasons included Gore's lifetime of foreign policy experience, his ability to speak to people and not "read platitudes off a teleprompter," and his work on past issues like airline security. Gore might have prevented the attack by strengthening airport security, reducing foreign anger by endorsing international treaties rather than sabotaging them, continuing the Mideast peace process initiated by Clinton, and paying closer attention to intelligence warnings, Fertik said. 93

Those who spoke out against Bush's policies after Sept. 11 faced greater wrath than ever. After actor Danny Glover publicly criticized the use of military tribunals endorsed by Bush, he was targeted with a right-wing boycott of his new movie. The Modesto, Calif., City Council withdrew its sponsorship of Glover as the featured speaker for the celebration of Martin Luther King Day. Professors who spoke out were censored and threatened with being fired. Katie Sierra, a 15-year-old from Charleston, W.Va., was suspended from school for trying to form an anarchist club to help spread her views against the bombing and for wearing a T-shirt that read: "When I saw the dead and dying Afghani children on TV, I felt a newly recovered sense of national security. God Bless America." After a school board member accused Katie of committing treason, she noted that certain Americans "believe in free speech, unless you disagree." 94

An issue that united some people against Bush emerged in late 2001 when Enron Corp., the Houston energy firm with close ties to Bush and Cheney, became the largest bankruptcy in U.S. history. Many employees lost much of their life savings when the company's 401(k) plan sharply declined in value – from \$85 a share in late 2000 to less than \$1 - and the company would only allow top executives to sell their stock before it plummeted. Bush was so close to Enron chairman Kenneth L. Lay he called him "Kenny Boy." Lay was one of Bush's and his father's top

contributors, and he received the usual benefits in return, such as sleepovers at the White House under Papa Bush and favorable legislation. The 1992 Energy Policy Act supported by Bush Sr. forced established utility companies to carry Enron's electricity sales on their wires, helping the firm become the country's largest electricity marketer.

The company maintained close ties with other key Republicans like Wendy Gramm, wife of Texas Sen. Phil Gramm who chaired the Commodity Futures Trading Commission under Bush Sr. and allowed Enron an exemption in the trading of energy derivatives, which the *Washington Post* said became Enron's most lucrative business. Gramm later joined a position on Enron's board, during which the company contributed thousands to her spouse. Enron also gave to some Democrats, but not near as much as Republicans. 95

Enron executives met at least six times with Cheney or his aides in 2001, including in mid-October right before the firm collapsed, according to a letter released by U.S. Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif. The day after Cheney met with Lay in April 2001, the Bush administration announced it opposed price caps on wholesale energy sales in California. Some meetings also occurred as Cheney's secret-though-public energy task force worked on its business-friendly plan that recommended expanding oil and gas drilling on public land and more nuclear power plants. One member of the task force served on the Enron board in 2000, and Bush advisor Rove sold stock in the company in June 2001.

In its bankruptcy filing, Enron admitted to overstating the value of the firm for four years. The Justice Department, Labor Department, and Securities and Exchange Commission opened investigations into Enron, with the former not expected to go anywhere with Ashcroft, who took contributions from Enron, at its helm. Sen. Joseph Lieberman, chairman of the Senate Government Affairs Committee, planned to oversee hearings on Enron starting in late January 2002, while Rep. Waxman said he would continue to press for information.

"Until now, your office has steadfastly refused to disclose either to Congress or to GAO basic information about the task force's secret meetings with industry representatives, including Enron executives," Rep. Waxman wrote in a Jan. 2002 letter to Cheney. "But I hope you will realize the inadequacies of [your lawyer's] letter. I urge you to provide a full accounting of the contacts between Enron and the White House energy task force and other White House officials." 96

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Our election here at home is turning into the international disgrace. Fidel Castro is laughing at us.
 - Rev. Jesse Jackson

Chapter VI. The Whole World Watches

While a significant number of individuals and organizations mobilized against the Republicans' pilfering of the White House, people and groups overseas found the situation laughable and hard to understand. Many noted that the U.S. likes to hold itself up as a beacon for democracy, and the country could not even conduct an efficient election that didn't bog down in charges of corruption.

"We, as Americans, say we are committed to open, free, and fair elections around the world," Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition, said in Nov. 2000. "If an election in Africa, Asia, or the Caribbean does not pass this standard, we withhold resources. But our election here at home is turning into the international disgrace. Fidel Castro is laughing at us."

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More leaders of other countries than just Castro were laughing at the U.S., Rep. Cynthia McKinney testified in May 2001 before the Armed Services Committee's Military Personnel Subcommittee. "Autocrats and dictators around the world offered election advisors," she said. "And worse, at least one offered to pay the Carter Center to come in and monitor our own elections. Adding fuel to the fire, [former] President Carter recently stated that the U.S. election process is so bad, it wouldn't even pass muster to qualify for Carter Center observers." 2

In an interview with *CNN* in March 2001, Carter said even tiny Guyana conducted its elections better than the U.S. "We have a long way to go in meeting the standards of most democracies on earth," he said. 3

What happened in the U.S. affected the entire planet, said Corinne Sinclair, a member of Democrats.com and resident of Paris, France. "The U.S. people are not the only ones affected by the usurpation of the presidency. The whole world is concerned," she said. Sinclair created some petitions asking French President Chirac to invite Gore to France before Bush and asking Bush and Ashcroft to stop using the name of Jesus in vain.

In Paris on the day Bush was inaugurated, about 500 demonstrators mostly affiliated with Amnesty International protested against the death penalty, supported by Bush despite his showy Christianity, which carries the tricky "Thou shall not kill" commandment. They noted that some 152 people were executed in Texas during Bush's six years as governor of that state.

The same day, Pierre Sané, secretary general of London-based Amnesty International, sent a Bush a letter urging him to set a better record of human rights than he did as Texas governor. The letter noted the serious human rights violations in the U.S., particularly in the criminal justice system. Those included police brutality, racism, and torture in jails and prisons such as the use of electro-shock weapons, as well as children who faced the death penalty.

"We are concerned that the U.S. government continues to be a reluctant partner in the international community's efforts to build a system of universal human rights protection, and that it

has failed to uphold its treaty obligations in significant areas where U.S. law or practice itself falls short of international standards,” Sane said, noting that, for example, the U.S. still executes juvenile offenders despite this being prohibited under international law. 4

People in Europe were better informed on the entire picture of the stealing of the White House, as the European press, particularly the British, generally did a better job covering the situation than the U.S. media. Therefore, people in Europe, who read newspapers and books more than those in the television-dominated U.S., were better informed to adequately assess the matter.

Some Europeans even were in Washington to protest Bush’s January 2001 inauguration. Elga, who spent some of her childhood under the Nazis in war-ravaged Dresden, Germany, told writer Rita R. Dean that she could not believe what was occurring in the U.S. It reminded her of the way Hitler came to power: the media manipulation, suppression of free speech, corruption of the courts, control of elections, and glorification of the military.

“My family in Germany cannot believe that I do not have health insurance,” Elga, 61, said. “My family cannot believe that there are hunger and homelessness in America.” 5

Reaction to Bush foreign affairs

With Bush barely setting foot outside the U.S. in his life, obviously foreign affairs was not the Bush administration’s strong suit in its first few months. Well, nothing except rewarding campaign contributors was strong with Bush. He quit peace negotiations in the Middle East and North Korea, bombed Iraq, had some campaign contributors go on a military submarine joy ride that killed some Japanese people, got in trouble with allies and Russia over his proposed Star Wars plan, then got egg all over his face when a U.S. spy plane collided with a Chinese one and was forced to land.

Bush received criticism over the handling of each crisis in those countries. Some just said he seemed ill equipped to adequately understand the situation. Others were more harsh.

The Washington, D.C.-based American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee strongly criticized the Bush administration’s bombing of Iraqi sites just south of Baghdad on Feb. 16. U.S. officials said that American and British planes bombed five Iraqi military sites to enforce the “no fly zone” in southern Iraq.

The Bush administration should change the cruel policy of sanctions and bombings against Iraq, said ADC President Hala Maksoud. “Sanctions and bombing are not an adequate substitute for a sound policy. The new administration must move to lift the economic sanctions and end this bombing campaign in order for us to develop a sensible and more constructive approach to the region.” 6

Since December 1998, the U.S. and Britain regularly bombed Iraqi sites to secure “no-fly zones” in northern and southern Iraq. These zones were a flagrant violation of international law and without basis in any United Nations resolution, Maksoud said. “No attack based on enforcing these illegitimate zones can be justified, since the zones themselves are an unlawful aggression,” he said. “The no-fly zones have created what is increasingly a de facto partition of Iraq, which, if unchecked, threatens to have a profound destabilizing effect on the region.”

In 1999, Iraq was bombed on 138 days, with 156 people killed, many of them civilians, including children, Maksoud said. In 2000, some 30 civilians were killed in bombings.

When the U.S. and Britain again bombed Iraq in August 2001, Rep. McKinney, ranking Democratic member of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee of the House

International Relations Committee, also had strong criticism. The attack killed one and injured eleven, according to Iraq.

“It’s obvious that US policy toward Iraq is in shreds; bombing hasn’t improved the lives of the Iraqi people, it hasn’t strengthened the opposition to Saddam Hussein, and it hasn’t enhanced our image in the region,” Rep. McKinney said. “Targeting civilians is against the laws of civilized nations. All the U.S. has done with success is to increase the misery of the Iraqi people and obviously violate a few international laws and conventions in the process.” 7

She noted that declassified documents showed the United States was aware of the consequences of destroying Iraq’s drinking water and sanitation systems in the Gulf War, and knew that sanctions would prevent the Iraqi government from repairing the degraded facilities. Those civilian health consequences were prohibited by international law, specifically Article 54 of the Geneva Convention, she added.

“Britain seems joined at America’s hip in this cruel policy that has contributed to the deaths of half a million Iraqi children,” Rep. McKinney said.

On the issue of Star Wars, European leaders voiced little support. In January 2001, French President Jacques Chirac worried that the missile system “must not be allowed to spark a fresh worldwide arms race. It is a technology that has colossal costs.” 8

Secretary of State Colin Powell could not convince European military leaders in NATO to support the costly and failed missile defense plan in visits in early 2001. There were many protests in Europe and Asia against the plan, including one in July 2001 at a U.S. military base in South Korea. There, about 100 students displayed banners that said Star Wars threatened stability in Korea, burned a U.S. flag, and traded punches and kicks with police. 9

Bush also threatened to dismantle the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty that helped curb nuclear weapons in the U.S., Russia, and around the world. “Our priority should be to do all we can to work with the Russians to modify the ABM Treaty before the Bush administration decides to deploy a national missile defense system,” Sen Kennedy said. 10

The failure of the grossly expensive missile defense system, to work in tests was troubling, Sen. Kennedy said. “We must protect against these threats [from rogue nations], but we must do so by creating systems that are efficient, cost-effective, and consistent with our treaty obligations to other nations,” he said.

Such statements were supported by Sen. Jeffords, who in 2000 said, “The politics of missile defense have gotten way out ahead of the science of missile defense.” 11

When the Greenville submarine ran into a Japanese fishing boat and killed people on board in February 2001, Bush tried to distance himself from the civilians on the sub and act like none of them were campaign donors. In fact, at least one, Helen Cullen of Houston, came from a family that gave boatloads of cash to Bush.

Japanese ire returned in July 2001 when the U.S. denied Japan’s request to turn over an Air Force officer accused of raping a civilian woman. Bush officials claimed the officer was protected by an agreement that allowed him to remain under U.S. custody. “Even with a heinous crime such as this, the Americans use the pact as a shield to continue denying our requests for the suspect to be handed over,” a resolution by the Okinawa assembly said. A few days later, the Bush officials agreed to turn over the officer. 12

The China spy plane accident also resulted in Bush with much international egg on his face, as he had to apologize to China to secure release of the U.S. spy crew. David Rowe, a British member of the European Parliament and member of the European Union’s delegation to China, said the standoff didn’t help Bush prove himself in the eyes of other countries’ leaders.

“We have seen his aggressive stance in refusing to accept international responsibilities and an aggressive stance in relation to China,” Bowe told *USA Today*. 13

China strongly criticized the incident and Bush’s Star Wars plan as a threat to world peace. “His whole-hearted wish is to cast off the shadow of ‘the weak president’,” the *People’s Daily*, the main Communist Party newspaper, said. “His excessive acts and words over the China-U.S. plane collision and arms sales to Taiwan are all connected to this state of mind.” 14

Environmental concerns receive much attention

The environment, particularly global warming, seemed to be where Bush received the most criticism overseas. French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin strongly criticized Bush in April for refusing to support the 1997 Kyoto treaty, which included cutting greenhouse gas emissions. He also noted how the administration refused to abide by international policies it didn’t like, a similar refrain. 15

Other leaders of countries in the European Union followed suit in denouncing Bush. German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer said the U.S. would make a “fatal mistake that would set back all international efforts to protect the environment” if it did not support the Kyoto treaty. 16

Malcolm Bruce, a member of the British Parliament, noted that Bush was not content with killing Texas prisoners, but he wanted “to kill thousands or millions around the world by lethal pollution. No wonder he wants a National Missile Defense [system]. He perhaps knows how many new enemies of America his administration will create.” 17

And Kazuo Asaki, Japanese ambassador for global environmental affairs, said of Bush’s decision on the Kyoto treaty: “Japan will be dismayed and deeply disappointed.” 18

The agreement required industrialized countries to cut greenhouse gas emissions to about 5 percent below 1990 levels by 2012, which Bush called economically harmful and unfair since it didn’t include developing countries. The U.S. was the world’s largest producer of such gases in 2001, with emissions about 15 percent above 1990 levels.

The Green Party, which was much stronger in Europe than the U.S. by 2001, growing from one European Parliament member in 1979 to more than 300 in 2001, started opposing Bush’s environmental policies on the day he was inaugurated. Jean Lambert, a British Green Party leader, appealed to Bush’s Texas roots in a January 2001 statement.

“We have heard that Texans are proud of being the biggest in everything. We - as people concerned for the future of this planet, its peoples, its biodiversity, and its beauty - believe that the U.S. should not be proud of its record as the biggest producer of greenhouse gas emissions, nor of its record as the world’s most profligate consumer,” Lambert said. 19

And he noted that Bush’s and Cheney’s home state of Texas had the highest amount of toxic releases in the air in 2000 among U.S. states.

Other political parties in Europe, such as the Social Democrats and Labor, organized campaigns of their own against Bush’s misguided environmental policies. But the Greens were the strongest on this issue.

Roger Higman, a climate organizer with Friends of the Earth in London, said: “Bush must prove that he is not the ‘Burning Bush’ people fear. His greatest challenge is to end the USA’s lack of action on climate change. That would show his true qualities as a world leader rather than a president who believes everything big business says. The U.S. and the rest of the world does not need a president who is out of step with scientific evidence and public opinion on climate change.”

Lambert and Higman also noted that Interior Secretary Norton advocated opening up protected wildlands to oil and gas exploration and forest logging. They also recognized Ashcroft's opposition to programs that would clean up pollution and protect people's health when he was a senator, citing his votes against funding for cleaning rivers and waterways and enforcing arsenic standards for drinking water. Ashcroft also supported allowing mining companies to dump cyanide and other waste on public lands.

The U.S. had only 4 percent of the world's population but produced 24 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions in 2000. Between 1990 and 2000, such emissions increased by 20 percent. "Yet, the U.S. is the least willing to make reductions in its emissions," Lambert said. "This position may sign the death warrant on countless millions should flooding hit Mozambique, India, and Bangladesh as it has in the past two years." 21

Reaction to March Madness

In March 2001, Bush really fired up environmentalists around the world by breaking his campaign promise to regulate carbon dioxide emissions and dropping the U.S. from the Kyoto treaty, which would regular greenhouse gas emissions. Groups around the planet organized boycotts of U.S. multinational oil companies like Exxon, Texaco, and Chevron.

"If Bush will only listen to big business, then we must make big business listen to us," said Dr. John Devaney, Green Party International spokesperson. "George W. Bush is flying in the face of growing scientific consensus on the reality of global climate change. Most Americans believe climate change is a serious threat, but their leader prefers to swallow the lies of the fossil fuel lobby." 22

Bush's main reason to ignore the Kyoto agreement - that poorer countries should be included - was ignorant and irresponsible, Devaney said. "To say that the world's poorest countries should not be allowed any increase in emissions is tantamount to saying they should be kept in poverty," he said. "Climate change is widely believed to be the world's single biggest economic and environmental problem. For the world's biggest polluter to shrug its shoulders and ignore climate change is utterly irresponsible."

Alexander de Roo, a Green Party leader who was vice president of the Environment Committee in the European Parliament, noted Bush and Cheney's direct ties to the oil industry. "Obviously, the American oil giants are one of the driving forces behind this spectacular reversal of U.S. environmental policies by George Bush, who himself was working for the Texan oil industry," he said. "The U.S. oil companies are pushing for a u-turn in environmental policies by opposing any reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. It is no coincidence that they are at the same time pushing for new drilling licenses in environmentally protected areas in Alaska." 23

The boycott was necessary because the U.S. rejected polite requests, said Caroline Lucas, a European Green leader. "Europe must stand up to irresponsible U.S. policies by rejecting them at the petrol pump," she said. "Unless the U.S. rethinks its position, direct boycott is the only language they will understand." 24

Others join boycott

People around the world - from Australia to Asia - joined the boycott. Marian Coyne, spokesperson for the European Federation of Green Parties, said many people from around the

world pledged to boycott U.S. oil firms during an international conference in April 2001. The federation formed in Helsinki, Finland, in 1993 from a previous organization begun in 1984.

The boycott was just part of a renewal campaign, with “the development of serious global campaigning by the Greens,” including through the Internet, Coyne said. Even Greens in Asia, where the party was weaker than in the U.S., vowed to become more politically active, she said.
25

The Federation of Young European Greens, based in Brussels, Belgium, also strongly criticized Bush in its May 2001 newsletter, saying that with the U.S. not signing the Kyoto pledge, a “huge setback on the environment can be expected.” It also embarked on a big public awareness campaign on the importance of reducing carbon dioxide emissions. 26

Irish Green Party leader John Gormley also criticized his own government for its “passive stance” on climate change strategy and failure to meet the Kyoto requirements. “The government produced a National Climate Change Strategy document just in time for the Kyoto negotiations in the Hague [in 2000],” he said. “This document is full of generalizations and aspirations with a commitment to energy taxes far into the future. Any hopes that the government was prepared to take its obligations seriously were finally dashed when Minister McCreevy produced a budget which reduced tax on fuel and failed miserably to take account of the seriousness of the situation.”
27

Scottish Green Party leader Robin Harper met Liane Dorsey, the U.S. consul general in Edinburgh, Scotland, in early April 2001 after a lively demonstration there organized by Friends of the Earth Scotland. He said Dorsey tried to tell him that Bush supported reduced emissions but could not adequately explain why he dropped the Kyoto agreement. 28

“Bush has clearly only been listening to the oil companies when he says that adopting the Kyoto protocol will harm American workers,” Harper said. “In fact, American workers will be harmed if he fails to commit America to greenhouse gas reductions. If he doesn’t get to grips with climate change, as with other places in the world, the U.S. will suffer more extreme weather patterns, bringing more severe hurricanes, floods and droughts at great cost to the U.S. economy and the U.S. people. Furthermore, reducing greenhouse emissions will actually mean we need to develop less polluting technologies like renewable energy that could actually benefit the economy.”
29

Australian Greens leader Bob Brown called Bush’s decision on Kyoto a “low point in world environmental history.” Climate change, he said, “threatens Australia’s economy, its future lifestyle, and security, and could completely remove some Pacific and Indian Ocean Island neighbors from existence.” 30

New Zealand Green Party leader Jeanette Fitzsimons noted that Bush was hurting the development of needed environmental technology. “Without a climate treaty, we are looking at major risks to human health, agriculture, forestry, coastal communities, other species and ecosystems, and our livelihoods,” she said. “Innovation in energy and land use technologies will bring big benefits to the companies who develop them first. The Kyoto Protocol is driving that innovation. Bush is condemning U.S. business to losing that race.” 31

But Fitzsimons was optimistic that the U.S. would come around. “Eventually shame in the world community, increasing climate disasters within the U.S., the loss of business opportunities or a change of government will bring the U.S. into the agreement,” she said.

Other countries move ahead without U.S.

Political leaders in Europe, Japan, Russia, and New Zealand moved ahead to ratify the Kyoto Protocol without the U.S. In Australia, Greens also tried to get politicians to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. A poll in April 2001 showed that Australians favored such ratification by an overwhelming 8 to 1 margin.

Greens Senator Bob Brown said the fact that 80 percent of Australians support Kyoto but more than 80 percent of politicians, including the more liberal Labor Party, oppose it would come back to haunt politicians. He said claims by politicians like Environment Minister Robert Hill that Australia will achieve its Kyoto emissions target by 2010 were misleading. In 1998, Australia was producing 17 percent more greenhouse gas emissions than the Kyoto 2010 target for 2010, and the Australian Greenhouse Office put the growth in total emissions 18 percent over the target by 2010, Brown noted.

The politicians are “out of touch with Australia - big time. The big parties will end up with more than soot on their faces at the next election,” Brown said. 32

In May 2001, the Bush administration released its energy plan to boost coal, oil, and nuclear power production, including on protected lands. The emphasis was on fossil fuels, which was blamed by United Nations scientists for causing most of the greenhouse gases that could increase world temperatures. Cheney, the architect of the plan and real president, outwardly belittled conservation measures.

Environmental leaders throughout the world condemned the proposal. Images of the Exxon Valdez tanker, which spilled 35,000 tons of crude over the Alaskan coast in 1989, and the nuclear accident at Ukraine’s Chernobyl plant in 1986, filled their minds. Canadian Natural Resources Minister Ralph Goodale voiced concerns that Bush’s plan to allow oil drilling in the Arctic Refuge. “Canada has very important reservations with respect this proposal, particularly with respect to the caribou calving grounds,” he said. 33

Thousands of protesters in April 2001 in Quebec, Canada, during the WTO conference also told Bush & Co. what they thought of his environmental policies, clashing with police who fired tear gas and rubber-coated bullets at them.

Criticism was also harsh from the Fiji-based Pacific Concerns Resources Centre, which represented small Pacific Islands most affected by climate change. Some of the low-lying islands faced obliteration if sea levels kept rising amid increasing cyclones and other patterns.

Patrina Dumaru, a climate officer for the center, told Reuters that the U.S. wanting to increase oil and nuclear production and not support global treaties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions was “a crime.” Dumaru also noted that the Pacific was a leading testing ground for U.S. and French nuclear bomb tests from the 1960s to the mid-1990s, which destroyed the environment and led to an alarming rise in cancer rates and other health concerns. 34

In addition, the tiny nation of Tuvalu, which had about 10,000 people on eight atolls in 2001, officially asked the U.S. to reconsider its rejection of Kyoto in a United Nations conference in Brussels in May.

Also in May, the European Commission issued its plan for sustainable development that it would submit to heads of state at June’s Gothenburg summit. Among its proposals were:

- * Cutting EU greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent by 2020.
- * Adopting by 2004 an ambitious EU energy tax.
- * Raising transport biofuel consumption to 20 percent by 2020. 35

In May, Citizens for Legitimate Government, Stop Global Warming, a group organized by German Rene Schuijlenburg, and some other environmental organizations from Europe and the U.S. started a global boycott of Exxon Mobil, based in Irving, Texas. The boycott would continue

indefinitely until Exxon Mobil, a large contributor to Bush, changed its position on the Kyoto Protocol and supported controlling CO₂ emissions. 36

U.N. slaps U.S.

The United Nations also slapped the U.S. in the face in May 2001 by replacing the United States with Sudan on the U.N. Human Rights Commission. The U.S. had been on the commission for more than 50 years, using the Geneva-based panel to lob grenades at countries like China and Cuba.

While Bush and Republicans screamed that the U.S. was the top supporter of human rights in the world and some Republicans in Congress threatened to withhold promised payments of \$582 million in back dues, Amnesty International reported otherwise in its 2001 annual report. In recent years, the U.S. failed to ratify a convention to ban anti-personnel land mines and opposed forming an international criminal court, as well as increased the use of the death penalty and torture of prisoners, Amnesty International said. It ranked the Texas Board of Pardons and Parole among the world's "human rights scoundrels" for having an unfair system of reviewing death penalty cases.

"It is no wonder that the U.S. was ousted from the United Nations Human Rights Commission," William Schulz, U.S. director of the international group, said during a press conference. "That defeat was precipitated in part by waning U.S. influence and double standards practices by various administrations and Congresses in the U.S." 37

The U.S., China, Iran, and Saudi Arabia accounted for 88 percent of known state killings in 2000, Schulz said. More than 60 countries abolished the death penalty between 1977, when the United States resumed executions, and 2000.

In the face of that act, many Republicans called for the U.S. to get out of the U.N. A right-winger's comments on Freerepublic.com in May urged the matter to go through right-wingers in Congress, not Bush. The comments also reflected the cynical scheming going on by right-wingers, most of whom at least recognized Bush's claim to be a uniter was just public relations cow dung.

"I think as a matter of practical politics it's better for Bush to be seen as being dragged kicking and screaming out of the U.N. rather than as the instigator of our departure," the post said. "We should all encourage our Congresscritters in this though. The harder Bush gets pushed from the right, the farther right he can move while still claiming to be 'a uniter not a divider.'" 38

Protesters greet Bush

In June, a panel of top American atmospheric scientists concluded that global warming was a real problem and was getting worse in a National Academy of Sciences report. The report set the stage for a series of massive demonstrations during Bush's trip to Europe in June.

On Bush's first day in Madrid, Spain, hundreds of protesters greeted him outside the U.S. Embassy, which was surrounded by more than 100 riot police. They chanted, "Assassin, assassin, assassin!" Among the messages on their banners were "Bush is an imbecile, The world is not his ranch" and "The earth is our mother, not your supermarket." 39

Bush further insulted Spaniards by mispronouncing Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar's name as "Anzar" in a television interview and using mangled grammar. National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice, who supposedly had been studying Spanish, went dead silent, obviously not understanding King Juan Carlos when he greeted her with "Buenos dias, Arroz," which means, "Good morning, rice," as in the food.

On Bush's next stop in Brussels, Belgium, for a NATO summit, dozens of activists from Greenpeace chained themselves together to block a side exit at a military airfield where Bush arrived. They displayed a banner that said, "George W. Bush - Wanted for crimes against the planet." A loud siren wailed continuously. One demonstrator was arrested when he attempted to chain himself to a fence.

Hundreds more protesters rallied outside NATO headquarters behind barricades. They carried signs with messages like "Save the climate, Stop Star Wars" and "Death penalty equals murder." Demonstrators booed and blew whistles as Bush arrived. A key concern by protesters was a plan to use radar facilities in Great Britain and Greenland for Star Wars. 40

In Sweden, where Bush met European Union leaders, thousands of demonstrators clashed with police and mooned Bush, with the images broadcast on the evening news. In one of the largest police operations in Swedish history, authorities sealed off the EU meeting with a six-foot-high double fence and barricaded roads with containers. 41

As many as 25,000 protesters from groups like Greenpeace and ATTAC, a French-based organization that aids poorer countries, descended on the meeting, carrying colorful flags alongside portraits of people like Che Guevara and a giant papier-mache head of Bush. As Bush and EU leaders clashed on global warming and Star Wars, some protesters hurled stones and bottles at police, who charged the protesters on horseback and arrested some 240 people. 42

The Washington, D.C.-based Association of State Green Parties gave a more dire report, including police firing on a crowd, with one person dying.

"Swedish police surrounded, blockaded, and invaded sites where forums on anti-globalization were taking place," the group said. "Police unleashed dogs on peaceful protesters, trampled them on horseback, brutally beat those who lied down in the street in order to surrender, arrested uninvolved bystanders, and even fired on one crowd, with at least one reported death.

"As in the demonstrations held in Seattle, Washington D.C., Cincinnati, Prague, and other cities, police used these tactics to intimidate peaceful protesters and incite people to violence -- and to create the wrongful impression, especially among the media, that most anti-globalization activists are violent, even though only a tiny minority are bent on property destruction." 43

Also among the protesters were thousands of Iranian exiles backing the Iraqi-based People's Mujahideen guerrilla group who demonstrated against alleged human rights abuses in Iran.

At a press conference after the EU summit, Bush lent more reasons why he did not conduct many press conferences. At one point, he said that "Africa is a nation that suffers from incredible disease" - Africa is not a nation, it's a continent. He also said there "ought to be more countries" in Europe. Bianca Jagger, a campaigner for human rights and the environment, gave a better performance in her interview, saying Bush "comes with a very, very dangerous view of the world" and calling him "the anti-Christ." 44

In Poland and Slovenia, demonstrations were more subdued. About 200 people burned pro-Bush banners and waved anti-Bush ones in Warsaw to protest against Bush's visit and policies. Among the messages on banners were "Bush into space, rockets into the trashcan" and "Bush - a death sentence for the planet." 45

Protests also occurred in other countries Bush did not visit. In Norway and Le Havre, France, Greenpeace activists hopped on oil tankers and urged the EU to pass the Kyoto Protocol without the U.S., which EU leaders agreed to do. "This is the first international environment agreement that the US has walked away from, and a very profound domino to fall," said Michel Raquet, Greenpeace International climate spokesperson in a statement. "The EU must respect

public opinion and prove that they are listening to the people who voted them into power and ratify the Protocol with or without the USA by the end of the year.” 46

Protests were also common in South America over a Bush-backed plan to eradicate coca crop through fumigation as part of the drug war. In June, thousands of angry coca farmers took over Tibu, a town in Colombia, to protest the fumigation program. They set fire to fumigation chemicals stored at an airstrip there. 47

In July, Greenpeace activists broke into RAF Menwith Hill, a military base near Harrogate, England, that Bush could use for his Star Wars plan, in a bus that breezed past security as a speaker from the vehicle played the “Mission: Impossible” theme song. About 80 activists even scaled the razor wire barrier. Some scaled a water tower and waved flags. The action was completed to demonstrate how easily security could be compromised, Greenpeace officials said. 48

The Genoa Massacre

The American Revolutionary cause had the Boston Massacre - in which British troops shot and killed former slave Crispus Attucks and four other unarmed colonists as they protested the soldiers’ occupation of Boston and England’s unfair taxes in 1770 - as its battle cry to defeat the British dictatorial king. The patriots working to defeat who some called a modern-day American king in 2001 received their own martyr in late July. A police officer shot and killed Italian Carlo Giuliani, 23, as he protested the Group of Eight summit meeting attended by Bush in Genoa, Italy.

Like as many as 200,000 others, Giuliani had journeyed to Genoa to protest the pro-globalization, pro-Big Business policies of Bush and leaders of the other seven countries: France, Italy, Germany, Canada, Japan, Britain, and Russia. Such demonstrations had a history of police and the right-wing helping or paying provocateurs to cause a disturbance and enable police to attack peaceful protesters. Some witnessed such provocateurs getting out of Italian police cars and walking into the fenced-in, no-man’s zone without being stopped, according to the German newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*. 49

Rosy Kirwan, 40, of London told the Italian newspaper *Liberazione* that “anarchists” dressed in black showed up for a peaceful rally on the Piazza Manin, and nearby police did nothing. But she said when the black-dressed “anarchists” left, police attacked the peaceful demonstrators, including a minister who was on the ground. 50

The Associated Press reported on June 24 that riot police made “what appeared to be an unprovoked attack” on protesters, some of whom had small children, at the Plaza de Cataluna. The police charged the crowd after a group of masked people “who appeared to be police agents staged a fight at the edge of the park in full view of a line of riot police standing in front of police vans,” *The Associated Press* said. 51

Some of the provocateurs wore earphones and carried sticks in full view of police. Demonstrators were pulled into the violence, and police hit the demonstrators with truncheons and fired blank gunshots. The police did not bother the provocateurs, who merely walked through the police line and boarded the vans, *The Associated Press* said. At least 32 people were injured and 19 arrested.

The former local chief of police, Colucci, who was sacked in the aftermath of the protests, said there were 600 government infiltrators of the peaceful protesters. A police report also referred to some “Turin members of Forza Nuova [an Italian fascist party] will form groups of 25-30 trustworthy militants in order to infiltrate the so-called White Overalls. These groups will attack the police with cold steel and discredit the left-wing.” 52

When the three-day summit was over, at least 400 people were injured and more than 280 were arrested. Damage was estimated at \$45 million. 53

In Giuliani's case, witnesses said he was provoked by police, who threw a fire extinguisher at demonstrators. Giuliani picked up the extinguisher and apparently acted like he was about to throw it back at a police jeep. A young officer shot him twice in the head at close range and then reportedly ran over his lifeless body with the jeep. 54

In a typical callous manner that showed he didn't understand the first thing about why people like Giuliani were protesting his policies, Bush all-but said that Giuliani got what he deserved. "I reject the isolationism and protectionism that dominate those who would try to disrupt the meetings in Genoa," he said. 55

Giuliani did not support isolationism and protectionism; he supported the concept of liberty and justice for all, friends said. He was not an anarchist, but a sensitive idealist who preferred squatting and unemployment to learn how the poor lived, they said.

As Giuliano Giuliani, Carlo's father and a former trade union official, said, "In his short life, Carlo has given us many things. Let us try, in Carlo's name, to be united, to refuse violence. You, who are young, you want a better world tomorrow morning. We, who are old, and maybe tired, have learned patience and prudence. But we will go forward together, through Carlo." 56

Police make brutal raid as protesters sleep

There were other instances of attacks by police on unarmed protesters during the G-8 summit. Among the most horrifying came on the night of July 21. More than 200 police officers brutally attacked the Scolastica A. Diaz school complex that served as the headquarters of the Genoa Social Forum, the umbrella organization representing more than 700 groups that protested during the G8 meeting.

Witnesses described students crouching as they were kicked, beaten with clubs, and thrown down stairs. Television crews filmed pools of blood and teeth knocked out at the scene. More than a dozen of the 93 people arrested were carried out on stretchers, and more than 60 injured.

Officials said police found two Molotov cocktails, a nail bomb, two sledgehammers, a pickaxe, and 12 penknives. A forum spokesman said the sledgehammers and pickaxe, which were covered in dust, were left by workers. The knives were needed to open cans of food, and the homemade bombs were probably planted, the spokesman said. 57

The elite Italian police unit that executed the bloody raid was trained by U.S. police sheriffs in Los Angeles in the use of aluminum batons, according to the Italian newspaper *Liberazione*. The paper quoted a source saying the American sheriffs had said that "in Los Angeles all we need is a nucleus of 20 cops to disperse hundreds of demonstrators because we can fire rubber bullets which wound, but don't kill." 58

Mark Covell, 33, a freelance web designer from England, was among those who spent days at the city's San Martino hospital recuperating from the beatings. Covell suffered from a collapsed lung, broken ribs, and internal bleeding, and doctors feared he would die. When police brought him to the hospital, they claimed he had overdosed on drugs, a nurse said. 59

The nurse told a *Times of London* reporter: "Everybody at the hospital is very ashamed. This is a bad moment for Italian democracy. You expect this to happen in somewhere like Chile or Argentina, but not in Italy." 60

In a poignant, sworn statement, McQuillan said he and Norman Blair went to Genoa to protest against the exclusion of ordinary people from the decisions of the G8, which were "based

on profit and exploitation rather than cooperation and human need.” About 1 a.m. early Sunday morning, he awoke to “an explosion of noise. Norman looked out of the window and said that police were charging in to the building. From downstairs we could hear glass smashing and people screaming. In fear, we tried to hide our belongings out of sight in the hope that the police wouldn’t realize our room was occupied.” 61

As the police rampage got closer, they hid under a table. Police soon kicked in their door, and the victims stood up and raised their hands. “I was saying, ‘Take it easy, take it easy’ to the police,” McQuillan said. “About five or six police advanced on us, and the leading one struck me a hard blow on the left side of the head with his truncheon. I had a brief ‘white-out,’ and I fell to the floor. Several of the police began raining blows on me, and I rolled on to my right side and curled into a ball. I raised my left arm to my temple for protection just in time to deflect a hard truncheon blow aimed at my head. It was a frenzied attack. I think I was yelling in pain or fear. Eventually they stopped and backed out of the room. The last two paused by the door where there was a stack of wooden door frames, and in a last vindictive gesture they threw some of these on to us.”

Other police dragged them to their feet, and they were herded down the stairs past more officers clad in body armor. “I received at least one further blow to the head on the way down the stairs, even though by this time I was bleeding heavily from a head wound,” McQuillan said. “We were brought in to the main downstairs room and made to kneel face down to the floor with our hands stretched out in front of us. I watched blood from my head form a pool in front of me....It was like a wartime scene or the aftermath of a bomb blast. There was perhaps 30 or 40 injured people sitting around the walls, many of them bleeding or obviously injured.....Many of the police were in plainclothes under their body armor and helmets, and could easily have passed for demonstrators.”

As McQuillan shook in his blood-soaked clothes, an unconscious man beside him twitched as his girlfriend tried to help him. “I was afraid he was going to die,” McQuillan said. “At the other end of the room, the police were searching through a great jumbled pile of people’s belongings. They were ripping open bags and pouches and scattering their contents, leaving clothes and documents everywhere, which were then trampled over by other police going in and out of the room.....At some point, a couple of paramedics came into the room and started to treat the wounds.”

Eventually, McQuillan was loaded onto a stretcher and wheeled out of the room, accompanied by Blair. An officer demanded his money pouch with his passport, credit card, and cash, which he did not see again. “Once outside, I can remember lines of police, camera flashes, and a furious shouts of ‘assassino!’ from the building opposite,” McQuillan said. “I can remember one woman shouting in English, ‘We will not forget this!’....One of the German men told me that while lying on the ground at the school after being beaten, police officers had sprayed CS gas into their wounds and their faces.” 62

After being treated for injuries that included a bad head wound, fractured left wrist, and mangled foot and ankle, McQuillan and others were taken in a police convoy to a camp. They were made to stand facing a wire fence as police dressed in paramilitary garb questioned them. Then they were taken in a building and forced to stand spread-eagled against the wall as they were searched. “One policeman gave me a vicious kick in the ankle I was limping on,” McQuillan said. “We were led down the corridor with our arms behind our necks, bent nearly double by a policeman pressing on our heads, and pushed in to a holding cell. It was about 20-foot by 20-foot, with a barred door and with a large open mesh window making up about half of the opposite wall.

“We were made to stand in the spread-eagle position against the wall - legs apart and hands against the wall above our heads. For me this was very painful because of my damaged wrist. Any

signs of arms dropping was met with shouted threats from police officers standing behind us. This went on for a long time. Other groups of paramilitary police gathered outside the mesh window and shouted what I took to be other threats. I only recognized a few words, such as ‘communist!’ and ‘intellectual shit!’ I was standing near the window and I was spat on twice on my face, but I did not react and kept my eyes downcast.”

Eventually, they were allowed to sit on the cold, stone floor but not given blankets. Police allowed them to go to the toilet one at a time, but after McQuillan came out, an officer drenched his shirt and shorts with cold water. “Sitting cold and wet in the holding cell increased my uncontrollable shaking,” he said. “At no time did any police say anything about our situation - whether we had been arrested, if so what for, or about any legal process. Clearly, the police felt they could do what they liked, with no regard for law or rights, and with no danger of being held to account. It felt like we had been ‘disappeared’ - abducted by violent paramilitary police to a camp where we were completely at their mercy and out of sight of the world.”

The victims were moved to another room, where they again had to stand spread-eagled. “I heard a blow, and a prisoner close to me cried out,” McQuillan said. “Norman was one of the first to be removed from the cell, and a while later I heard Norman yell in pain. He was struck by a guard while being strip-searched. I was taken from the cell and processed by prison police in one of the side rooms - strip searched, photographed, fingerprinted.”

In the morning, they were taken to Pavia Prison, where they still weren’t told why they were being held or what they were charged with. Finally, McQuillan was given some telegrams and allowed to see a lawyer, who told him about solidarity demonstrations in Milan and other cities that gave McQuillan hope. On his charge sheet was a list of supposedly dangerous items the police found, including a T-shirt with the ironic slogan, “Stop the Police Violence,” and a floppy computer disk.

After McQuillan told the magistrate about his arrest, she said the arrest was not legal, and he was free to go.

But police still held him for a deportation hearing, and he received papers said he would be exiled from Italy for five years for being “ a danger to public order and security.”

“Given that over 60 out of the 93 people arrested at the school had serious injuries requiring hospital treatment, I believe the only danger we represented was as clear evidence of brutal and repressive policing,” McQuillan said. “One of the Genoa Social Forum slogan’s was ‘Another World is Possible,’ meaning a world based on justice and harmony rather than profit and exploitation. However, while in custody I felt a great fear for Italy and for the rest of Europe, that another even darker world is possible; a return to fascism. I have seen that pockets of this world exist within the Italian state. How far are we going to allow it to spread?” 63

Americans also beaten

Several Americans, including Morgan Hager, 20, an honors student at the University of Oregon on a study abroad program in Siena, were among those arrested. Her mother, Susan Hager of Portland, Ore., said she had been hospitalized due to her injuries, which included three broken bones in her hand and bruises from her ankles to her neck. 64

Hager and Sherman Sparks, 23, of Salem, Ore., were released from jail about a week later and ordered to leave Italy. Charges of conspiracy to engage in looting and vandalism, resisting arrest, and possession of arms like sticks and bottles were dropped. Sparks was hit in the head with a baton, requiring stitches. 65

Another American, Susanna Thomas, 21, a Bryn Mawr student and Quaker from Warren, N.J., was arrested with an Austrian theater group as it left Genoa as police accused members of being anarchists and strip-searched them. Bush and the U.S. government did not as much as officially protest to the Italian government over the imprisonment, her father, Rick Thomas, said in an Internet message. Though Democratic New Jersey Sens. Robert Torricelli and Jon Corzine did write to the U.S. Embassy in Rome on Thomas' behalf. Thomas was finally released after a mid-August hearing. Nineteen other members of the theater group, including two other Americans, were also released.

"The effects of Carlo Giuliani's death and the imprisonment and injuries of hundreds are still being felt around the world," Susanna Thomas said in an Internet message. "Certainly nobody who was in either of the A. Diaz schools on 5 and 6 via Cesare Battisti on the night of July 21st will ever forget the terror of the raids there. Thankfully, I was never beaten....In light of the terrible brutality that occurred in Genoa, I believe that all of those arrested and detained need help and support....I pray and that the Italian authorities remember their democratic heritage and honor that right, and honor the continued political dissent that is so vital to any democracy." 66

In the aftermath, tens of thousands marched in cities across Italy, demanding the resignation of Italian Interior Minister Claudio Scajola, who oversaw the nation's police, a few days after Giuliani's death. "Carlo - your blood is our blood," read one banner in a Rome march of several thousand. Many protesters drew bulls-eyes on their foreheads and bodies in defiance. Some 15,000 marched in Bologna, 5,000 in Florence, 5,000 in Palermo, and thousands more in other cities.

Ignoring such numbers, Italian Premier Silvio Berlusconi pledged to support Scajola. He also claimed not to have known about the bloody police raid beforehand. Political analysts questioned Berlusconi's and Scajola's claims that the head of the police force, Gianni De Gennaro, would have ordered the raid without consulting the interior minister. Three lower-level police officials were removed, but Scajola remained and refused to even apologize. Even days after the protests, police in Genoa arrested people and confiscated homemade weapons.

Others marched in cities throughout Europe, including Paris, London, Geneva, Berlin, Belgrade, Amsterdam, and Athens, a few days after the Genoa Massacre. In Athens, more than 1,000 people chanted "Berlusconi Murderer" and marched toward the Italian embassy. They were turned away by riot police. Some smashed windows and threw rock at police, who returned with tear gas. Police reported no injuries or arrests. In Amsterdam, protesters stormed the Italian consulate and hung a banner that said, "Italy Tortures G- 8 Detainees."

U.S. Rep. Cynthia McKinney was among those who wrote a letter to Prime Minister Berlusconi. She urged him to investigate and prosecute the officer who murdered and ran over Giuliani with a vehicle. "As this is the first death to occur at a recent, large protest accompanying an international summit, I believe that care must be taken to insure that justice is correctly administered in this case," Rep. McKinney said. "Like many in your nation, I oppose the death penalty in practice and in theory, and feel that the events surrounding the death of Mr. Giuliani resemble too closely a death sentence meted out by over-zealous law enforcement agents. As is too often the case in the United States, it is my hope that those responsible for this death will not be excused." 67

Amnesty International called for Italian authorities to institute a thorough review of police training and deployment for crowd control and open a criminal investigation into the fatal shooting. The group noted that international standards stipulate that "in the dispersal of violent assemblies, law enforcement officials may use firearms only when less dangerous means are not practicable and only to the minimum extent necessary."

Amnesty also spoke out against the police raid and beatings of nonviolent protesters. “The allegations of gratuitous violence and violations of detainees’ rights by law enforcement officials must be investigated promptly, thoroughly, and impartially,” the organization said. Those allegations included people deprived of food, water, and sleep for lengthy periods, made to line up with their faces against walls for hours spread-eagled, and beaten, including where they were already injured. Some detainees were apparently threatened with death and rape. 68

Amnesty also noted that some protesters “with apparently peaceful intent were not allowed to enter Italy or were expelled and not allowed to proceed to Genoa, thus violating their rights to freedom of expression and assembly.” 69

Poll shows dim view of Bush

In mid-August, a poll by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press showed that Europeans’ dim view of Bush had not improved. Bush got poor marks for his handling of international policy from a majority of Europeans - from 40 to 60 percentage points below the levels of former President Clinton.

The survey was done in partnership with the International Herald Tribune and the Council on Foreign Relations. About 4,000 adults in France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy were polled.

Some 88 percent disapproved of Bush’s position on the Kyoto treaty on global warming, while about 83 percent disagreed with his stand on Star Wars. More than 70 percent said Bush’s international policy decisions were based entirely on selfish U.S interests, with his best support in Italy and worst in France. About 75 percent thought that Bush understands Europe less than other presidents. 70

“The poll results on national missile defense may pose the greatest challenge for the Bush administration,” said Morton H. Halperin, senior fellow for the Council on Foreign Relations. “This means that European governments are unlikely to yield to administration pressure to go ahead with a missile defense system if it leads to terminating the ABM Treaty. And it suggests that, if any of these governments do go along, the long dormant European anti-nuclear movement might come to life with a vengeance.” 71

Global warming also posed a serious challenge for the Bush administration, Halperin said. The poll “leaves no doubt that a continuing rift over this issue will have a profound impact on the overall relationship between the United States and Europe,” he said. “The European publics polled are unhappy with George W. Bush because they believe, in overwhelming numbers, that he makes decisions based only on U.S. interests and that he does not understand Europe or take its views into account.”

Another poll of influential people in politics, media, business, and culture in 24 countries, conducted by the Paris-based *International Herald Tribune* and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press and released in December 2001, showed a majority believed that U.S. policies contributed to the September 11 terrorist attacks. Some 50 percent of the Americans polled said the U.S. should expand the bombing campaign to countries outside Afghanistan, only 29 percent of people outside the U.S. agreed. 72

Terrorism challenge

The terrible events of Sept. 11, 2001, when the 110-story twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City fell after terrorist pilots struck them, left most gasping around the world.

But as the Bush administration seemed to use the tragedy as an excuse to pump up their military-strong programs, which was understandable in some ways under the circumstances, many in other countries backed off from urging a military strike that could harm civilians and make their country a target.

While most supported bringing the perpetrators to justice through the courts, if not military action, some noted that the U.S. was not blameless in antagonizing Arabs and Muslims, including through the 1990-91 Persian Gulf War. Others said terrorism was the weapon of a desperate people who felt oppressed by those in power and could not match the powerful in a convention battle, and that in the 1770s the British government considered the U.S. forefathers to be terrorists.

London-based Amnesty International asked the U.S. officials to ensure adequate protection for individuals and communities in the U.S. and maintain high standards in the search for the perpetrators, including not detaining or arresting individuals solely on the basis of their race, ethnicity, religion or national origin.

“The violent attacks represent the gravest violation of the most basic of human rights. Perpetrators must be brought to justice,” Amnesty International said. “But in seeking justice for the victims of this terrible crime, the world must exercise the highest respect for the rights of all individuals. International solidarity with the victims is not about seeking revenge but about cooperating within the rule of law in bringing those responsible to justice. Scapegoating individuals or communities will achieve nothing.” 73

While most U.S. politicians supported giving Bush whatever power he needed to go after terrorists, some also urged restraint.

“It is altogether appropriate that we redouble our security efforts and respond to this mindless and horrific attack on our Democracy,” Rep. Conyers said. “[But] just as this horrendous act can destroy us from without, it can also destroy us from within. Pearl Harbor led to internment camps of Japanese-Americans, and today there is a very real danger that this tragedy could result in prejudice, discrimination, and crimes of hate against Arab-Americans and others. The lesson Oklahoma City taught us was the perpetrators of these acts of terror can be evil men of every race, nationality and religion as are the victims. We must ensure that these acts of terror do not slowly and subversively destroy the foundation of our democracy: a commitment to equal rights and equal protection.” 74

Rep. Lee was the only member of Congress to vote against a resolution that gave up Congress’ authority in calling for war to Bush. She noted that she supported numerous other bills, including ones supporting Bush in punishing the perpetrators, condemning the many hate acts against Muslims and Arab-Americans, and granting funds to anti-terrorism campaigns, disaster relief, and victims’ families. The resolution Rep. Lee opposed did not obligate Bush to report back to Congress after 60 days, as was required by Congress during the Gulf War, about the actions the military would take.

“September 11 changed the world. Our deepest fears now haunt us. Yet I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States,” Rep. Lee said during the congressional vote. “However difficult this vote may be, some of us must urge the use of restraint. Our country is in a state of mourning. Some of us must say, let’s step back for a moment and think through the implications of our action today so that it does not spiral out of control. I have agonized over this vote. But I came to grips with opposing this resolution during the very painful memorial service today. As a member of the clergy so eloquently said, ‘As we act, let us not become the evil that we deplore.’” 75

Two days after Bush told Congress and the world he would pursue a military response in Afghanistan and perhaps other countries on Sept. 20, thousands of demonstrators marched through numerous European cities to protest possible U.S. strikes. Some 4,000 people, with many dressed in black and holding signs with messages like “No more violence,” gathered outside the Defense Ministry in London. About 1,000 people marched through Liege, Belgium, where European finance ministers discussed the assaults. Thousands more protested in Berlin, Budapest, Cologne, Bremen, Kassel, and other cities.

“We think military action can only end in more deaths,” protester Raoul Hebebow told Reuters. “We want Europe to pull out of NATO.” 76

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Isn't the silence of the so-called mainstream media - you know, the folks who could not get enough of 'all Monica, all the time' and who are now obsessing over 'all Condit, all the time' - interesting in light of all the Jeb-Henderson stories making the rounds in Florida?

- Online Journal columnist Sally Slate

Chapter VII. The Media Sleeps on Bush's Lap

As a member of the media for more than 20 years, Jackson was among those confused by the major U.S. media's coverage, or lack thereof, of the key questions on the closest presidential election in modern history. While the Florida media and some others generally covered the issues and at least attempted to be fair on the election, the national media, particularly television where many Americans get their news, was asleep on Republicans' laps.

"The media has indeed been doing a grave disservice to millions of Americans by either totally hiding the truth or distorting it," said Lisa Fink, a member of the Pinellas County [Fla.] Democratic Executive Committee.

Democrats like Fink, Lytel, and Fertik had some major criticisms of the national media's coverage of the campaign, even before the Florida controversy. They wondered why the media hyperanalyzed Gore's skeletons, personality flaws, and misstatements during the campaign and gave Bush pretty much a free ride. They wondered why they attacked Gore for requesting a hand recount in the four counties, as provided under Florida law, and seemed to favor Bush's position more than Gore's. They wondered why the major media gave short shrift to protesters at Bush's inauguration when they outnumbered Bush supporters.

They wondered why the national media misreported stories supporting the story line that Bush won and did not report stories that confirmed that Gore won. They wondered why they ignored hearings of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the only body to conduct a serious investigation of civil and voting rights violations.

To be fair, there was some good comprehensive media coverage of the election aftermath once Bush was in the big house. It wasn't just by *The Guardian* and *British Broadcasting Co.*, but the *Washington Post*, *CNN*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and others had some good articles. The *Post* ran an interesting series on the events of the election and did numerous stories on election reform in 2001. ¹ *The New York Times* had an explosive series about the role overseas military ballots played in electing Bush and how Republican politicians like Katherine Harris used their offices illegally in this campaign. ²

The *Los Angeles Times* had some important investigative articles on Jeb Bush's more active role in helping his brother. ³ *The Miami Herald* ⁴ and *Palm Beach Post* ⁵ also published some excellent coverage of the daily events in Florida.

Main problem with broadcast media

There were some biased right-wing print journalists like George Will and William Safire, who made Media Whores Online's A-list. 6 And there were instances like the July 2001 *Associated Press* story that seemed to fabricate Cheney's activities after having another heart problem on the morning of his return. The problem was the story detailing what Cheney did at 8 a.m. was released at 1:26 a.m. 7

Then there was a report by *Rolling Stone* that said mostly print reporters were biased against Gore during the 2000 election campaign and tried hard to paint him negatively, getting numerous facts wrong. Among those criticized was *Washington Post* reporter Ceci Connolly, who regularly reported false claims such as Gore claiming to have invented the Internet. Connolly claimed in the report to have been equally tough on Bush, but *Rolling Stone* pointed out how Connolly described Bush as a "cheerful patriot" with "just a bit of swagger for the party faithful" who evoked memories of Reagan. Meanwhile, Connolly described Gore as "boring" and "seeming robotic." 8

But Media Whores' list was comprised mostly of television personalities like Brit Hume and Cokie Roberts. The broadcast media was particularly adept at downplaying stories favorable to Gore. In February 2001, *Fox News*, *ABC News*, and other networks led off the national newscast with a story by the *Miami Herald* that said Gore would not have picked up enough votes in Miami-Dade County to win as supposed evidence that Bush indeed won. This was despite only one county in Florida being included, not all 67. The TV newscasts barely mentioned another *Miami Herald* story in April 2001 that reported that Gore would have easily won had Broward and Palm Beach canvassing boards used a looser standard and counted every dimple and chad as a vote. 9 Nor did they give much attention to a story in March 2001 by the *Post* that the butterfly ballot cost Gore about 6,600 votes, which would have easily put him in the White House.

Rather than cover the election reform campaign, the television and radio talk shows were largely content to focus on relatively minor stories like the affairs of U.S. Rep. Gary Condit, a conservative Democrat from California who voted with Republicans more than Democrats. While it was fair for the media to pursue the disappearance of former Condit intern Chandra Levy, many reports focused on Condit's alleged affairs, not the disappearance.

And while the media ran 24-hour-a-day coverage of Condit and all-but suggested he killed Levy without any evidence, the national press ignored the case of Lori Klausutis, 28, an aide to U.S. Rep. Joe Scarborough, R.-Fla., who was actually found dead in the congressman's district office in July 2001. There were rumors of Scarborough having an affair with Klausutis, and Scarborough had even announced in May 2001 he was resigning from his seat as of Sept. 2001, giving the usual excuse that he wanted to spend more time with his family. There were even troubling questions about how Klausutis died, with the first medical report not mentioning she had a head wound, and the medical examiner's past. And there was still nothing about it in the mainstream press, except for some local coverage from newspapers like the Northwest Florida Daily News. Internet sites like Online Journal and Truthout did some excellent coverage on the mysterious case, which included a trail of subsequent cover-ups. 10

There were also troubling questions about how Jeb Bush and Harris might have fixed the special Republican primary election for Scarborough's seat. Opponents of the winner, former state Rep. Jeff Miller, who was endorsed by Bush, questioned why the election was held on the same day as the one for Miller's state seat, bringing out more voters for him. One opponent, Rev. David Reddick, even filed a lawsuit Aug. 3 in Leon County. That story was also ignored by most of the media. 11

While the major media was busy with Condit during Bush's month-long vacation in August 2001, the press ignored such important stories as the Bush administration continuing to assist

murdering right-wing death squads in Colombia, suing the California Coastal Commission for the right to drill for oil off the coast of California, and lying about budget surpluses to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy and further increases in military spending. Even more importantly, the media did not give substantial coverage to various government and industry reports that warned of lax security at the nation's airports and the possibility of a largescale terrorism incident before the Sept. 11, 2001, attack.

Even on television news shows that attempted to maintain the appearance of fairness, the conservative was usually a far right-wing firebrand, while the liberal was more of a centrist. And as *Chicago Tribune* media critic Steve Johnson pointed out, when a right-wing John Stossel took an hour just to rail against environmentalists, he was hardly going off on a limb on his own. 12

Of course, there were some voices on TV and radio that didn't cater so much to the Republicans. Those included Radio Left, which covered the one-year anniversary protests of the Supreme Court's appointment, *Comedy Central's* Jon Stewart, *Politically Incorrect* host Bill Maher, news anchors Dan Rather and Jim Lehrer, television host Alan Colmes, and radio hosts Lynn Samuels and Bill Mazer. Stewart won About.com's "Best TV Comedy" attacking Bush category in the First Annual Bushie Awards in July 2001, being picked over Maher, *Saturday Night Live*, Jay Leno, and David Letterman. 13

And there were some good independent efforts, including Joan Sekler and Richard Perez of the Los Angeles Independent Media Center who worked on a documentary called, "American Coup d'Etat: The Stolen Presidential Election and Beyond." They traveled around the country, attending events like the Pro-Democracy Convention June 29 through July 1, 2001, organized by groups like the Center for Constitutional Rights in Philadelphia. They interviewed representatives from organizations working on electoral reforms and organizing mass protests for social change.

Media recounts marked by controversy

Even the media recount efforts were marked with controversy similar to the election battle. Both Democrats and Republicans claimed they won in different ways. The *Herald* was the first to do its own study, reporting on Dec. 3 that Gore would have been the likely winner in Florida under a flawless system. 14 Then in January 2001, the *Washington Post* reported that Gore had an almost three-to-one majority among 56,000 Florida voters whose ballot were discarded because they contained more than one punched hole. 15

The same month, the *Palm Beach Post* reported that Gore would have picked up more than enough votes to win among the discarded "dimpled" ballots in Palm Beach County. 16 But the stories were not widely picked up; one of the few to run something was London's *Guardian*, which pointed out how the reports "continue to cast a cloud" over the Democratic legitimacy of Bush's election. 17

In February, the *Herald* said Gore would have only picked up 49 votes in Miami-Dade County from the undervotes. Michael Rectenwald of Citizens For Legitimate Government was among those to strongly rebuke this article, pointing out in a letter how the article ignored the Florida Supreme Court's ruling to count every county and ignored previous recounts showing Gore gaining votes.

"But most importantly, the article completely ignores the voter purge scandal that is now receiving legislative attention in Florida," Rectenwald wrote. "This purge alone cost Gore the election, and it was illegal and carried out by Katherine Harris with the explicit knowledge of Jeb

Bush. This alone is a scandal that should reach the proportions of a Watergate, but given the rightwing control of the media, may not reach the light of day in the U.S.A.” 18

In March, the *Palm Beach Post* did a more detailed report than before on Gore gaining more than enough votes to win from the butterfly ballot. The paper even quoted University of California-Berkeley professor Henry Brady saying that local voters were not stupid, as Republicans claimed, but Democrats, Republicans, and others were confused by a confusing ballot. 19 The *Orlando Sentinel* and *Tampa Tribune* also published articles showing Gore picking up votes. Then came the *Herald/USA Today* recount story in April that showed mixed results.

And in June 2001, the *Post* showed how Republican lawyer Baker was wrong when he kept repeating that “the vote in Florida has been counted and....recounted.” In fact, 18 of the state’s 67 counties never recounted the ballots at all, the *Post* said, as they simply checked their original results. More than 1.58 million votes had yet to be counted a second time. Moreover, Escambia and Manatee counties disabled the “instant check” feature on their optical scan equipment, causing huge error rates, and 26 counties broke Florida law by not counting overvotes that included the write-in portion. Bush also gained at least 176 votes via illegal military absentee ballots without postmarks. The *Post* put most of the blame where it belonged: Katherine Harris, the state election chief and Bush campaign co-chair. 20

Then in Nov. 2001, the long-delayed results of the main media recount, conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago on behalf of numerous news organizations, were wrongly reported by most media to favor Bush. Even though most scenarios showed Gore winning, most media led with the scenario that would have favored Bush, thus giving the false impression to most viewers or readers that Bush would have won Florida anyway. As British journalist Gregory Palast pointed out, the NORC data didn’t even designate any ballot as a vote for Gore or Bush. NORC simply described the ballot and left it for the media to analyze. 21

Media owners contribute financially to Bush

Despite Bush not being elected by voters, most press members accepted him in the White House without many questions. The owners of the corporate media largely supported Bush, with many giving huge sums to his campaign or Republicans in general. For example, *Fox News* owner Rupert Murdoch gave \$10,044 to the Republican national committee in January 2001 alone, according to Federal Election Commission records.

Fox News probably provided the worst example of catering to the Republicans. As Daphne Eviatar pointed out in *The Nation*, even *Fox*’s news anchors and reporters revealed their right-wing bias. In late January, interviewers for rival stations grilled Cheney, while *Fox* lobbed him softball, mostly irrelevant questions like, “Do you sense in some of the opposition to [Ashcroft], that his faith and his devotion to it is being held against him?”

Cheney was also able to talk virtually unquestioned on *Fox* about the economy supposedly being so bad in December and January, with interviewers not asking where he got the data to back up his statements. The economy did not start going bad until January 2001 after Cheney and Bush helped talk it down in a campaign to pay back their wealthy campaign contributors by creating more of an employers’ job market. U.S. companies announced plans to cut 142,208 jobs that January, more than any other month in the previous eight years, according to Chicago-based employment firm Challenger, Gray & Christmas. For the whole of 2001, a modern-day record 2 million people were laid off, about three times more than the previous record of about 670,000 in 1998. 22

Then, during the post-election battle in Florida, *Fox* anchor John Gibson observed that “the Democratic lawyers have flooded Florida,” saying they were afraid of Bush becoming president and “instituting tort reform and their gravy train will be over.”²³ *Fox* bigwigs also admitted that Ellis leaked confidential exit-polling data to his cousins, Bush and Bush, on election night. But they claimed he was doing so as a good journalist working high-level sources. And even *Fox* staffers admitted that stories were picked by editors based on whether they made Democrats look bad and Republicans look good.²⁴

And the bias went beyond *Fox*. A study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, a group organized by Columbia University and others, concluded that overall Bush was twice as likely to receive positive coverage as Gore in the last weeks of the presidential campaign. Another study by that group found that more than three-quarters of the campaign coverage of Gore cast him as someone who lied, exaggerated or was tainted by scandal. Meanwhile, most coverage of Bush carried the theme that he was a “different kind of Republican.”²⁵

To be fair, this project also found that the press gave Clinton more positive stories than Bush during their first 100 days in office, a study disputed by many Democrats.²⁶

Rolling Stone's Eric Boehlert noted that during the 2000 debates Bush made blunders, including on his own tax plan and a Texas hate-crime trial. But most media members ignored Bush's misstatements or ignorance and focused on Gore's negatives. Geneva Overholser, a professor at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, told *Rolling Stone* that the problem could have to do with the press being tougher on Democrats just to prove it is not liberal, a nonsensical charge by right-wing Republicans. Much of the media might have been liberal in the 1970s, but not in today's corporate-controlled environment.

Boehlert speculated that the media was friendlier to Bush because he was more open to the press than Gore. Jackson – the co-author of this book- met both candidates on the 2000 campaign trail, and Bush was indeed warmer on the surface, even later remembering his name in a press conference. But Gore was head-and-shoulders above Bush in his knowledge of issues. Gore handlers admitted to Boehlert they might have made some mistakes by not letting Gore be more open with the media and respond to all falsehoods and stereotypes. “It's naive to think Gore's chronically caustic coverage didn't cause him to lose votes during a historically close election,” Boehlert wrote. “Looking back, Gore's handlers accept responsibility for mistakes they made during the campaign. When will journalists do the same?”²⁷

The increasing mergers and corporate control of the media had their effect, as well, on coverage of the election reform battle. In 1910, the U.S. had some 2,600 daily newspapers; that fell to about 1,700 by 2000. In 1910, about 60 percent of cities had competing newspapers owned by separate corporations. That declined to about 2 percent in 2000, with some 20 corporations controlling the major U.S. media. The result was that most mainstream media reports on the election aftermath came out muddled and watered down.

And despite the media's claims that the economic slowdown of late 2000 severely hurt, most made handsome profits. For example, the New York Times Co., which owns the *New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, and other papers and broadcast companies, saw its net income increase from \$13 million in 1975 to a record \$360 million in 2000. British journalist Gregory Palast noted that *The Guardian* and *Observer* of London, which did a better job covering the Florida election debacle than most U.S. papers, was the only major newspaper in the world owned by a non-profit corporation.²⁸

With the news business being a business, that had its trickle-down effect on reporters, who might be kept busy covering certain events and photo ops, rather than sniffing out substantial

stories. Some reporters were intimidated; Bush staff members were known to be petty and vindictive when an outlet ran a story they didn't like. They would unleash the right-winger, holier-than-thou and gun nut lobby to torment the reporters and their bosses with nasty calls, emails, and letters. And they would leak stories to their competition and isolate the targeted reporters to make them appear ineffective.

Then there was a more sinister element to the media. In the late 1940s, the CIA began recruiting American journalists in a project called Operation Mockingbird. At least 400 journalists joined the CIA's payroll, according to testimony before the congressional Church Committee in 1975. Among those suspected of being recruited were *Time* magnate Henry Luce and Katharine and Philip Graham, longtime publishers of the *Washington Post*. In a 1988 speech before CIA officials, Katharine Graham said, "There are some things that the general public does not need to know and shouldn't. I believe Democracy flourishes when the government can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets and when the press can decide whether to print what it knows." She also admitted to taking information leaked to the newspaper to government officials and deciding not to publish the story afterwards. 29

Media keeps going after Clinton, Jackson

The media was content to go after Clinton - even after he was out of office - and leave Bush alone. Perhaps those in the media didn't like such a highbrow president; Clinton's IQ was reportedly in the genius range, well above 150, while Bush's....well, his handlers refused to release such stats. Clinton, who was known to read all background papers on issues, unlike Bush, also showed Democrats how to fight the right. It was amazing he got anything accomplished in the last eight years with the right-wing Republicans and the corporate-controlled media fighting him all the way. Yet, he made gains for lower and middle-income Americans in wages, healthcare, education, the environment and other fronts.

The pardons that the media focused on when they should have been targeting Bush were just tiny blips on Clinton's public record. In stories on Clinton's pardons, most media failed to point out how Reagan pardoned more crooks than Clinton and Bush Sr. pardoned an international drug dealer, huge campaign contributors, and his Iran-contra buddies to save his own skin. Were there congressional and criminal investigations of Reagan's and Bush's pardons?

Media critic Lori Robertson pointed out how differently many media outlets covered reports of Clinton staffers allegedly trashing the White House as they left in January 2001, and a U.S. General Accounting Office and General Services Administration investigation that concluded in May 2001 there was no evidence of vandalism.

The *Washington Post* put the initial story on its front page and ran a nine-sentence wire story on the GAO report inside on A13, Robertson wrote. Other news organizations like *NBC News* and the *Boston Herald*, which had run a front-page story in January, said nothing about the GAO report. Some like the *Kansas City Star* published the follow-up stories in the same place as the original ones. Overholser of the University of Missouri said the media should not have allowed sources to remain anonymous and should have pushed harder for proof. 30

Then there was the media lynching of Rev. Jesse Jackson shortly after he strongly criticized the Supreme Court Five's partisan decision on Dec. 12, 2000. The *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post*, *Washington Times*, and other right-wing media called Jackson a "race-baiter" for rightly pointing out how African-Americans and other minorities had their voting rights discarded. They portrayed Jackson as an extremist simply for staging non-violent demonstrations, in contrast to the

often violent protests organized by this country's founders in the 1700s. The media also ran wild with reports that Jackson fathered a child out of wedlock, while ignoring similar sins by Republicans.

Some of the problems came down to how few minorities were allowed to cover Bush for the mainstream media. The daily newspaper press corp was still overwhelmingly white with only about 12 percent being minority, according to an April 2001 report by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The number of minority journalists working at dailies actually declined for the first time in the 23 years of that survey. Ironically, some of the newspapers with the higher percentages of minorities were in the South like *The Dallas Morning News* [19.5 percent]. That was better than many northern papers like *USA Today* [19 percent], *Boston Globe*, [17], *Wall Street Journal* [17], *New York Times* [16], *Chicago Tribune* [15], *Philadelphia Inquirer* [15], *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* [14], and *New York Post* [14].

The African-American press covered the Bush presidency differently than much of the mainstream. For one thing, black-owned newspapers did not focus on Clinton's pardons when they could dig into why Bush was installing people like Ashcroft who would dismantle civil rights and affirmative action programs.

The *Baltimore AFRO-American Newspaper* even allowed Rep. Elijah Cummings, D-Md., to write a regular column. In January 2001, he painted a much different portrait of Clinton than most of the media. Rep. Cummings observed how under Clinton, minority communities were better off than they were in 1992.

"We should not forget, for example, that during the 12 years preceding the Clinton presidency, America's 'have-not' families saw little increase in their incomes," he wrote. "Unemployment for African Americans and Hispanics reached record highs. The poverty rate for African Americans remained at or above 30 percent. Under President Clinton's leadership, economic expansion and a more-inclusive set of national policies cut the unemployment rate for African Americans by nearly 50 percent. The average African-American family income increased by over \$3,300....The African-American poverty rate dropped from 33 to 26 percent during the Clinton presidency (the lowest level ever recorded)." 31

Under President Clinton, educational opportunities also expanded, Rep. Cummings wrote, including the percentage of classrooms with Internet access rising from 3 percent in 1994 to 65 percent in 1999. Minority test scores and graduation rates improved, accordingly, as did the percentage of African-American high school graduates enrolling in college. President Clinton also deserved credit for helping to lower infant mortality rates, diabetes, heart disease, and AIDS, he said.

"Despite the relentless - and, often, highly personalized - opposition of Republican leaders, President William Jefferson Clinton has succeeded in restoring Dr. King's dream of empowerment to the forefront of the nation's agenda," Rep. Cummings wrote. "For all that he accomplished in our movement to achieve Dr. King's dream for this nation, Bill Clinton deserves our lasting gratitude."

In another column in Dec. 2000, Rep. Cummings gave a different portrait of Gore during the Democrat's challenge of Florida's results than most in the media.

"During the passionate, partisan conflict in Florida, Al Gore's actions have revealed a strong and principled commitment to our most basic values as a nation," he wrote. "At the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, Al Gore promised to fight for us against the powerful interests who seek to control our lives. Now, true to his promise, that is precisely what he is doing - at considerable risk to his own future. In the midst of this year's prolonged electoral conflict, the

‘real’ Al Gore has emerged. He has shown the world that he is a man deeply committed to doing what he believes to be right.” 32

And in another column that same month, Rep. Cummings wrote about Charles Weaver, publisher of the *Community Voice* in Fort Meyers, visiting a polling site and seeing poll watchers threatening voters with being fired from work. Such reports did not see most mainstream newspapers and broadcasts until well after Gore conceded.

Readers of the *Baltimore AFRO-American Newspaper* also were among the first to see someone criticize Bush’s actions between December 13, 2000, and Jan. 5, 2001 as being “partisan and divisive, squandering his presidential honeymoon even before the marriage vows.” At that time, most in the media praised Bush for nominating people like Colin Powell, who is of mixed heritage, not African-American, to his cabinet. Rep. Cummings particularly criticized Bush for not pursuing an investigation of Florida voting rights violations and nominating Ashcroft. 33

Gore himself took a few shots at the media during a workshop he led for young people in August 2001. According to participant Will Radford, Gore was critical of the media, saying there were basically two types, those who try to be fair and those far to the right. But Gore liked David Letterman’s joke after his concession speech in which he said, “Al Gore gave one of the best speeches of his life in conceding last night - nice timing, Al!” 34

Softball at Bush’s press conferences

Another example of the media’s kid-glove treatment of Bush occurred during his first press conference more than a month after his inauguration. The press hurled softball queries in friendly tones - with no one daring to bring up the Civil Rights Commission hearings in Florida - and still Bush appeared lost when he had to go beyond prepared remarks. At one point, he referred to getting rid of “cocoa leaves” in Colombia, and no one asked why the U.S. was waging a war on chocolate in South America. About the only one who came close to challenging Bush was Sarah McClendon, who questioned his support for giving churches and religious organizations public funds to have volunteers become social workers.

Rather, the media devoted numerous questions to Clinton, even though he had been off the job for more than a month. They let Bush act as if he was being moderate and conciliatory in repeating his “it’s time to move on” mantra, even while Bush’s staff kept the anti-Clinton fire going behind the scenes. To its credit, the *Washington Post* pointed out how repetitive Bush’s answers were, saying he “did not put to rest questions about his command of policy and his ability to forcefully articulate his views on a variety of complex issues.” And veteran journalist Bob Novak assessed, “He’s not very swift on his answers, he’s not very interesting, he doesn’t give detailed answers, he’s very unresponsive to questions. I think he’s about the most unresponsive - that was one of the least communicative press conferences I’ve ever heard.” 35

The softball continued in ensuing months. In August 2001, the media traveling with Bush wasted precious minutes asking him about golf during a rare interview. The exchange went like this:

Media: How are you doing, sir?

Bush: I’m doing great, thank you.

Media: What’s your response to the suicide -

Bush: I’ll see you at the ranch - my response to what?

Media: The latest suicide bombing in Israel.

Bush: Ask me at the ranch. We’re going to have a little press avail after I sign the bill.

Media: How’s it going?

Bush: Really good.
 Media: How's your swing?
 Media: No flaws?
 Bush: You saw it, needs a little work.
 Media: Don't we all.
 Bush: I'm glad you asked who's winning the contest. Team sport.
 Media: Is this a rematch?
 Bush: Yes, it is.
 Media: And who won last time?
 Bush: Tie. If I hit every shot good people would say I wasn't working. (Laughter.)
 Media: I thought the President always wins.
 Bush: About time you learned something..... 36

Then at the ranch, the press wasted more precious minutes discussing Bush's alleged work on his nature trail, rather than his stem cell research policy and reaction to the Italian government still jailing Americans who were not even involved in violent protests there in July. The exchange went like this:

Media: One more question on stem cells, if I may?
 Bush: You can ask it, but I've already answered it.
 Media: Well, I'll ask and -
 Bush: I answered it Thursday night, when I gave an address to the nation.
 Media: But, sir, since then, some pro-life activists have said that you're -
 Bush: You know something? I gave the statement I thought was right. I spent a lot of time on the subject. I laid out the policy I think is right for America. And I'm not going to change my mind. I'm the kind of person that when I make up my mind, I'm not going to change it. There are going to - people have got all kinds of opinions. I gave mine, and I gave it to the country. And it's a policy that's well thought out. Understand that there's a moral issue - moral issue, plus there's a chance that we can save people's lives. And I've laid out the path to do that.
 Media: How did you scratch your arms up?
 Bush: You know, I'm glad you noticed that. (Laughter.) Working. Working. No, brush.
 Media: Nature trail?
 Bush: Got the nature trail. One of these days we need to take you back there, so you can see it. It's beautiful.
 Media: I'm free today.
 Media: I'd love to go back there.
 Bush: It's beautiful. You won't believe it. As a matter of fact, this place, when you head out that way, there's a lot of canyons and creeks in the middle fork. You saw some of it when we crossed today, what it looks like when you get up in there.
 Media: What's the trail like? Is it a loop or -
 Bush: No, no. Oh, my running trail?
 Media: No, no, the nature trail.
 Bush: Oh, the nature trail is just built up into this canyon, this box canyon that's got a big overhang so that when the water is running, it's like a waterfall. We built a pathway up in there so that it's accessible to a lot of people.
 Media: Place to bring guests, to go running?
 Bush: You can't run. I mean, it's the end of a canyon. You can run down there, then you walk up in there and it's beautiful.
 Media: What does building a trail entail? I mean, are you pulling out trees or are you -
 Bush: No, no. It means just building - getting old telephone poles and lying them on the ground, then filling in the dirt so that you -

Media: So you have this sort of pathway?

Bush: Pathway, it's a pathway is what it is. 37

In an interview the same month with *ABC News*, which at least steered clear of golf but let Bush rattle on about his nature trail, Bush typically couldn't relay the basics on his stem cell research policy. He was also asked if he ever thought about Gore and the way he won the election, and Bush arrogantly replied, "No, why should I?" Bush also looked like a chimpanzee, particularly when he was asked what his plans were that day, and he said, "I think I'll call some world leaders," then pursed his lips like a chimp in a comical expression.

Urging a better performance

Jackson, who worked in the regional print media himself, and Sharon did what they could to get the major media to perform its job better. They regularly wrote media executives, particularly noting in February how the media did not correct the false story that the Clintons stole items off Air Force One. Most major media ran these assertions from the Republican propagandists without checking the facts. Even Bush days later was forced to admit nothing was stolen after the Republicans could not come up with any proof.

Another lie perpetuated by *Fox News* and perhaps other media in February 2001 was that none of the civilians on board the Greenville submarine that killed Japanese people in an accident were Republican donors. All you had to do to find out this was wrong was do a simple search of the Federal elections web site, which showed that Greenville passenger John M. Hall of Sealy, Texas, donated \$500 to a Republican in 1998. And the husband of Greenville passenger Helen Cullen of Houston, Roy W. Cullen, donated \$1,000 to Bush in 1999. 38

Cullen was a family that gave boatloads of cash to Bush and Republicans. Father-in-law Roy H. Cullen, the owner of Quintana Petroleum of Houston, also donated \$1,000 to Bush's presidential campaign in 1999 and \$38,000 to the Republican National Committee between 1997-2000. Mrs. Roy Cullen gave \$38,000 herself to the RNC from 1997-2000. Among the other Cullens giving \$1,000 to Bush in 1999 - the legal limit for individual donors - were Harry H. Cullen, Harry H. Cullen Jr., Roy Walter Cullen, Mary R. Cullen, Meredith T. Cullen, and Rosanette S. Cullen. That didn't even include 2000 records or contributions of less than \$250. The Cullen name was all over Houston on university departments, streets, arts venues, and other places, where Bush lived for numerous years. Bush claimed not to know Helen Cullen. Did the major media really believe that Bush did not know Helen Cullen?

The media's reporting of protesters of Bush and other Republicans was also lacking. When three protesters were arrested and at least one assaulted by Tampa, Fla., police for simply exercising their First Amendment rights at a June 2001 rally for Bush, the national media was largely silent. At that same rally, police and Secret Service gave out pro-Bush signs and intimidated people who held anti-Bush signs into giving up those signs or waving a pro-Bush sign. Only the Florida media covered these anti-American activities by law enforcement authorities.

In February, *The Dallas Morning News* covered a small group of protesters in New Orleans outside a speech given by Clinton, but the paper said nothing about protesters in its own backyard at a Scalia speech at SMU the same month. And the only national outlets to give even simplistic coverage to the May 19 voter's rights rally in Washington were the *Associated Press* and *CNN*.

The major media also ignored an important story in July 2001 of how Florida Circuit Court Judge Marc Gilner, who was appointed by Jeb Bush, only gave probation to Chris Carman, a former Manatee County Republican Party convicted of three felony counts of vote fraud. Carman

admitted he voted twice for Bush illegally, once by forging the signature of a former roommate, during the 2000 presidential election.

While running wild with Condit's alleged affairs, the major media mostly stayed away from Jeb Bush's reported affair with Cynthia Henderson, a former Playboy bunny who he put in charge of the Florida Department of Management Services at a salary of \$114,000 a year in 1999. Bush also appointed Henderson to run the Department of Business and Professional Regulation in 1999 but had to transfer her after a state ethics investigation into her accepting personal favors - including a private plane ride to the Kentucky Derby - from Outback Steakhouse, a company her office was supposed to regulate. Henderson also reportedly helped obtain state jobs for her nanny and the nanny's boyfriend, and she was also sued by a state employee who alleged that Henderson grabbed him by the throat and threatened to choke him to death. 39

While some Bush advisors and newspapers called on Henderson to be fired, Bush refused and publicly denied in May 2001 that he had as much as been in a room alone with Henderson after mostly alternative media published the allegations. Unlike with Clinton, Condit, and other Democrats like potential 1988 presidential candidate Gary Hart, the major media did not aggressively pursue the story and check out whether Bush was telling the truth. In former Sen. Hart's case, the media even staked out his Washington home to report an alleged affair he had with model Donna Rice. As late as 1998, Hart called the media frenzy surrounding him "fascist." 40

As *Online Journal* columnist Sally Slate wrote in July 2001, "Isn't the silence of the so-called mainstream media - you know, the folks who could not get enough of 'all Monica, all the time' and who are now obsessing over 'all Condit, all the time' - interesting in light of all the Jeb-Henderson stories making the rounds in Florida? Of course, when it comes to Republicans, these are just 'youthful indiscretions,' after all Gov. Bush is under 50. If he were a Democrat, well, just ask Rep. Condit." 41

Slate wrote about an anecdote that could easily be checked out - how Bush reportedly used \$1,900 in taxpayers' money to replace a bed that he said broke while his wife was away. Retired U.S. Navy Lt. Cmdr. Al Martin, author of *The Conspirators: Secrets of an Iran Contra Insider*, wrote in his Internet column, Al Martin Raw, that Jeb Bush had been videotaped by an FBI surveillance camera at the 2001 Super Bowl in Tampa with Henderson. Martin also wrote that Henderson was seeking money to keep quiet about the alleged affair. 42

Martin said Henderson worked for Neil Bush in the 1980s when he was running a Florida real estate company and might know something about the Bush brothers that keep her employed in the cushy Florida job. Martin also wrote that all of the Bush brothers have been known to have extramarital affairs. 43

To help keep the media from doing serious investigation into this alleged affair, Jeb's mafia reportedly threatened *Vanity Fair*, the supermarket tabloid *Globe*, and *WPOW-FM*'s Bo Griffin, who received a "spooky" call from the governor's office demanding to know her source. Most media, however, needed no such calls to stay away from the story. 44

The media also downplayed reports of Tammy Phillips, a former stripper from Texas, having an affair with George W. Bush when he was governor. 45 The press also downplayed reports of Bush Sr. having an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald, a former aide, and of Reagan's and Newt Gingrich's alleged marital infidelities. 46

The list of other Republicans who have been accused of having affairs or sexual harassment that the media treated much better than Clinton or Condit was lengthy; it included the above, plus Sen. Bob Packwood, Rep. Henry Hyde, Rep. Dan Burton, Rep. Bill Thomas, Rep. Bob Livingston,

Rep. Dick Armev, Rep. J.C. Watts Jr., Rep. Charles Canady, Rep. Helen Chenoweth, Rep. Sue Myrick, and many others who condemned Clinton for doing what they did. 47

The *Washington Post* even put two reporters to spy on Democratic Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening at his home and on a vacation, reporting in Sept. 2001 that he supposedly had an affair. But of course, the paper ignored most reports on Republicans' extramarital activity.

If the major media was going to go after Democratic politicians who allegedly cheated on their wives with such lust, it was only fair that the press treated Republican politicians the same way. But the record in the 1990s and early 2000s showed that the major media mostly ignored Republican affairs while roasting Democrats.

Some couldn't be intimidated

There were some the Bush crowd couldn't intimidate, such as longtime *Associate Press* correspondent Helen Thomas, one of the few to ask hardball questions in Bush's scant press conferences. She also made Bush look dumb in a January 2001 exchange that was televised live in which she pointed out Bush's lack of knowledge on presidential protocol.

Nationally syndicated newspaper columnist Molly Ivins, who had covered Bush for years as a columnist for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and even written a book on him, didn't let up her criticism. In a June 2001 column on Bush's first visit to Europe in his life, Ivins referred to Bush as "President Cognitive Dissonance," noting that his last-minute attempt to put together a global warming plan was embarrassing. To Europeans, Bush appeared to be "a shallow, arrogant, gun-loving, abortion-hating, Christian fundamentalist Texan buffoon," Ivins wrote. 48

Ivins was not exactly on Bush's dinner invitation list. And her work was recognized as the "Best Commentary" on Bush in About.com's First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed in July 2001. She beat out people like the *Washington Post*'s Joel Achenbach, *New York Times*' Maureen Dowd, syndicated columnist Arianna Huffington, and radio commentator Jim Hightower.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis was another who didn't bow down to the Republicans. In March 2001, he had an excellent column in which he blasted Bush for, quickly and without thinking, reversing policies that took years to put in place. Lewis wrote that the Bush people were even more right-wing than the Reagan administration was, pointing out how Bush ran as a "compassionate conservative" but concealed "his hard-edged ideology" and "could not get half the voters to vote for him even in that guise." Lewis wrote that the public would "almost certainly" support protecting roadless parts of national forests and reducing arsenic in drinking water. But he noted that Bush was not out to please the people, only "the interests that supported and financed his campaign: timber companies, mining companies, and the rest." 49

Then there was syndicated column Arianna Huffington, a former conservative Republican who underwent a radical change and in 2001 referred to herself as a "recovering Republican." In May 2001, Huffington detailed how Bush and Rove missed an important lesson given by their teacher of dirty tricks, Lee Atwater. After acquiring brain cancer, Atwater, who spearheaded the Willie Horton strategy that helped Bush Sr. defeat Michael Dukakis in 1988, admitted he went too far, that he was too vicious. 50

Huffington wrote how the Bush team's pettiness extended to her, when she asked a Republican friend to help her find a good hotel room during the 2000 national convention. The friend told her that "Austin [meaning the Bush campaign run out of Austin, Texas] will no longer let me do anything for you." And that pettiness, she wrote, was a major reason why Sen. Jeffords defected from the Republicans. Huffington also strongly criticized Bush's inauguration speech,

noting that Bush said nothing about election reform or the disenfranchisement of African Americans in his speech. 51

She balanced such criticism with attention to President Clinton and how he only spoke out about the election controversy after Gore had conceded. "If [President Clinton] had chosen to speak out during the 36 days when the presidency hung in the balance, he might actually have had an impact," Huffington wrote. "He could have used his bully pulpit passionately, daily, nightly, to drum up support for a hand recount across the state." 52

Others in the major media spoke out against media lapdogism. In January 2001, *CNN* White House correspondent John King strongly criticized colleague Larry King's coziness with Bush at the inauguration in an email sent to top *CNN* executives. John King noted that Larry King should have refused to be master of ceremonies at the event, and that King really lost his objectivity when he hugged Bush on stage.

"People in the newsroom are grumbling; people around the town I have to work in every day are laughing," John King wrote. *Brill's Content*, which broke this story, also reported that "an overwhelming majority" of more than 40 former and current *CNN* reporters, anchors, producers, and others shared John King's views. 53

Molly Ivins also did not refrain from criticizing her colleagues. In early 2001, she blasted *CNN*'s Tucker Carlson for saying it was vulgar to simply state the truth that the super rich would benefit more from Bush's tax cut than everybody else. "I believe it is even more vulgar -- in fact, crass, stupid, and greedy -- to actually pass such a tax cut," Ivins wrote. "I believe it is vulgar that this tax cut is proposed by the wealthiest cabinet in history....One of Bush's 'ordinary' couples, Paul and Debbie Peterson, will get a tax cut of \$1,100 a year. Bush himself will get more than 60 times that. I find that a little vulgar." 54

Hard to be a liberal media member

What made it harder to be a liberal in the media more than mere corporate pressure was the wrath and hatred from the far right. Far-right wingers targeted people like *Chicago Tribune* media critic Steve Johnson, *Newsday* columnist Marie Cocco, television host Alan Colmes [www.alan.com], and radio hosts Lynn Samuels [www.lynnsamuels.com] and Bill Mazer. They even found their home addresses and posted them on Internet sites and hassled their children; in short, they were just plain mean, going far beyond what liberal listeners and readers did to Rush Limbaugh and his ilk.

Even those who were not liberal, but more libertarian, like *Politically Incorrect*'s Bill Maher, faced being a target of the right. Maher was courageously one of the few on TV to continue to question Bush's legitimacy months after the fact, and he provided an audience for astute, left-leaning guests like Al Franken to voice their views. Maher admitted several times on camera that he paid a price with advertisers and gaining a wider audience in being outspoken and truthful. Several affiliates stopped broadcasting his show after a comment he made following Sept. 11 on the nature of how we fight wars.

Then there were the continued attacks by the right-wingers in the media that even became violent on occasions. On Feb. 15, 2001, John Derbyshire, a rabid-rightwing columnist and contributing editor for William Buckley's supposedly respectable *National Review*, discussed how much he hated Chelsea Clinton and all-but called for her murder. Fearing that Chelsea may someday run for political office, Derbyshire called on copying the Nazis, Imperial China, and Russian dictator Stalin in killing off all relatives of supposed enemies of rulers in power.

“Chelsea is a Clinton. She bears the taint; and though not prosecutable in law, in custom and nature, the taint cannot be ignored,” Derbyshire wrote. “In Stalin’s penal code it was a crime to be the wife or child of an ‘enemy of the people.’ The Nazis used the same principle, which they called Sippenhaft, ‘clan liability.’ In Imperial China, enemies of the state were punished ‘to the ninth degree’: that is, everyone in the offender’s own generation would be killed, and everyone related via four generations up, to the great-great-grandparents, and four generations down, to the great-great-grandchildren, would also be killed.” 55

And people wondered why right-wing Republicans were compared to Nazis? Of course, right after Clinton had actually won the White House, Derbyshire did not call for Bush Sr.’s sons and other relatives to be killed. To right-wingers, Clinton was an “enemy of the people,” and it was amazing Clinton was not assassinated in office, like Kennedy. But Clinton was politically assassinated through the lawsuits, media smears, failed impeachment attempt, and other actions of the far right.

Although thousands wrote the *National Review* to take Derbyshire’s column off the web site, the editors left it online. Some even wrote Bush, Cheney, and their wives, asking how they would feel if someone called for their children to be murdered. The letters went like this one from Lisa of Bush Occupation: “To me, you [Derbyshire] represent how corrupt and fascist the Republican Party has become. I used to vote across party lines, but NO MORE. You are the ones who should be cleaned up...you and your lying hatemongering tribe. You are no longer fit to be called Americans as far as I am concerned. You and your so-called Christian Coalition would be the first into hell. I hope you get a visit from the Secret Service.”

Even most Republicans admitted Derbyshire’s call for murder went too far, but they defended his right to “freedom of speech.” They ignored how this column went beyond freedom of speech to actually justify and incite a violent crime; it was worse than yelling, “Fire!” in a crowded room.

In June 2001, *ABC*’s John Stossel launched a slanted, one-sided attack of environmentalists. He let people like former Greenpeace director Patrick Moore talk in great detail about how the environmental movement had supposedly been overtaken by political activists without letting environmental groups answer such charges. Stossel also romanticized genetic cloning and genetic altering of food, without getting an equal number of comments from those concerned about such practices.

And worse, Stossel, as the *Chicago Tribune*’s Steve Johnson pointed out, used young children to try to help him make his slanted points. The kids’ parents later complained to *ABC* that Stossel goaded their children until he received the answers he wanted. Stossel’s credibility suffered from past blunders, including a 2000 report in which he cited non-existent lab tests to try to debunk organic foods and had to apologize on the air.

Of course, right-wing Republicans, such as those on Freerepublic.com’s Internet forum, praised Stossel’s even-more-biased-than-normal reporting and blasted Johnson. One post by a Freeper even slurred Native Americans, referring to one as simply, “Indian.” 56

Freepeers were known to even call babies obscene names in their petty, personal attacks on anyone whose views with which they disagreed. The hypocritical, right-wing Republican Internet forum claimed to stand for the U.S. Constitution but only allowed right-wingers to voice their views contrary to the First Amendment. Co-author Jackson was bounced from the site in early 2001 for simply criticizing Bush.

A Washington, D.C., group of Freepeers was embraced by the Bush administration in August 2001 during a special tour of the White House. U.S. Rep. Bob Barr, the Republican hypocrite who

pushed for Clinton's impeachment while covering up an extramarital affair of his own, helped arrange the tour. As Democrats.com noted, Freepers are "one step on the food chain above Neo-Nazis, and often just as vicious. They are the ones responsible for a high percentage of the especially nasty [i.e., unprintable here], even threatening e-mails to folks who express opinions they don't like on Internet forums [we've gotten some pretty horrendous Freeper mail here at Dems, believe me!]. They are bigoted, paranoid, and very pro-gun - not a very nice combination. And they are welcomed with open arms by the Bush White House." 57

Hooray for alternative press, Internet

The salvation for those who wanted their voice heard turned out to be the alternative press and Internet, where sites popped up every day to communicate in ways the mainstream media missed. Meria Heller, an Arizona spiritual counselor and progressive commentator, took her longtime radio show onto the Internet, doing live Web broadcasts five times a week starting in 2000. Many of her informative and excellent shows dealt with the progressive issues the mainstream media mostly dropped, as she featured guests like author Vincent Bugliosi, activist Bob Kunst, and Arthur Buonamia, district chairman of the Miami Democratic Executive Committee who was an eyewitness of the Republican mob scene that stopped the recount in Dade County. 58

The Internet and alternative press, of course, had much material to keep busy, and did a fine job overall keeping people informed. On the one-year anniversary of the Supreme Court appointment in Dec. 2001, the only places stories looking back on the election battle could be found was the alternative press.

An alternative publication called *The Democracy Chronicle* was even launched in July 2001 by Florida entrepreneur Aaron Cohen to broaden access to liberal and progressive news and perspectives and to make Internet-based content and resources available to people who are not online. The bimonthly publication, available only by subscription, was published by Kiosk2000, a company established to provide publications, products, and services that promote information literacy.

"The focus of *The Democracy Chronicle* is the health of America's great Democratic experiment," Cohen said. "It will provide digests of news and ideas from the Internet and independent media, as well as original content, that reflect the values and concerns of the majority of Americans who, in the last election, demonstrated a preference for the viewpoints of Democrats, liberals, progressives, and moderate Republicans." 59

Calling it a "politically oriented cross between the *Reader's Digest* and *Utne Reader*," Cohen said the venture grew out of the stolen election. "The election and its aftermath revealed serious threats to our society and Democracy, demonstrating that Democracy, even in the United States, is subject to manipulation," he said. "Without diligence and continued investigations, our country runs the risk of continued, and more serious, threats to our great Democratic experiment."

Cohen noted that the good news was that tens of thousands of Americans were ignoring appeals to "move on." "This ever-growing movement now comprises more than 500 Internet sites, a history of hundreds of protests, and a thriving independent media that is pursuing ongoing investigations into the many unanswered questions about the tactics used to thwart the will of the voters," he said. "However, the bad news is the majority of Americans are not aware of these developments. They are not being reported by much of the mainstream media. And most of the news, emerging facts, and connections to activist organizations are accessible only through the Internet."

Contributors to the first issue included Bob Fertik of Democrats.com, author Vincent Bugliosi, government professor James K. Galbraith, Rep. Lois Frankel, D-Fla., Louis Posner of Voter March, professor Kevin Lanning journalist Gregory Palast, and even a lifelong Republican, George Duffy, who criticized his party's election tactics.

Where else but the Internet and alternative press could one learn about Bush's ties to Skull and Bones, Yale University's oldest secret society that dated to 1832? Author Stephen Prothero in Jan. 2000 in *Salon* detailed the culture of this strange, beyond-fratboy cult, which included not just Bush, his father, and grandfather, but the late president William Taft, Time-Life founder Henry Luce, and Sen. John Kerry. Bush's grandfather, Prescott, allegedly desecrated the grave of Apache warrior Geronimo as an initiation prank, and the society's headquarters were reportedly decorated with the remains of the American Indian, as well as Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa and even some relics from Hitler. The initiation also required pledges to lie in coffins naked and divulge their sexual secrets, which could later be used against them as blackmail to maintain loyalty. The Bush family has steadfastly refused all attempts to question them about Skull and Bones. 60

The Unauthorized Biography of George Bush, by Webster Griffin Tarpley and Anton Chaitkin, really ripped the lid off much of this cult for the rich. Bush, who admitted he studied very little but still passed at Yale, not only had early access to well-connected people, he could easily obtain entire examinations that he could memorize and use to help him pass courses. However, it must be said that no one had unearthed an instance in which Bush cheated on a test this way. But cheating was not frowned upon by the elite; this society had cheated since the 1940s by not filing an annual report with the state as foundations were required by state law. An Internet site called RisePhoenix even contained entire chapters of this interesting book. 61

Then there was Ron Rosenbaum's expose of a Skull and Bones initiation rite, complete with devil worshipping imagery, people threatening to ram plungers up initiates' rears, requests to lick people's rear holes, and initiates having to kiss a skull and witness a bloody, presumably-mock execution. It was hard to say what that meant, or why such an initiation was needed, but it was interesting knowing Bush had to subject himself to that kind of humiliation. 62

Bush tries to crack down on criticism

The Republicans tried to crack down on such dissenting voices. They convinced St. Martin's Press to recall a critical biography of Bush during the 2000 campaign and even got the publisher to recall the copies printed. J.H. Hatfield's *Fortunate Son*, which discussed, among other aspects, an alleged arrest of Bush for cocaine possession in 1972, might have been controversial and even wrong in places. Hatfield did not disclose his criminal background, which included being convicted of attempted murder of two of his bosses at a Dallas real estate firm in 1987, and lost credibility.

But that did not necessarily mean his book did not contain something worth considering. Many questionable books have remained on the shelves. And it was weird that many in the press would applaud recalling books - their newspaper or radio or television station could be next.

Hatfield's book was eventually published by another company, New York-based Soft Skull Press. In a foreword to the book, publisher Sander Hicks wrote that one of Hatfield's sources for the cocaine story was Bush aide Karl Rove himself, who tried to use Hatfield to take the heat off queries about Bush's drug use. A lawsuit was filed against this company also to try to stop the book from being distributed. 63

To further add to the strangeness of this story, Hatfield was mysteriously found dead on July 18, 2001, in a Springdale, Ark., motel room. Police said it was a suicide via prescription drugs, but the CIA, who Bush Sr. once headed, can make a murder seem like a suicide. While Hatfield had other problems, including financial and criminal, that might have led him to take his life, one cannot rule out more sinister events, especially given the right wing's history of involvement in violent acts like the assassinations of the Kennedy's and King. In one of his last interviews, Hatfield said a right-wing source had contacted him before he got his book published by Soft Skull Press and threatened his wife and young child. His suicide note listed the Bush book as one of his reasons, along with financial and alcohol problems. 64

Following the Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks, Congress gave Bush unusual powers, even more than his father received during the Persian Gulf War. Some said that government crackdowns on the First Amendment and press freedom were not far behind. A few days after the attacks, corporate censorship on radio stations owned by Clear Channel Communications, one of the country's largest such owners with more than 1,000 stations, surfaced. Texas-based Clear Channel, whose leaders included Republican financial contributors like Lowry Mays, Mark Mays, and Tom Hicks, sent its stations a list of songs not to play. Those included peaceful ones like "Imagine," "Bridge Over Troubled Waters," "What a Wonderful World," and "American Pie." Clear Channel officials said the request was "voluntary," which in corporate-speak meant that if the stations didn't do it, they would be on the company's bad list. Despite this, some stations refused to back down.

Bush also waged a campaign against Internet sites that contained information about him he didn't like, saying, "There ought to be limits to freedom." In typical hypocritical fashion, Bush himself was the driving force behind a campaign by Republicans to dig up dirt about Clinton in 1992, according to records from the National Archives. In one document, Bush wrote that he was "indignant" that his staff had not found more negative information about Clinton. Bush also was involved in the infamous negative, misleading, and race-baiting Willie Horton ads in his father's 1988 campaign. 65

Bush filed legal action against Zack Exley of Somerville, Mass., author of the parody site, GWBush.com, to attempt to stop him. When that failed, he filed a suit with the Federal Election Commission to disclose the authors and supporters. Exley said the lawsuits backfired on Bush, as the ensuing publicity attracted more supporters and made the site stronger. 66

An Internet provider AOL, a big Bush donor, got in the censorship act by canceling members who posted anti-Bush messages on their boards. Among those bounced from AOL was Belinda, a Democrats.com member who posted an item about the Oral Majority. 67

Then the Bush campaign, led by Karl Rove, spent thousands of donors' money trying to buy up all the www.bushsucks.com, www.bushblows.com, and www.bushbites.com Web sites. And without apparently realizing that the joke was on them, the campaign decided to inadvertently insult Bush and link those sites to its actual Internet address. So people typing in bushsucks.com were actually led to a photo of Bush.

But Bush campaigners forgot some sites like www.bushsuckz.com. "This site is about defending our hard-won right to free speech that is woven into the fabric of the American experience," the author of bushsuckz.com wrote in the site's introduction. "When a politician attempts to abridge that right for the sake of a few votes, that's wrong. 'Bushsuckz.com' is a symbol of this belief. Free speech on the net will not be silenced, no matter how many times politicians make vague threats in an attempt to stifle dissent." 68

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Only the truth will restore our Democracy now.
 - Constance Puckett, Cape Elizabeth, Maine

Chapter VIII. What Do We Do About It?

Now it's time to review what more can be done about the Bush administration's misguided policies and power grabs, to provide a blueprint for more concrete action. There are many suggestions, from a variety of people, from civil rights advocate Rev. Jesse Jackson to writer Ronnie Dugger, that follow.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, civil rights leader

The only way to correct past wrongs is to count the vote. Our right to vote and to be counted is a sacred and non-negotiable issue. Every citizen has the right to vote protected by the Federal Government in Section II of the Voting Rights Act. The same forces that denied the right to vote before 1965 and diluted it until 1990 seek to discount it in 2000 and do not want to renew the Voting Rights Act in 2007.

Our present agenda articulates the dire need for commissions to be created focusing on election reform, the renewal of the Voting Rights Act, and campaign finance reform. The Department of Justice [should] expedite a thorough investigation of blatant voter violations. We must work to remove all political and technological barriers that stand in the way of every American's vote being accurately and fairly counted. Those [ex-felons] who have paid their debt to society should have full citizenship rights. If they are good enough to fight in our wars, and pay taxes to the government, they should have the right to vote. We must erase the reconstruction-era, "Jim Crow style" laws that bar ex-felons from voting. 1

Additional comments after Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks:

President Bush is right to marshal our resources to seek to end the scourge of terrorism. But on this journey, we must define what we mean by the word "terrorism" - all of our allies must agree on this - and then apply one set of rules around the world.

We must resist terrorism and the forces that feed it, everywhere. In our anger, because of our losses, we must not put revenge over remedy. We must choose precise intelligence and strong diplomacy over indiscriminate bombing. We must appreciate the power of the clergy in this region of the world. Their statement was a ray of hope. They did not turn their backs on us with anti-American slogans, but rather they raised an American principle: evidence and action must go hand in hand.

In the commitment to long-term alliances in our struggle to end terrorism, religious leaders in Afghanistan can be strategic allies. As our foreign policy shifts from isolationism to coalition

building, we must remember four principles: (1) a strong military, (2) precise intelligence, (3) strong diplomatic allies - the keys to good intelligence, and (4) economic security for the poorest and most desperate. We can win this battle if we hold to our democratic principles, and make them central in our dealings with the world.

Barbra Streisand, actress

This is a key moment in our history. We cannot let the right wing roll back 30 years of social progress. We must mount a strong, strategic, and targeted offense against the Republican revolution that is now sweeping all branches of government.

Democrats should have one goal, and that's to win back the House, Senate, and Presidency so they can fight for and represent the needs of ordinary Americans. Unless we win, we'll be consistently on the defensive with our fingers holding the dyke against the resurgence of the far right. We should draw attention to the differences in our parties, hold accountable those currently in power, and make them pay for their actions on Election Day. This is not a time to be weak.

The public responds to strength. Democrats don't have to be ruthless like the Republicans, they just have to be strong. Remember the example set by Reagan, with whom the public consistently disagreed on policy issues while they strongly approved of him. They respected the fact that he held strong beliefs, even if they disagreed with the beliefs themselves.....

Sometime this year [2001], Justices Rehnquist and O'Connor will probably resign. Democrats have the numbers, and they must have the will to filibuster against a right-wing assault. Democrats should not be afraid to speak out and remind the public of what happened last November [2000]. Perhaps some of them are up for reelection and, therefore, might be afraid to rock the boat. Well, I disagree. Rocking the boat is what wins elections....

Democrats need to speak on TV, on radio, on the Internet, and in the newspapers about the election and keep hammering home the legislative favors Bush is granting his corporate supporters in exchange for their campaign contributions. Journalists need to spend the same amount of energy and resources investigating Bush and Cheney as they spent over the past decade investigating the Democrats. Democrats need to organize, to motivate, to inspire the disillusioned citizens and the disenfranchised voters of this country who think their votes don't matter. Democrats must reach out to voters who want sane gun control, voters who want to protect choice, voters dedicated to saving the environment.

Unfortunately, some people are still being fooled by Bush. Many voters are not sufficiently informed to protect their own self-interests. Some of the public seem to believe the Republican rhetoric that big government is bad. They need to realize that government spending means money spent on people; on the social services they all benefit from like after-school programs, safe highways and food inspections.....Despite the problems we face, Democrats are the party of, by and for the people while Republicans are the party of, by and for the corporation. Democrats must keep reminding people of that! Democratic leaders and policymakers have to fight for the concepts and ideals that have shaped the Democratic Party for generations. Our country cannot afford to wait. Just being nice doesn't work. Democrats should fight before it's too late! There's not a moment to lose. 2

Additional comments after Sept. 2001 terrorist attacks:

In light of recent events, I strongly believe we must support our government despite our disagreements on certain policies, such as those relating to environmental, educational, social and other specific issues. My past concerns about such matters still pertain, but at this point in time, I have removed several articles from my web site in an effort to encourage national unity instead of partisan divisions....

The United States...indeed, our world...will never be the same. Thousands of lives were lost and millions of lives were changed on that tragic morning. The magnitude of such devastation is incomprehensible.

And yet, in the days after, we have witnessed many acts of heroism - men and women risking their lives to come to the aid of others. We have seen their faces on television - people of all colors, all faiths, all nationalities - the faces that make up America.

When I listen to the anguished yet compassionate voices of these proud and resilient citizens on the evening news, my belief in the diversity that makes our country great is reaffirmed. [Those New York accents never sounded so beautiful!]

We have seen that when we set aside our differences for the greater good, we can prevail against any negative force in this world. This indomitable American spirit has always carried us through the darkest of days and strengthens our determination to create a brighter tomorrow.

For all who perished...and all who grieve for them...my thoughts and prayers are with you....

The freedom to dissent is the basis of all our freedoms. So it is patriotic to speak up when we see unfair legislation being jammed through.

Even in this time of crisis, the Republicans are back to politics-as-usual, as we can see from the "economic stimulus bill" they are trying to pass and which gives huge tax-breaks to corporations. It shows us that Republican legislators are still the representatives of big business, leaving the Democrats to defend working people. The airlines got bailed out, but the workers they fired got nothing....If you wish to dissent, hey, that's one of the most important rights we're fighting to defend.

Ronnie Dugger, founder of Alliance for Democracy and the Texas Observer

Bush should be impeached, but that's not going to happen with the 2001 Congress. Perhaps a more attainable remedy would be to remove Rehnquist, Scalia, Thomas, Kennedy, and O'Connor under Article III of the Constitution. Article III provides that "the judges, both of the Supreme Court and the inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior."

We should hand-count all votes in precincts on election night and not trust election corporations' computerized systems.

We should resolve to not call Bush president. We should refuse to recognize the authority of any judge whom Bush appoints and the Senate confirms. They should be impeached when a legitimate president is elected.

A group of distinguished former officials in other countries should form a small international commission to investigate the 2000 presidential election.

We should form a national people's movement, independent of any political party, to work for public funding of elections, instant runoff voting, proportional representation, and other issues like a living wage for every working person. More people should engage in nonviolent, public civil

disobedience, risking jail time, to work towards such goals. But they must not retaliate by throwing objects at police, even when police and others start the violence.

We should revive Martin Luther King Jr.'s project, which he was working on when he was murdered in 1968, to organize a vast encampment for peace and economic justice in Washington, D.C. We should work towards a new American Democracy where everybody's vote is counted and every body of opinion is represented proportionally in the government, where the president gets the most votes, where Supreme Court justices must be elected every eight years. 3

Kweisi Mfume, NAACP, president

We are holding elected officials accountable. We will never allow the election atrocities that happened around the country in the last election to repeat itself, and we insist that specific measures be taken to eliminate abuses at the polls.

We are grading governors, secretaries of state, election board officials, and state legislatures. The report cards will report the actions, and demonstrated will or lack of commitment by officials to improving flaws and working toward the total elimination of voter rights abuses and irregularities.

Officials will be graded A through F based on a ten-step agenda the NAACP established earlier this year. Grades are based on the degree of effort and improvement each official has demonstrated toward correcting some of the flaws that currently plague the election process. The sample cards will be available in the Program and Information Exchange Center.

The NAACP's ten steps to election reform are:

- * Equal access for all voters.
- * Train and adequately pay poll workers.
- * Fund modern voting equipment.
- * Educate voters.
- * Guarantee that every registered voter is included on the voter rolls.
- * Provide absentee ballots.
- * Enforce voting rights and accessibility.
- * Eliminate harassment.
- * Provide easy-to-understand ballots.
- * Re-enfranchise felons who have served their time in prison. 4

U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Dr. Mary Frances Berry, chairperson

* The U.S. Department of Justice should immediately initiate the litigation process against Jeb Bush, Katherine Harris, the director of the Division of Elections, specific supervisors of elections, and other state and local officials responsible for the execution of election laws, practices, and procedures, regarding their contributions, if any, to the extraordinary racial disparity in the rate that votes were rejected, through their actions, or failures to act before and during the November 2000 presidential election, in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

* The Civil Rights Division in the Office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials who violated the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and/or Title IX of the Florida statutes through their actions or failure to act before, during, and after the November 2000 election.

* The U.S. Department of Justice should immediately initiate the litigation process against Florida state officials, whose list maintenance activities during the November 2000 presidential election discriminated against people of color in violation of federal law or resulted in the denial of people of color to have equal access to the political process. The process should focus on at least the following factors: the rate African Americans appear on the purge list; the rate that African Americans appear on this list in error; the fact that the state law places the burden on the voter to prove his or her innocence to be permitted to vote; and the awareness of state officials that names would be placed on these lists in error.

* The state of Florida should: institute effective monitoring systems to ensure the uniform implementation of any voting system which allows for a precinct count and an opportunity for the voter to correct his/her ballot; annually analyze the rejection rates of the voting systems used in the previous year; consider, based upon that analysis, decertifying any voting system which minimizes the rejection of spoiled ballots; and ensure that there is a consistent ballot rejection rate throughout the state.

* The state of Florida should retain experts to undertake a formal study to ascertain the reasons for any racial disparities in the vote rejection rates between white voters and persons of color and then adopt and publicize procedures to eliminate this disparity. The study should target “best practices” that ensure comprehensive poll worker training, enhanced education for first-time voters, and the delivery of adequate resources in all counties to resolve problems as they arise on Election Day.

* Adequate financial resources should be allocated to educate voters, poll workers, and state election officials of all appropriate policies and procedures, including, but not limited to general voting rights, a voter’s rights while at the polling place, how the voter should use the technology to vote for his or her candidate of choice, and the proper procedures to resolve issues that arise at the polling place on Election Day.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the Office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials who implemented list maintenance activities before, during and after the November 2000 election that either intentionally discriminated against people of color or resulted in the denial of people of color to have equal access to the political process. The process should include, but not be limited to the methodology for the compilation of names for the exclusion lists, the burden upon the voter to prove his or her eligibility status before he or she could remain on the voter rolls, the forecast of inexact matches on the exclusion lists, the methodology for data verification, and the criteria for removal of a voter’s name from the voter rolls.

* The state of Florida should swiftly and uniformly implement specific provisions of its recently adopted electoral reform laws, to eliminate the current practice that places the burden on an eligible voter to prove that he or she has not lost his or her civil rights to be permitted to vote. Sufficient funding should be provided to support this mandate.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials whose actions or failure to act, violated relevant federal and/or state laws, which require that poll workers be able to communicate with election officials or access data to resolve issues during the November 2000 election. The process should include, but not be limited to insufficient telephone systems in supervisors’ of elections offices, inappropriate use of laptop computers that accessed county voter registration information, and lack of at least one computer in each voting precinct to access voter registration information.

* The Florida legislature should enact legislation and/or appropriate administrative rule promulgation to provide for access to a provisional ballot in every polling place and where the voter executes an appropriate affidavit attesting that he or she is legally entitled to vote on Election Day, even if the voter mistakenly believes it is the precinct where he or she should be properly registered. The state of Florida should also provide an immediate right to appeal the discarding of a ballot with resolution prior to the canvassing of the election or counting of ballots. Sufficient funding should be provided to support this mandate.

* Any voter who is denied the opportunity to vote on Election Day should have an absolute right to appeal this determination, as well as a right to receive resolution of the issue prior to the canvassing of the election or the counting of ballots.

* Resources should be allocated to create a system of voter reminder cards that would be mailed to voters before every election, that informs them of their registration status and the location of their polling place. In addition, an electronic or automated telephone system could be devised that would allow voters to access their registration status and polling place location via the Internet or by telephone.

* Each county supervisor of elections should devise systems to timely process voter registration applications and notify voters of any errors or missing data within a reasonable time to maintain eligibility to vote in the next election.

* The Division of Elections should mandate through legislation and/or appropriate administrative rule promulgation, proactive measures to verify and update the information received from the supervisors of elections on a regular basis to ensure that all properly registered voters are allowed to exercise their right to vote.

* Supervisors of elections should ensure that there is a sufficient number of properly-trained staff available at their central offices to answer calls and resolve problems throughout the day during every election. Moreover, supervisors of elections should routinely examine the capability of their respective offices' telephone systems to determine whether additional resources should be requested to supplement their communication procedures during elections where a high volume of voters is expected.

* Poll workers should be adequately trained to use any available measure under Florida election law that would permit properly registered individuals to vote, including, but not limited to voting by affidavit, provisional ballots, and all language and special needs assistance. Poll workers should continue to be given training on the use of laptop computers that are designated for accessing current voter registration information. Further, all polling places in each county should have computers for this purpose. Supervisors of elections' staff who are thoroughly familiar with computerized methods of accessing voter registration data should be available at each polling site on Election Day to assist poll workers.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials whose actions or failure to act, violated relevant federal and/or state laws by denying voters who arrived at a polling place during official poll hours their right to vote.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials whose actions or failure to act, violated relevant federal and/or state laws by neither uniformly informing drivers of the "Motor Voter" registration process nor ensuring that the voter registration applications arrived at the appropriate supervisor of elections office and were processed in a timely fashion. The process should include, but not be limited to the failure to include the names of drivers who

satisfactorily completed voter registration applications to appear on the voter rolls for the November 2000 election, the failure to inform voter registration applicants that a driver's license change does not automatically update voter registration, and lack of a verification system to ensure that the appropriate supervisor of elections received all voter registration applications in a timely manner.

- * The former polling place should have clearly-posted signs throughout the location at a reasonable time preceding the election and on Election Day, which not only identify the new polling place, but also provide clear directions to the polling place.

- * Poll workers should also be provided with a list of all polling places, including those that were recently moved and closed. Poll workers should be able to inform voters of the location of the new polling place.

- * Poll workers should be educated regarding proper poll closing procedures to ensure that all voters who arrive at the polls in a timely fashion are permitted to vote.

- * No law enforcement agency should conduct routine checkpoints or other traffic barriers around polling locations. Checkpoints and other traffic barriers should only occur on Election Day in case of emergencies or exigent circumstances.

- * Public forums involving both the community and Florida law enforcement agencies should take place at regular intervals throughout the year. These forums would allow all in attendance-including law enforcement officers and officials, elected officials, and community members-to learn about and develop a greater respect for the racial, economic, and cultural diversity of Floridians. The dialogue and idea exchange at the public forum should allow concerns to be addressed before they become serious grievances, such as the perceived use of checkpoints predominantly in communities of color.

- * The U.S. Department of Justice should initiate the litigation process against the governor regarding his failure to appoint special officers to investigate alleged election law violations which discriminated against people of color.

- * The U.S. Department of Justice should initiate the litigation process against the secretary of state regarding her disregard of statutory obligations (as they relate to ensuring legal voters were actually permitted to vote during Florida's November 2000 presidential election), which either discriminated against people of color or resulted in their denial of equal access to the political process in violation of federal law.

- * The state of Florida should pass specific legislation requiring the secretary of state to ensure that the state is prepared for elections, adequate resources are available to address problems arising on Election Day, Florida's voters receive adequate education on voting processes, election precincts are appropriately staffed, and election workers receive needed education and training.

- * The secretary of state's office, the Florida legislature, county boards of commissioners, and county supervisors of elections should jointly create a process for county supervisors of elections to challenge local funding decisions.

- * The state of Florida should enact a specific law to authorize use of state emergency funds that are earmarked for elections preparation in order to supplement proposed budgets of county supervisors of elections' offices. This funding would be accessible to supervisors of elections when adequate county financing is not available.

- * Each county board of commissioners should regularly review its respective county's financial allocation for poll worker training. Input from the secretary of state's office may be required to ensure uniform instruction materials and guidance on state voting regulations, as well as funding for supplemental training.

* State and county officials should establish certification requirements for poll workers to assure the public that poll workers have recently been instructed in the basics of election law and procedures.

* The state of Florida should authorize legal measures to ensure that former felons receive automatic restoration of their civil rights upon satisfaction of their sentences, including probation.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the Office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials, whose actions or failure to act, violated relevant federal and/or state law by permanently disenfranchising voters on the basis of felony conviction.

* The U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Division in the Office of the Florida Attorney General should initiate the litigation process against state election officials, whose actions or failure to act, violated relevant federal and/or state laws through the method by which private entities were involved with list maintenance activities. The process should include, but not be limited to: the failure to include persons adjudicated mentally incompetent to vote in the compilation of the exclusion lists, the matching logic prescribing for false positives or inexact matches, the inclusion of criminal history information from states other than Florida, and the failure to prescribe uniform provisions for voters who erroneously appeared on the exclusion lists.

* The state of Florida should authorize legal measures to ensure that no registered voter is purged from voter rolls or files, unless he or she is an exact match of someone who is deceased, also registered to vote in another jurisdiction, or a convicted felon without restoration of his or her civil rights, or someone adjudicated as mentally incompetent to vote and should provide clear guidance to the Division of Elections on how to use information provided from its own state agencies to determine the eligibility of registered voters.

* State and county officials should establish minimum standards for polling places, ensuring that they are fully accessible for individuals with disabilities and that individuals with special language needs receive proper language assistance in order to exercise their right to vote.

* The Supervisors of Elections should actively recruit bilingual poll workers to assist bilingual voters. Furthermore, there should be a language assistance mechanism that is readily available for voters who need such support on Election Day.

* The U.S. Department of Justice should initiate the litigation process against state election officials who implemented practices during the November 2000 presidential election that either intentionally discriminated or resulted in discrimination against persons with disabilities and language minorities, including, but not limited to, the enforcement of a five minute voting rule and the requirement to enter the voting booth alone.

* The state of Florida should provide voters with an immediate right to appeal the discarding of any ballot or the refusal of any opportunity to vote prior to the final canvassing of the election.

* The state of Florida should enact legislation requiring the use of precinct-based optical scan technology and precinct-based counting technology.

* The state of Florida should ensure through legislation or administrative rulemaking that ballot designs are as uniform and as easy to read and understand as possible for all Florida's residents, including individuals with disabilities and those with language assistance needs. 5

National Commission on Federal Election Reform, Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, chairmen

When they choose the president, the vice president, and members of Congress, the American people should expect all levels of government to provide a Democratic process that:

- * Maintains an accurate list of citizens who are qualified to vote.
- * Encourages every eligible voter to participate effectively.
- * Uses equipment that reliably clarifies and registers the voter's choices.
- * Handles close elections in a foreseeable and fair way.
- * Operates with equal effectiveness for every citizen and every community.
- * Reflects limited but responsible federal participation.

The conduct of federal elections is a federal function-as the Supreme Court reiterated just this year, states have no inherent or reserved powers over federal elections because federal elections only came into being when the United States Constitution was ratified.

Nonetheless, the framers of the Constitution foresaw a federal-state partnership in the administration of federal elections, and delegated to the states a substantial role in the conduct of those elections. Article 1, Section 4, of the U.S. Constitution states that: "The Times, Places and Manner of Holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of choosing Senators." And Article II, in conjunction with the Twelfth Amendment, provides that the states shall choose electors for the President and Vice President, but that "the Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors and the Day on which they shall give their Votes," and specifies rules by which the Congress might settle contested presidential elections.

An especially infuriating barrier eligible voters can face is to show up on Election Day, believing (perhaps rightly) that they are qualified to vote, and then be turned away because the poll worker cannot find their name on the list of qualified voters. In every recent national election there are certainly hundreds of thousands, and possibly millions, of such frustrating encounters.

In the 2000 presidential election, more than two million voters went to the polls but did not have any vote counted in the race for president. Specialists call these votes in which no choice is counted "residual votes." These millions of voters either spoiled their ballots by overvoting (appearing to vote for more than one candidate), or by undervoting, i.e., they marked their choice in a manner that could not be counted, or they marked no choice at all-accidentally or intentionally.

Everyone who observed the 2000 election crisis was struck by the sheer unreadiness of every part of the system to deal with a close election. Recount and contest laws were not designed for statewide challenges. The relevant state deadlines did not mesh well with the federal schedule. Each county made its own decisions about what, when, or whether to recount. In performing the recounts the definition of a vote varied from county to county, and from official to official within the counties. Lawsuits materialized across Florida, urging judges to construct law that would overcome the alleged deficiencies of the statutes. The principal television networks also found themselves unready to deal with a very close election. Unable to handle extremely close results carefully and accurately, they dealt with them negligently and inaccurately-and loudly too-erring assertively again and again during the course of Election Night and thereby affecting the course of the very history they were supposedly only trying to report.

Election administration gets so few resources from American governments that we do not even know how much is spent. The sums are literally too trivial to merit national accounting. The smallest general expenditure category listed in the Census of Government for the Statistical Abstract of the United States is garbage disposal (solid waste management), on which the many units of government spend a total of about \$14 billion. The Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project has worked this year to figure out how much money is spent on running elections. Their best estimate, for operating expenditures just by counties, comes to a nationwide total of only about \$1 billion. As we reflect that the general election of 2000 alone involved more than 100 million voters going to more than 190,000 polling places staffed by 1.4 million poll workers, we can hardly be surprised that there are problems. It is amazing, and a tribute to dedicated professional election administrators and many poll workers who practically volunteer their time, that the system works as well as it does. 6

California Institute of Technology President David Baltimore, Massachusetts Institute of Technology President Charles M. Vest, Voting Technology Project

Four to six million votes, a number which is double the population of Chicago, were lost in the 2000 presidential election due to problems with ballots, equipment, registration or at the polling place. In the last election, Americans learned that at the heart of their Democratic process, their “can-do” spirit has “make-do” technology as its central element.

For many years, we have “made do” with this deeply flawed system, but we now know how poorly these systems function. Until every effort has been made to insure that each vote will be counted, we will have legitimate concerns about embarking on another presidential election.

A team of 10 computer scientists, mechanical engineers, and political scientists were appointed by us after the 2000 presidential election to evaluate the state of American voting systems. Their 100-page report, entitled “Voting: What Is, What Could Be,” outlines the magnitude of problems with voting equipment, and offers a blueprint for fixing them before the next presidential election.

The report recommends two immediate reforms that could reduce lost votes by 50 percent in 2004: installing voting machines that scan paper ballots at the precinct and making voter registration data available at polling places.

Other key findings include:

- * Optical scanning is the most reliable method of voting. Both punch cards and lever machines should be done away with.

- * Internet voting is not a near-term solution because of the threat of computer hacking.

- * Polling places should be equipped with laptops to provide instant access to all county or state voter registration information. This will help alleviate the problem of eligible voters being turned away on election day.

- * “Provisional ballots” should be used when registration questions arise.

- * Early voting should replace absentee ballots on demand.

- * A National Elections Research Lab or program should be created to “foster the development of better voting equipment and voting systems.”

The report also proposes a new modular voting architecture that could serve as a model for future voting technology, one that would offer greater opportunity for innovation in ballot design and security. 7

Voting Technology Project report, “Voting: What Is, What Could Be”

* Optical scanning has the best track record of all equipment types currently in use. We recommend replacing punch cards, lever machines, and older electronic machines with optical scanned ballot systems, or any electronic voting system proven to perform similarly well in extensive field tests. This would cost approximately \$2 per voter, or \$200 million, per year over a 15- to 20-year span.

* Before Election Day, voter registration presents counties with an enormous database management problem. We recommend that states develop Qualified Voter Files and Systems.

* It is cumbersome to provide paper lists of all county voter registrations to all polling places. Lease laptops for each polling place with access to all county or state voter registration information. This would cost approximately \$2 per voter per year.

* Problems with voter registration can be a barrier to voting and can create lines at polling places. We recommend aggressive use of “provisional ballots” to take care of such problems.

* Integrity of absentee balloting is a real concern. We recommend use of early voting instead of absentee voting on demand.

* Remote Internet voting poses serious security risks. We recommend a delay on Internet voting until suitable criteria for security are in place.

* Electronic voting will change how we vote in the near future. To capture the full potential of electronic voting, a substantial change in the development and evaluation of equipment is required. The federal government should develop a coherent national approach to the development of this technology.

* A standard equipment platform must be developed to guarantee that voters can verify their votes and that voters can create a copy of their votes that can be used in the event of a recount. We recommend that this platform consist of modular voting equipment, which allows for the separate development of equipment for generating votes and of equipment for casting and for counting votes. This will allow for development of very secure equipment for casting and counting votes and for continual improvement in the ballot and interface design.

* We must build to the best of breed in other sorts of electronic technology. The federal government must establish and fund an election technology research program for the development of equipment. The program will focus on ballot and interface design, on security, and on handicap accessibility.

* The federal government must create and fund a system for evaluating equipment, based on lab and field testing of equipment. This will be more efficient than the current system, which, at its best, relies on demonstration projects run by the firms that develop and sell equipment.

* New standards must be developed focusing on appropriate standards for security, human usability, and handicap accessibility. These standards must evolve, based on the lessons learned through the research and evaluation program.

* Many election officers know little about voting systems used elsewhere in the country. The federal government should fund a clearinghouse for information about election equipment, election administration costs, and voter registration and polling place practices. This clearinghouse will act as a sort of “Consumer Reports” for counties. 8

Election Center Task Force report

* Every state review and modify its election laws to guarantee the orderly conduct of certification duties after each election. These duties include canvassing and certifying official election results. They may also include retabulations and recounts.

* Each state must certify its presidential electors by a specific date, each state must provide sufficient time between election day and that statutory date to execute all duties in an orderly manner.

* When a state provides for either judicial or administrative recounts, it must provide sufficient time to reasonably complete the recount, whether by hand or by machine.

* All states enact, or at least do not preclude, an administrative recount process as an addition to or replacement for a judicial recount.

* Each state enact laws specifying the vote margin that will trigger an automatic recount.

* Hand recounts should be used to verify the accuracy of voting machine counts or to count votes unable to be counted by machines.

* Prior to a machine recount, each paper or punch card ballot be reviewed to insure that valid votes can be accurately read by the tabulating equipment. Such ballots, whether as a result of damage or voter error, shall either be hand counted or be duplicated.

* Congress should amend current law to require the states to provide absentee ballots for delivery no later than 30 days before an election. A statutory remedy should include the extension of ballot acceptance and counting for the requisite number of days necessary to provide overseas voters with 30 days transit time.

* Congress should amend the law to allow military and overseas voters to vote regardless of whether the voters make application for an absentee ballot at least 30 days before an election.

* Each state establish uniform standards or rules for determining valid ballot markings and voter intent for each voting system in use in the state.

* States determine ballot layout standards that minimize voter confusion.

* The news media should refrain from projecting presidential election night results until 11:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time.

* Congress should establish statutory authority, and sustained funding, for the maintenance of voting standards, including both technical standards and operational guidelines. guidelines for each voting system as to what constitutes a valid vote.

* State laws should be changed to allow restoration of voting rights upon pardon or full completion of a sentence ncarceration, probation, parole, restitution, etc.

* That in the absence of election day registration or other solutions to address registration questions, provisional ballots be adopted by all jurisdictions. 9

U.S. Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., House Judiciary Committee ranking member

I am pleased to join Sen. Christopher Dodd, Kweisi Mfume, and John Sweeney to introduce legislation, [HR 1170, the Equal Protection of Voting Rights Act, introduced in early 2001] which, if passed, would represent a major step to ensuring equal protection and equal access to the voting booth. This struggle has been central for African Americans since the dawn of the Republic.

The bill has three titles [and nearly 100 cosponsors, more than any other election reform bill introduced to date].

Consistent with what the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Bush v. Gore*, Title I of the bill would require states to adopt uniform and non-discriminatory state-wide standards for election machinery.

This requirement will not only belatedly end the outdated use of punch-card balloting, but will ensure that states use a consistently optimal level of technology that will protect voters from being disenfranchised by faulty machinery. Too often, minority and poor communities get the worst voting machinery, and too often that means more disenfranchisement in those communities.

In addition, Title I of the legislation requires that states in federal elections allow “provisional voting” - something already used with great success in many states to prevent the preclusion of voters who can later show they were properly registered and improperly denied the opportunity to vote. This would help address the problem of wrongful purges and improper voter intimidation at the polling places - something that African Americans are again all too familiar with in our voting experience in this country.

The bill fully funds the implementation of these standards and, therefore, avoids creating an unfunded federal mandate.

Title II of the bill provides for an “early bird” program for states that want to start election reform early enough for the 2002 elections. In order to qualify for federal funding under this grant program, a state must adopt a state-wide program for uniform and non-discriminatory election machinery and procedures, adopt additional guarantees against wrongful purges and ensure access for voters with disabilities, language minorities, and overseas military voters.

Finally, Title III of the legislation establishes a Commission to study not just voting machinery, but also an examination and recommendation of best practices for providing access to voters with disabilities and other special needs, an investigation of flawed felony voter purges, and access for military overseas voters.

After African Americans were guaranteed rights in the post civil war reconstruction Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, we have been fighting countless schemes that have the intent or effect of keeping us outside the franchise. We saw it with poll taxes, literacy tests, at large elections, gerrymandering, and ballot security schemes. Now we see it with discriminatory election machinery and standards.

And even this highly conservative U.S. Supreme Court has told us in *Bush v. Gore*, that such disparate procedures violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. So these discriminatory practices have to now stop, and we’re prepared to enable the states to do so with this legislation.

....I am beginning to wonder whether the election reform song Bush is singing is the “Great Pretender.” He gives lip service to the issue but does nothing, maintaining the broken system that led to him assuming the presidency.

The same punch-card machines, lack of voter education, and overbroad felony voter purges remain as a ticking time bomb for the 2002 elections. Yet, as the president has ducked and dodged replacing the faulty machines that lent controversy to his election, he seems to have no shortage of political capital to expend on tax cuts for fat cats, arsenic in drinking water, and unsafe working conditions.

For a president who promised to unite the nation to fail to heal the election’s wounds that still divide us is a failure of leadership and he needs to be held accountable for this failure. To remind the public of his inaction on this issue, the Judiciary Democrats’ website will carry a rolling ticker that displays the number of days Bush has failed to lead on election reform. The Judiciary Democrats website is www.house.gov/judiciary_Democrats/demhome.htm.

This White House needs to get over its embarrassment about its conduct during the Florida election and the most controversial election resolution in our history.

Besides the Equal Protection of Voting Rights Act, I have introduced HR 906, the Civic Participation and Rehabilitation Act. The bill says that the right of an individual who is a citizen of the United States to vote in any election for federal office shall not be denied or abridged because that individual has been convicted of a criminal offense unless such individual is serving a felony sentence in a correctional institution or facility at the time of the election.

One in 50 adults are currently or permanently disenfranchised from voting as a result of state felony voting laws. Some 1.4 million voting-age African-Americans males are able to cast ballots but because of the state laws they are stripped of this right.

Ordinary offenders who have served their sentences should not be permanently barred from participation in the political system as voters.....

Congress bears significant responsibility for this breakdown in our Democracy. For far too long, Congress has refused to exercise its Constitutional responsibility to ensure fair and accurate federal elections.

The solution is clear: Congress needs to set minimum national voting rights standards that guarantee every voter in every state the right to cast a ballot on a competent and accessible machine and to cast a provisional ballot if the voter has been wrongly purged. The Conyers-Dodd Equal Protection of Voting rights Act takes such an approach....

If Congress does not take action, who will? Nearly half of the state legislatures adjourned after finishing their work for the year, with only Georgia and Maryland having enacted comprehensive election reform legislation. Even those two states, however, failed to approve funding for their reforms. State legislatures simply are not acting quickly enough to repair our election systems prior to the 2002 and 2004 elections.....Congressional action is needed and the clock is ticking. 10

U.S. Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., Senate Rules and Administration Committee chairman

I'm pleased to be here with my colleagues – Mitch McConnell, Chuck Schumer, Kit Bond, and Bob Torricelli – to announce a landmark agreement on legislation to reform our nation's election laws [Dec. 13, 2001].

America today is under attack by enemies of democracy and freedom. I can think of no better political message that we can send to them today than that we are committed as one nation to not only defend our democracy, but to strengthen it.

A year ago yesterday marked the end of a painful chapter in our nation's political history. Today we are here in a spirit not of partisanship and division, but unity and resolve. We are united in our view that the electoral problems that were so glaringly revealed last year can – and will – be solved.

Whatever one may think about the events of last November, this much we know for certain: that four to six million Americans who cast a ballot never had their vote counted. We will never know how many of those votes were for Republicans, Democrats, or other candidates. But this much we do know: they should have been counted. And if this bill is signed into law by the President, they will be counted.

So today we come together to announce not only an agreement about a bill. We come together to renew our nation's eternal commitment to uphold the most fundamental principal of our democracy: that every eligible American voter has the right to vote and have that vote counted.

I want to thank my colleagues who are on the stage with me today. They, and their staffs, have been working tirelessly with me, and my staff, for several months now on this issue. Working nights. Working weekends. Meeting many, many times in an effort to reach an agreement on a complicated and important issue.

Our bill offers real reform--not just goals, but guarantees. It sets minimum requirements that states must abide by, including:

- Voting System Standards so that every blind and disabled person, and every language minority, can cast a vote privately and independently;
- Provisional Voting, so that no registered voter in America will ever be turned away at the voting booth; and
- Statewide voter registration lists and verification for voters who register by mail, so that all those who wish to vote will be able to vote, and those who are not eligible to vote will not.

These are truly minimum standards. No one can disagree with them. In no way do they require a one-size-fits-all approach to elections. On the contrary, we explicitly guarantee to every state the ability to meet these standards in a manner of their choosing.

Our bill makes it easier for eligible Americans to vote by requiring that:

- Voters have a way to verify their votes before casting their ballot;
- Voters are provided the opportunity to change their ballot before casting their vote;
- Voters are provide a replacement ballot if they are unable to correct an error;
- Voters are notified if they select more than one candidate for a single office;
- Voters whose names are not on the official voter registration list can still cast a ballot, and that ballot will be counted once it is verified that they are eligible to vote;
- Voting systems have an acceptable error rate; and
- Voting systems provide an audit trail.

Our bill makes it harder for anyone to cheat the system. We accomplish this by requiring States to:

- Develop an interactive computerized statewide voter registration list, which will allow poll workers to easily verify whether or not a voter is eligible to vote; and
- Require first-time voters who register by mail to verify their identity before casting their ballot. But it allows alternatives for voters who do not have a photo identification.

Our bill ensures that our voting systems are accessible to all Americans. It requires states to provide voting systems that are accessible to individuals with disabilities and other individuals with special needs, and it explicitly requires nonvisual accessibility for the blind and visually impaired. It also requires jurisdictions to provide alternative language accessibility for voters with limited English proficiency.

Our bill ensures that these reforms will be put in place. Our legislation authorizes the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights to file suit against jurisdictions who fail to implement the required reforms.

Our bill establishes a new federal agency. The Election Administration Commission will concentrate the responsibility for national election administration in a single agency with a bipartisan group of commissioners.

Our bill provides the funds to help states meet these goals. It ensures that the federal government contributes its fair share of the cost of administering elections for federal office. It authorizes a total of \$3.4 billion over the next five years towards this end. These resources underscore the fact that nothing in this bill establishes an unfunded mandate on states. We give them the resources – as well as the flexibility – that they need to get the job done.

Election reform represents the first civil rights challenge of the 21st century. From the founding days of the Republic, our nation has never in the past failed to meet similar challenges. With this bill, we can carry out our nation's constitutional obligation to ensure that every American who votes in a federal election will have that vote counted. 11

U.S. Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., Senate Rules and Administration Committee ranking member

The Senate is commonly known as the world's greatest deliberative body. After 13 months of hearings, negotiations, compromises, offers, counteroffers, bills, compromise bills, deals, and new deals, I think I speak for all of us by saying: we've had about all of the deliberation we can handle on one issue.

The agreement is the result of 13 months of work and countless hours of negotiations.

- As many of you know, Senator Dodd and I began discussions about election reform at the Rules Committee more than one year ago.
- Exactly one year ago this week, I introduced an election reform bill with Senator Torricelli.
- Last winter, Senator Dodd and I began a series of hearings on election reform.
- Last May, I introduced a new bill with Senator Schumer and Senator Torricelli – that garnered strong bipartisan support with 71 Senator cosponsors.
- All of these prior efforts and cooperation paved the way for today's agreement.

The agreement incorporates three key principles that I have been promoting since the original McConnell-Torricelli bill last year.

Those principles are:

1. Respect for the primary role of states and localities in election administration.
2. Establishment of an independent, bipartisan commission appointed by the President to provide nonpartisan election assistance to the states.
3. Strong anti-fraud provisions to cleanup voter rolls and reduce fraud. No longer will we have dogs, cats and dead people registering and voting by mail.

On this last point, I want to tip my hat to Senator Bond - who has been a tireless champion and advocate for strong anti-fraud provisions. His work on this issue has been instrumental in achieving the agreement.

Bipartisanship and compromise - at least on this one issue - are alive and well in the United States Senate. None of us got everything we asked for, but all of us got what we wanted: a bipartisan bill to dramatically increase the resources for and improve the process of conducting elections in America.

My goal throughout this process has been to ensure that: everyone who is legally entitled to vote is able to do so, and that everyone who does vote is legally entitled to do so, and does so only once. I believe this agreement will help us achieve this goal. 12

U.S. Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz.

As chairman of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, I have introduced the American Voting Standards and Technology Act. The bill would develop voluntary standards to ensure greater accuracy at every stage of the voter process including registration, casting votes and counting votes. Sen. Fritz Hollings, ranking Democrat of the committee, is a sponsor.

We can help Americans regain control of their government by ridding politics of large, unregulated contributions, and by ensuring that every vote is counted and recorded accurately. How can we encourage young Americans to vote if they believe their vote may not be counted? We must modernize our voting machinery and improve our voting process without barraging the state and local governments with excessive rules and regulations. The American Voting Standards and Technology Act accomplishes these goals.

The bill would do the following:

- * Direct the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) to develop voluntary consensus standards to ensure the accuracy and validation of the voting process.

- * Authorize matching grants to state or local government agencies to purchase new or rehabilitated voting equipment to improve the ability of the public to cast a timely and accurate vote for the candidate of their choice.

- * Authorize grants through the Department of Commerce to state agencies to strengthen voter education campaigns.

The fact that an overwhelming number of precincts reported voting machine flaws is an embarrassment to our Democracy. What's more disturbing is that numerous studies reveal that throughout the country, ballots cast by African Americans were nullified at a much higher rate than those of Caucasians. We cannot encourage and expect every American to vote if we ignore the inequalities that are inherent in our entire voting system. 13

U.S. Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson, D-Texas, chairwoman, Congressional Black Caucus

I hope that Governor Bush will actualize his campaign promise to "leave no one behind" by working with us to leave no voter behind, to leave no sick child or senior citizen behind, to leave no ethnically cleansed area of the world behind and to leave no student behind with regards to technology.

We should all find common ground and then build our foundation on that ground. We must never forget, however, those that have suffered in order to bring us the tools used to build that foundation, and we must hold those responsible for that suffering accountable. We should give them the opportunity to rectify the situation, but we should simultaneously make it clear that we have long memories. We can forgive the system, but we must never forget the pain. 14

U.S. Rep. Carrie Meek, D-Fla.

Election reform is the single most important civil rights issue of the 21st Century. I see this not as a black or a white issue, but as a Democracy issue.

The right to vote is a fundamental right of all Americans and is not to be taken lightly. I believe it is the responsibility of government to protect this so basic and fundamental right which has been guaranteed to all its people. It seems to me and the people that I represent that, after what took place this past fall our government has let us down.

Within my lifetime, every conceivable effort was made to keep African Americans from voting, and to keep our votes from counting. My generation, like my parent's and grandparent's generations, struggled mightily against poll taxes that you had to pay before they would let you vote; and "literacy" tests that required African Americans - and only African Americans - to recite

whole sections of state constitutions or answer obscure questions to the satisfaction of examiners who could never be satisfied.

A disproportionate number of African American voters live in counties that use unreliable punch-card voting systems. As a result, a larger percentage of African Americans had their votes discarded.

I have cosponsored a bill to provide \$6,000 per precinct to replace punch card voting machines. I will also introduce legislation to require supervisors of elections to notify voters before they are purged from the voting rolls, and provide voters with the right to challenge such purges.

15

U.S. Rep. Cynthia McKinney, D-Ga.

We find ourselves today in a serious retrenchment on our country's commitment to mainstreaming into American life its former slaves. Affirmative action has been decimated and the Voting Rights Act has been bludgeoned, with its enforcement section due to expire in less than a decade, and the ability of minorities to elect their candidates of choice severely hampered.

If I had to give a State of the State of the minority vote, I would say that disfranchisement, not enfranchisement, is the order of the day.

Having white police blockade the entrance to a precinct and refuse to allow free access for the voters because of an erroneous belief that the congresswoman hadn't supported their pay raise is unfortunate, but even worse, is unconscionable disrespect for the people who were trying to exercise their right to vote. That happened at one precinct in my district.

Having to stand hours in long lines is bad enough. But having to stand in line, sometimes outside in the rain, in some cases for as many as five hours is outrageous and unconscionable and shouldn't be tolerated anywhere. But that happened at many of my precincts in my district.

Standing in line for hours, only to reach the table and be told that you are not at the correct voting place and there's no time to get to the correct place, therefore you won't be able to vote, sorry, is inexcusable. But that happened over and over and over again in my district.

And having overcrowded voting precincts when more spacious accommodations were just next door is insulting to black taxpayers, especially when those same precincts have poorly trained and too few elections personnel, equipment, and only one voter list.

Adding insult to injury are the reports that people were actually encouraged to leave rather than to wait and vote once 7 p.m. arrived, although they had been in line well before 7 p.m.

Additionally, why should people who have served their time and paid their debt to society be permanently disfranchised from America's body politic? Even President Clinton acknowledges that America needs to reexamine its prison policies. That reexamination should include the fact that 14 states bar criminal offenders from voting even after they have finished their sentences. Once these people have returned to society, become good mothers and fathers, have jobs and are taxpayers, why should they not be allowed to vote? And because of the disproportionate impact of racism in this country, blacks and Latinos bear a disproportionate share of the burden of the loss of the right to vote. If Canada and other countries can take affirmative action to register former prisoner and bring them into full citizenship, then so can America.

I have cosponsored and plan to sponsor legislation having this effect on the federal level.

Additionally, our entire electoral system should be reformed to make our institutions more reflective of America's voters. I have authored in each of the past three Congresses the Voters Choice Act, which allows the states to adopt proportional voting schemes that help minority voices

be heard in the political spectrum without hurting the rights of others. It is proportional representation in the Republic of South Africa that allows the Afrikaaner parties to have representation in the South African Parliament despite majority rule.

In addition, campaign finance reform must become more than a slogan, but law if we are to really give voters a choice in candidates. Right now, the special interests select the candidates before we even get to vote, so our choices as voters are severely limited due to the influence of special interest political money.

And as a result, the devious acts of minority voters suppression have been laid bare for the world to see. We have seen them, too. I predict that the black electorate will never be the same. Just like white America, we now know that our votes count and as a result we will demand that our votes be counted.

Statement following Sept. 11:

The tragedy of September 11th has forever changed America. In the last two months our nation has been plunged into a war against terrorism. Many efforts have been made to improve the security of America and help to sustain our economy. These efforts are of tremendous importance, but they must not conflict with America's commitment to preserving our environment. There seems to be confusion within your administration as to what efforts are needed to secure our nation and our people, and many people believe that your administration is using our current crisis to promote anti-environmental policies.

Most notably has been your administration's push to open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) for oil exploration. I agree with your statement when you noted that we need to decrease our dependency on foreign oil supplies in order to guarantee our energy security. However, I vehemently disagree that drilling in ANWR is the solution to this problem. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that oil recovered from the Arctic Refuge would amount to less than a six-month supply for American consumers and would not be available for another 10 years.

Vice President Dick Cheney said in an interview that it is not possible to "conserve our way" out of an energy crisis, this is not true. The U.S. has at most 2-3 percent of the world's oil reserves while accounting for 25 percent of the world's oil consumption. It is simply not possible to produce our way to oil independence, even if we sacrifice all of our wilderness, parks, refuges, and coastlines. The only way for the US to achieve energy independence is to invest in energy efficient new technologies, become less reliant on oil, and embrace energy conservation and alternative sources of energy. The benefits of an energy policy focused on conservation and alternatives are not just environmental, but are also beneficial to our national security, and our economic competitiveness in the world.

I was disgusted to learn that Interior Secretary Gale Norton substantially altered biological findings from the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service concerning effects of oil development in ANWR before she transmitted them to Congress. The extensive changes and omissions made by Norton go against her repeated promises during her Senate confirmation to "provide [Congress] the best scientific evaluation of the environmental consequences [of] any exploration and production" in the Refuge. This kind of deceit is a serious threat to freedom and democracy in our nation, and it comes as a slap in the face to the US Congress and the American people, the majority of whom oppose drilling in the Arctic. I would hope that in the future your administration will not resort to underhanded tactics to promote unpopular policies.

I have many concerns regarding other policy decisions and strategies pursued by your administration. Your decision to abandon the Kyoto Protocol demonstrated a lack of commitment

to environmental protection. Global warming is a very real and serious issue that will not go away. If we fail to address this problem now, future generations will pay the price. Vice President Dick Cheney formulated crucial energy policy decisions behind closed doors, and is currently the subject of an investigation by the General Accounting Office. Cheney's task force focused heavily on incentives for production; easing regulatory barriers for energy development; and opening more public lands to drilling. I was upset when you reversed a campaign pledge to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, which may have saved an estimated 30,000 lives a year of those who die due to respiratory illness.

All of these decisions came before September 11th, and you faced much public scrutiny due to these actions. Since then, environmentalists have backed off from criticism so as not to appear unpatriotic in the face of our national crisis. I might tend to agree if it were not for continued efforts from your administration to roll back important environmental protections.

An example of these efforts is to allow for more road-building in our national forests, making it easier for extractive industries to exploit taxpayer resources often at taxpayer loss. There are already 440,000 miles of roads within our national forest system, more than the entire highway system of the United States, and of which the Forest Service can only maintain 18 percent up to standard. I cannot possibly see the justification for more roads when our Interior Department does not maintain the vast majority of existing roads. These decrepit and unsafe roads increase erosion and damage water quality by washing sediment into streams. They allow for invasive species to enter our public lands and threaten the biodiversity. There should be no new road building in our national forests at least until the \$8.4 billion maintenance backlog has been cleared.

Other proposals of your administration in the wake of the Attack on America include reversing the phaseout of snowmobiles in national parks, making it easier for mining companies to dig for gold, copper and zinc on public lands, easing energy-saving standards for air conditioners, and barring the reintroduction of grizzly bears in the Northwest.

Mr. President, now is not the time to rollback environmental protections that preserve the natural wonders of our great nation. It goes against the spirit of democracy to make significant policy decisions in secret and under the cover of a national emergency. I urge you to demonstrate a commitment to our nation's natural heritage and cease and desist efforts to reverse environmental protections. The preservation of natural resources would be a symbol of strength for our nation, and would help to ensure our long-term prosperity. 16

U.S. Rep. Peter Defazio, D-Ore.

In 1988, I encountered problems with a confusing ballot during my congressional re-election. On the ballot, names of the congressional candidates appeared in line with the presidential candidates, causing some 79,000 people to skip over the 4th Congressional District race.

Along with Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa, I sent a letter to President-elect Bush asking him to support our bill to establish a bipartisan Federal Election Review Commission that would examine the federal electoral process. The commission would study the federal electoral process and make recommendations to ensure the integrity of, and public confidence in, future federal elections. During his meetings with congressional leaders, Bush emphasized bipartisanship for the next session of Congress. I believe this bipartisan legislation would fit well with that theme.

States and counties across the country encounter the same problems election year after election year. However, the 2000 presidential election has put a spotlight on the issue. It's time we gather constitutional scholars and election experts together to review the electoral process and

identify areas that warrant reform in order to avoid the confusion that we're encountering this year. We need to help states enact these reforms to restore public confidence in the system.

The DeFazio-Leach bill, HR 5631, would establish a bipartisan commission comprised of six members designated by House and Senate majority leaders and six members appointed by House and Senate minority leaders. The commission would review a variety of issues including the historic rationale for the Electoral College and its impact on presidential elections, voter registration issues [same-day, universal, and motor voter], mail-in balloting and absentee balloting, voting technologies, polling location and closing times, impact of ballot design, weekend voting or multiple day elections, and presidential debates.

The legislation requires a final report to be submitted to Congress including the commission's findings, conclusions, and recommendations for addressing the problems identified in their investigation.

Elections are the foundation of our Democracy. Every American's vote should count and not be subject to elimination by a machine or human error. It is clear there are improvements that can be made to insure reliability in the voting process, and integrity in the entire election system. This historic situation clearly illustrates that every vote is important, and we should take this opportunity to make needed changes in the system. 17

Democrats.com founders David Lytel and Bob Fertik

Exercise the power that is in our own hands, namely the power to sweep Republicans out of office in the next election. We recommend the following steps.

* Take the Democrats.com Voter Pledge: "In the next election, I pledge to register, persuade, and deliver as many Democratic voters as I possibly can." Forward the pledge to all of your Democratic friends by entering their email addresses in the designated box. Build your own personal list of friends and family who are also outraged at the theft of the presidency, and we will help you ensure that the people on your list are registered and VOTE. The pledge is at <http://www.Democrats.com/display.cfm?id=225>.

* Join a local chapter of Democrats.com. We've created chapters to help you connect with fellow activists in your area to organize local protests, media events, and voter mobilization efforts.

* Run for office: Too many Democrats - especially women - hold back from running for office. Many of our most talented activists are sitting on the sidelines. We need you in the arena. No one is going to come and ask you to run, so you have to find the courage - or just plain outrage - to step up to this challenge yourself. If George W. Bush can be president, then all of us are qualified. Express your interest to your local chapter of Democrats.com, and they will give you the support you need to run and win. The list of chapters is at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/dem-moderators/links>.

* Call and write the media - both nationally and in your area - to demand that they give in-depth coverage to the stolen election. Demand the same relentless coverage for this unprecedented Republican scandal as was given to Whitewater, Impeachment, and Pardongate.

* Help us build Democrats.com into the most powerful organization of Democratic activists. With your help, Democrats.com has emerged as the leader of the grassroots Democratic opposition to George W. Bush. We are the aggressive progressives who are willing to lead when our party leaders hesitate. This is a tremendous opportunity to rebuild America's progressive coalition. Join us today as we renew our commitment to bring to power a new generation of progressive Democratic leadership. 18

Institute for Policy Studies, Voter March

We need to develop a Voters' Bill of Rights that will bring about reforms including:

- * Strict enforcement and extension of the Voting Rights Act to prevent the disenfranchisement of voters and to fully investigate and prosecute any offenders.
- * Make voting user friendly, with same-day registration and equal access to polls, and establish funding to replace old and unreliable voting machines to ensure that every vote is counted fairly and accurately.
- * Establish real campaign finance reform and restrict the use of "soft" money campaign contributions.
- * Abolishment of the electoral college and replacement with a majority rule election or substantial reform of the electoral college to fully reflect the proportional distribution of voting within a state.
- * Increase voter participation in elections by eliminating bureaucratic hurdles, registering citizens to vote, and reducing the voter apathy that results in half of our population not voting.
- * Implement instant runoff voting for elections where one candidate does not obtain 50 percent of the vote.
- * Voting rights for ex-prisoners should be restored.
- * Provide easier candidate access to ballots, media, and databases.
- * Establish independent and non-partisan election bodies.
- * Make the District of Columbia a full state with federal representatives. 19

Michael Rectenwald, Citizens for Legitimate Government

We believe that voting reforms, while necessary, are not the first step for activists. Given the deleterious policies of the administration to world peace and environmental longevity, the first step is to oppose the administration using every effective legal means at our disposal.

We must explore every avenue for exposing and prosecuting the election theft, and for countering the Bush Occupation. We must continue to protest Bush's every appearance. We must oppose his every executive act with activism. We must boycott Bush's contributors, starting with Exxon-Mobil, the biggest polluter in Texas, the second biggest energy industry GOP contributor, and the force driving US policy against the Kyoto Treaty.

We must register voters, starting with our neighbors. We must vote into Congress representatives and senators expressly opposed to the Bush coup and Occupation. We must call for investigations! We must work for impeachment!

We must turn these jokers into wildcards to trump the kings. We must work to bring Democracy to this stacked deck. We must work to bring down this precarious house of cards called the Bush presidency. We must undo the coup!

We must join together with all Citizens for Legitimate Government, in our long-haul quest to undo the coup, and redo Democracy.

There should also be more attempts to poll or reach that half of the American citizenry who feel so alienated and/or uninspired by modern politics that they don't bother to vote at all. It stands to reason that there are millions of Democratic voters among them. The so-called Undecideds and Independents who are the much sought-after swing voters are mostly people who do not have a

good working knowledge of either the parties or the issues. Again and again, both major parties fail to reach these people at all, let alone persuasively.

We should also insist on fair, balanced, and deeply policy-oriented coverage from the media. And we should find aggressive ways to counter Republican lies and distortions about Democrats. And Democrats should not take minorities and labor for granted, but need to listen to them.

Let's listen to what Real Democrats and other left-liberal-progressives want, craft policies that serve them and the campaign-winning slogans and rhetoric that speak to them. There should be a return to grassroots politics, which is how the right has been so successful in the recent two decades, and a Democratic Party that serves the people. 20

LaShawn Warren, American Civil Liberties Union Legislative Counsel

The problems identified by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission with Florida's handling of the 2000 election provide the strongest evidence yet of the need for federal legislation to ensure fair elections in America.

Even though civil rights leaders have criticized the commission for not going far enough, the commission's report does prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Congress must act quickly to put a strong voting reform package on President Bush's desk.

The ACLU of Florida has criticized the report for not going far enough because it found no "conclusive evidence" that state officials intentionally disenfranchised thousands of blacks Hispanic and Haitian voters across the state.

The ACLU said the state's purging process was part of an orchestrated project by state leaders to suppress opposition votes. For example, Elections Supervisor for Hillsborough County Pam Iorio has stated that while blacks represent about 15 percent of countywide voters, they made up approximately 54 percent of the voters on the purge list during last November's election.

Saying it would provide the most comprehensive response to all the problems seen in Florida and other states in the 2000 election, most of the civil rights community has endorsed legislation introduced by Sen. Chris Dodd, D-CT, and Rep. John Conyers, D-MI.

Although the 2002 and 2004 elections may seem distant, we are already very late if we want to get the reforms in place to achieve equality in the polling place.

In addition to working for election reform in Congress, the ACLU has also already filed lawsuits in Georgia, Illinois, Florida, California, and Missouri challenging their unequal and defective voting systems and technology. In all cases, the ACLU targets the discrepancies created by the use of the pre-scored punch card system in some areas and better systems in other areas.

Our hope is to have federal legislation that effectively deals with the problems identified in the 2000 election and which provides a uniform structure for state legislatures. The best way to ensure a fair election in 2002 is to have the same guidelines for state accountability and procedure for everyone. 21

JoNel Newman, Florida Justice Institute Inc., and Charles F. Elsesser Jr., Florida Legal Services Inc., Florida Equal Voting Rights Project

Sections of the Florida electoral reform package will have a discriminatory impact on minority voters if implemented.

The Florida electoral reform package, passed by the Legislature [in May 2001] and signed by the governor this past session, was recently submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice for review. The DOJ's approval of the voting changes is necessary for Florida's five preclearance counties [Hardee, Hendry, Hillsborough, Collier, and Monroe], designated as such for their history of discrimination against minority voters. Any provisions of the legislation not approved by the DOJ for these counties will be invalid throughout the state.

We object specifically to three aspects of the omnibus Florida electoral reform act as adversely affecting minority voters: (1) the posting of the Voter Responsibilities list that harkens back to literacy tests; (2) the new felony purge process; and (3) the disqualification process for provisional ballots.

We object to the establishment of a list of Voter Responsibilities for posting in all Florida polling places. Among its ten provisions, the responsibilities list requires each voter to "study and know candidates and issues," "know his or her precinct and its hours of operation," and "bring proper identification to the polling station."

Because of the prominence of the display and based on past practices with similar signage in Florida, voters and pollworkers alike will perceive these responsibilities as the legal obligations of voters, rather than advisory goals. Therefore, these admonitions are a return to pre-Voting Rights Act literacy tests, once employed in Florida's preclearance counties to disenfranchise African Americans.

According to the most recent census data available, blacks and Latinos are far more likely than whites to move frequently and to be impoverished. As a result, they are less likely to have photo identification or to know their correct precinct after a recent move.

What is most striking is that the standard incorporated in the statute is "if the supervisor of elections finds information that suggests that a voter is ineligible to register to vote [due to ex-felon status], the supervisor of elections shall notify the voter by certified United States mail."

The word "suggests" gives the supervisor almost limitless discretion to notify the person that he or she may be taken off the voting roll. And the use of certified mail means that highly mobile minority voters may never receive the supervisor's letter. The result is that people who never committed a felony will once again be prevented from voting.

The fact that minorities tend to move more frequently than whites and to be erroneously purged as felons underlies the concern over provisional ballots.

While as a general matter provisional ballots should be seen as a progressive step, the provisional ballot system established by the [electoral reform package] will in all likelihood result in a substantial number of minority ballots not being counted. This is because rather than resolving the issue of where the voter is supposed to vote or whether the voter is eligible to vote, pollworkers and voters will be encouraged to utilize a provisional ballot in all cases in which the voter does not appear on the rolls.

Under the statute, provisional ballots cast in the wrong precinct or by persons erroneously deleted from the rolls must be "Rejected as Illegal."

We are careful to underscore the positive changes made by the Legislature and governor through electoral reform. We aim simply to make sure the positive change is not undermined by dilution of the voting rights of minorities. 22

Derek Cressman, state Public Interest Research Groups' Democracy Campaign

Future presidential candidates should be required to get at least 50 percent of the vote in order to win elections. A system of instant runoff voting should be implemented in cases where no candidate achieves a majority on the first ballot.

Any president needs a mandate to lead. But our current system often fails to deliver a winner who has the support of a majority of voters. Even the best leaders are hampered by a system that fails to demonstrate that they have created a true governing coalition.

Both Al Gore and George W. Bush received less than a majority of the popular vote nationwide in the 2000 election. Nine states were won by candidates who earned less than a majority: Florida, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wisconsin. In 1992 and in 1996, Bill Clinton won election with less than 50 percent of the vote. In fact, counting this year's election, 16 presidential elections, including those of Lincoln, Nixon, Jefferson, and Washington, have been won by a candidate who received less than a majority of the popular vote on Election Day.

Just as many cities and towns do in local elections, states could require presidential candidates to receive a majority of the popular vote in order to win. In some cases, this would require a runoff election, but using today's technology there would be no need to hold a second vote. Using a technique called instant runoff voting, voters could simply rank candidates in order of their preference on Election Day, identifying a second or third choice in the event that their favored candidate doesn't make it to the runoff round.

Under instant runoff voting, people wouldn't have to worry about "wasting" their votes on third party candidates, and major parties wouldn't have to worry about other candidates "spoiling" the election. It would give us a much more accurate reading of the will of the people.

Instant runoff voting could be implemented on a national level if the Electoral College were abolished. 23

Tom Fina, Democratic Party Committee Abroad

A bill submitted by Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney, D-NY, and Congressman Tom Reynolds, R-NY, [the Uniformed and Overseas Citizen Absentee Voting Reform Act, HR 1997] would accomplish most of our proposals to reform overseas voting.

What the bill will do:

- * Create a single set of laws to protect overseas voters, encouraging uniform deadlines.
- * Establish permanent registration for overseas voters and specify that states must transmit ballots to all voters who are registered within 45 days of an election.
- * Minimize confusion by encouraging the use of a single absentee post card ballot.
- * Encourage the development and use of accurate electronic devices for overseas voting and the timely transmission of ballots and registration materials.
- * Eliminate confusing postmark and notarization requirements.
- * Require the use of a standard oath with each ballot.
- * Provide an accurate count of overseas Americans who vote in each election.
- * Provide additional resources to states to help them better meet the needs of overseas voters. 24

Ralph Nader

The Department of Justice should carefully investigate specific reports of voter intimidation and obstruction immediately. In addition, there should be a nationwide investigation of the persistent disenfranchisement of communities of color by irregular electoral processes and mechanics. African-American and Hispanic precincts in Florida and across the country faced unequal staffing, resources, and equipment.

Specifically, I call for:

- * Public financing of public elections.
- * Strict enforcement of the Voting Rights Act and its amendment to make illegal the new sophisticated methods of voter discrimination exposed in the Florida presidential election process.
- * Same-day voter registration.
- * A standardized national ballot.
- * Abolition of the Electoral College and its replacement by direct election of the president by instant runoff voting.
- * Proportional representation in legislative bodies.
- * Non-partisan [not bipartisan] election officials on the local, state, and national levels.
- * A binding none-of-the-above option for every election.
- * A people's debate commission open to third-party candidates. 25

A letter from Heather M. Marabeti, executive director of Al Gore's office, Arlington, Va., July 2001

On behalf of former Vice President Gore, thank you for your letter. The former Vice President appreciates the confidence you have shown in him by seeking a contribution from him for your book.

Unfortunately, during the school year, the schedule he maintains - teaching at three universities in New York and Tennessee, serving as a Research Fellow at a university in California, and working on a book on community and family issues with Mrs. Gore - leaves the former Vice President little time for undertaking even the most worthwhile additional projects. This, plus he lack of staff resources, precludes his ability to be of assistance to you in this regard. Now that it is summer break he is spending much needed time with family.

Your understanding is appreciated. The former Vice President joins me in wishing you every success in this endeavor.

Comments from some people on a petition to Al Gore, Sept. 2001

Al Gore - you were elected President by the people of this country, but you fell silent when the election was stolen from you. You said you would fight for us, but again you fell silent. How can we believe you next time? You need to understand that this is more than about your ego, it is about our Democracy!!! **Jean Darsie, Seattle, Wash.**

Al, we MUST have leadership and we must have it NOW; there are many, many of us who are looking to YOU, Tipper, and your kids to provide that leadership! **Bruce Leighton Bosworth, Ed.D., Denver, Colo.**

I think we have given them [Republicans] enough rope - it's time to hang them with it! **Don Dolan, Shingle Springs, Calif.**

We've been speaking up for you for months. Kindly get off your duff and return the favor!

Margaret Richards, Pensacola, Fla.

As my bumpersticker says: Re-Elect Gore 2004. **Norma J. Howard, N.M.**

You said in your speech you heard us and you would not forget. Have we been silenced and forgotten? **Marilyn Bleser, Schenectady, N.Y.**

Please make sure you tell the other Democrats to not drill [for oil] in Alaska. **Joyce Neel, Butler, Pa.**

Come on Al, don't be like Bush, by breaking your promise to fight for us. We are counting on you. **Geri Pistorius, Linesville, Pa.**

The High Road leads nowhere with people like Bush. **Carol Moore, Wrentham, Mass.**

President Gore, and Vice President Lieberman are our legitimate leaders, and I'm willing to give my life to protect them if necessary!!! **James Evans, "Democratic Freedom Fighter," Clovis, Calif.**

Mr. President, we need you, now. **Janelle J. McGowan, Boerne, Tx.**

George Bush will never be my President. You were elected, he was selected. We need you to go after him. He is destroying our great country, and the Democrats' silence is deafening. **Russell J. Williams, Ohio**

Please speak out for us, President Gore. We need you. **Thomas F. Bailey, Ohio**

Everyone knows Bu\$h stole the Presidency from you. If you run again, I hope you will go back to being yourself and FIGHT the rabid right. They are destroying the eight years of peace and prosperity that you and President Clinton gave us. Help us now, and speak out. We need you so much. We need so desperately a President with the intelligence to run this country. You are the one.

Mary J. Bailey, Ohio

Please take a lead in helping us to fight this farce on America & the World! **Donna Dillon, Houston, Tx.**

Your country needs you desperately, Mr. Gore. **Peggy W. Ruch, Niceville, Fla.**

President Gore, you will be truly amazed what starts to happen when you speak out. All the people are in place - we all know Bush is a traitor, a lap-dog of the multi-national corporations. All that is missing is the leader we elected you to be. Speak against the coup, and you will be followed. The torches and the pitchforks are ready. The villagers are angry. **Andy Elliott, Des Plaines, Ill.**

Al help us, this is such a nightmare! The majority of America is crying out! We want a true and free Democracy, like we were taught to believe we were, when we were young. **Katherine Lockwood, Tinley Park, Ill.**

You can't fool them all, but you can fool enough of them to rule a large country. **Richard Matos, Kissimmee, Fla.**

I fought for Freedom. Can't you? **Kenneth L. Lenke, Combat Vet, WWII, Scottsdale, Ariz.**

As far as I'm concerned, you are the legitimate president of this country. The only way Bush can really claim the presidency is through the Supreme Court. **Sandra VanDeMark, Bristol, Ind.**

We will not "get over it!" **Tedi Marville, Mt. Ephraim, N.J.**

This nation needs a leader who is not afraid to step forward, just as you did when you entered the Army. Your father could have made sure you didn't have to, but you did. Please recall that decision that allowed you to do as your conscience demanded and lead us now. **Terrence S. Day & Susanne M. Day, Delray Beach, Fla.**

It's going to be a long 40 months! **Dollie Marshall, Mesquite, Tx.**

Let America know that the Republicans are doing to us just exactly what you said they would if elected. **Donald Hammond, Oregon**

Please help us, the people that fought so hard for you. Tell the Americans that everything you told the Republicans would do to us if they got in office, is coming to pass. America NEEDS to hear this. America will listen to you.!! **Ellen Hammond, Oregon**

I voted for you, and will do it again! We need you to fight for Democracy, we need you to get rid of those bigots. The man who call himself the President of the United States is an impostor! **Monique Frugier, Ardmore, Pa.**

Maybe you should choose Hillary Clinton as your running mate. I really think in the year 2004 you should pound home the issues as you did in your debates with Bradley. Don't hold back this time. **Catharine Square, Dallas, Tx.**

We in Florida know you're our president!! Please surface: fat or thin, we need you. **Barbara K. Miller, Pompano Beach, Fla.**

Please take the Presidency back before we are plunged into total fascism! **Stephanie Donald, Port St Lucie, Fla.**

I voted for you, but Jeb Bush and Scalia threw my vote out. NEVER AGAIN! **Craig Ames, Florida**

Bush lost; you won; fight for it! **Joseph J. Walker, Grand Rapids, Mich.**

We all must fight for this or our country's freedoms are doomed. **Cecil Carrier, Asheboro, N.C.**

President Gore, take your rightful place leading us. **Amy Milen, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.**

If you won't stand against the theft of our rights, who will? **Susan McKay, Nashville, Tenn.**

WHY should the "majority" be silent? WHY are YOU so silent? We gave YOU our loyalty, why are you not giving US yours? **Betty Estep, Florida**

As hurtful as this time has been for you so it has been for all of us. We need you to speak out against the wrong that has been done and is being done against this Country and its citizens. **Betty and Bob Gentile, Florida**

Mr Gore, please speak up for America and for the rest of the world, because Mr. Bush is poisoning your politics as well as our planet. French Democrats support you. **Corinne Sinclair, Paris, France**

Al Gore you won!!! A Funny Thing Happened on the way to the White House!!! It's time to come on out and give 'em hell Al! Sue the Supremes on behalf of the American Voters that were disenfranchised!!!! **Ellen H. Brodsky, Coconut Creek, Fla.**

I voted for you in 2000 and I will vote for you in 2004. You are the real 43rd President of the United States and you are the man I believe that God intended to head this nation. Our environment and our human rights are severely threatened by a fascist regime and agenda. Also, we face the threat of bringing back the Cold War when Russia has been on speaking terms with us and has let missionaries into its borders. Not only that, a few years ago a world-renown Christian concert choir sang in Russia. Last year at a meeting I heard some Native American elders speak and many Native Americans wanted you to be their President. Also, many Jewish Americans and Black Americans are frightened that they might again be subjected to bondage and tyranny. We are in peril of losing our destiny and the freedoms that the Founding Fathers fought and died for. You are a good and noble man. Many people in nations around the world wish you were there in the White House now. We don't want our Democracy to die. We need you. **Marilyn Dinger, Kaysville, Utah**

President-Elect Al Gore, we know you won Florida, you probably won Tennessee and we know you won the Presidency. "Now is the time for all good men (and women) to come to the aid of their country." You are a good man and we need your help. All but 5 Americans were denied their right to suffrage. Healing can only come from TRUTH. Listen to the song "Turn, Turn, Turn" by The Byrds and understand that now is the time. **Lisa Vigliarolo, N.Y.**

Our country has NEVER been in more dangerous or incompetent hands, and the Democrats have misplaced their backbones! We supported you, now it's your turn to support and help all of us! **Nicki Lynn May, Cincinnati, Ohio**

Only the truth will restore our Democracy now. Never forget that 50 million Americans saw through the lies of the Republican-controlled, lapdog media and voted for you. Our country needs a leader who will inspire us to look outside of ourselves, take part in Democracy again and work for peace and justice. If you and the other Democrats are too beholden to the corporations to fight for us, then you owe it to your country to speak the truth. If you CAN fight, then we will be behind you all the way. Although John McCain has said he wants to become a Teddy Roosevelt-type reformer, you are the man far better suited to this role. We know what a leader you have been in the areas of the environment and technology. It would be incredible to see you come out swinging and fighting for campaign finance reform, voter reform, and the restoration of the Fairness Doctrine. We know what shaky ground the right-wing "juggernaut" is really on. Let's fight to restore the power to the people. **Constance Puckett, Cape Elizabeth, Maine** 26

Comments from some people on a Democrats.com petition to impeach Bush signed by 11,726 people as of early Jan. 2002

Bush and his family do not believe in Democracy, and the way he became president is proof. **Dina Padilla, Sacramento, Calif.**

The Bush war in Afghanistan is not about the atrocity of Sept.11. The events of Sept.11 are just an excuse for the war. **Patrik Rousselot, Calif.**

National tragedy is no reason to forgive him for cheating. **Jonathan Tissue, Eldersburg, Md.**

If we don't get rid of the Bushes, the Bushes will send us all in the poor house. Impeach him now, he is not a legit president, and he knows it. **Steve Nesich, Altamonte, Fla.**

Bush is a thief with no shame, is a reverse Robin Hood, as he takes from the poor to give to the rich. THIS TAX CUT PROVED THAT, AND HE WANTS MORE TAX CUTS SO HE CAN GIVE THEM TO HIS ENRON FRIENDS, AND IBM, GENERAL ELECTRIC, BOEING, AND MANY OTHER BILLIONAIRES. Poor Bu\$h, he was born with the silver spoon in his mouth, so....he really understand us, the working people, right? He never worked in his life, he doesn't know what it's like to be poor or middle class, and now he wants to take our Social Security money and put it in the stock market. IS THIS GUY REALLY SERIOUS? **Mae Nesich, Orlando, Fla.**

Yes, yes, Bu\$h stole the election, with his brother's help, and Harris, and this right-wing Supreme Court. Bu\$h must be impeached, I don't care how good a president he is. What burdens me is the way he became president, BY STEALING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FROM THE DEMOCRATS. **Severio Nesich, Casselberry, Fla.**

If this is America, the Bush (p)Residency cannot stand. Impeach Bush/Cheney, remove them from office, put them in prison. Make no mistake, the American people know they were cheated and will not stand for it - never have, never will. **Stephen Sheehan, New York**

GWBush and his cohorts have perpetrated a crime against the American people, and he should be held accountable and impeached immediately. **Sandy Potter, Kingston, N.Y.**

If I expressed my true opinions on this subject here - I'd probably be considered an anti-American - which I am NOT!! So let's just say I agree with this petition & leave it at that. **Cynthia, Florida**

When Bush signed the Patriot Act and overturned an executive order, he violated the oath of office so it's time for him to go and all the others who are in his cabinet. **Arlene Johnson, Lakebay, Wash.**

We treasure our Constitution as a sacred document and not one citizen in these United States is above the law. Yet we saw with our very own eyes that our treasured Constitution was ignored by a citizen who TOOK the highest office in the land. Nope! This isn't right. It's not what our forefathers had in mind when the Constitution was written. **Sherry Swiney, Alabaster, Ala.**

I do not recognize the right-wing junta that has stolen control of the U.S. government. George W. Bush is a usurper and must be impeached for "we the people" to maintain any level of trust in our electoral system of governance. **Donald Beauchamp, Salida, Colo.**

President Bush clearly cheated in the election and doesn't deserve any less than to be impeached! **Jennifer Hostuttler, Duncan Okla.**

George Bush is a liar and a thief. Had Bill Clinton been so heavily involved with Enron during their downfall, he would have been targeted for a fullscale investigation. But for George Bush, not a word. Do your job Congress, get the criminal out of office. **Katie Escobedo, San Francisco, Calif.**

Although being appointed president is not technically a "high crime or misdemeanor," creative thievery often requires creative remedies. **Mike Richardson, Albuquerque, N.M.**

I cannot take another three years of this. **Sandra A. Davidson, Portland, Maine**

I do not recognize George W. Bush as the legitimate president of the United States. I further accuse Mr. Bush of financial treason for his involvement in the Lincoln Savings and Loan scandal, his support and involvement with Enron and the intentional destabilization of the U.S. Treasury with tax cuts for the wealthy jeopardizing Social Security and Medicare. **Walter T. Kalinowski, Sonoma, Calif.**

Those who DEFILE and UNDERMINE Democracy in the land of its creation do not deserve to set foot on its soil, let alone gain its presidency! **Siyoum Egziabiher, Seattle, Wash.**

Treason - giving aid to an enemy - is also an impeachable offense. The Taliban have been enemies of the U.S. since at least 1999, yet Bush gave \$10 million to them just this past May. **Kevin Zellmer, Milwaukee, Wis.**

One of the greatest crimes in American history....a tragedy for the nation and for the world. **Timothy J. Freeman, U.S.**

This is the time for true patriotism, not cowardly partisanship. Do what is right. Give us our country back. It is time to remember our freedom and fight the evil in our own backyard! **Lela Nickel, Hawaii**

With the vote in Florida too close to really determine the winner and all the gross voting problems there, the Supremely Partisan Court should have gone with the public majority vote and Al Gore should be president. Please impeach George W Bush! **Diego Martinez, Tucson, Ariz.**

Bush and his Dynasty lied, cheated, stole, trashed the Constitution and is now wrapping his pathetic lying body with the American flag, exploiting the WTC tragedy. He's despicable. In a truly Democratic society he would be history. He's totally disgusting. **Nancy A. Fox, Valdosta, Ga.**

This theft of the presidency has rendered in vain all of the past and present sacrifices made by our military members in defending our “liberty.” Now we have the specter of a disgusting draft dodger and military deserter, trying to act like a patriot in encouraging our military members as they once again put their lives on the line. He makes me gag. **Ramona Griffin, Oceanside, Calif.**

Congress has not declared war but Mr. Bush has. It seems to be his agenda. **Janice Kay Simmons, Arizona**

He created the recession to destroy Social Security, he created the voucher program to destroy the teachers' unions and the public schools, and he helped create the oil shortage to pay his pals back the billions they gave him to run....Bush is the poster boy for corruption in government! **Harriet Helman, Ronkonkoma, N.Y.**

Bush stole the White House for one reason - to loot the federal treasury. Scheme after scheme, all to pay back his backers [with a 15,000 percent ROI]. **Steve Kaplan, Flourtown, Pa.**

Bu\$h is just a symptom of the anti-union, corporate takeover of America. The distribution of wealth in this country looks like that of a Third World dictatorship. If the minimum wage kept pace with the increase in CEO salaries, it would be over \$25 per hour! Impeach Bu\$h and support your local union! **Martha Marsch, U.S.**

I will never accept that SOB as president! My vote was for Gore, the man who really won the election! **Jessica A. Clem, Apex, N.C.**

He stole the election through his father's favors. The people didn't want him. **Gwen Gentry San Antonio, Tx.**

This man is unfit for office, and his advisors are radical crackpots! **Cynthia A. Pierson, Louisville, Ky.**

W. Bush is the symbol of what's wrong with the world, the lingering threat of ignorance and religious fanaticism. **James George, New York**

For a Congress that had no qualms about impeaching a case without merit, I should think that overturning Democracy would be an easy case for impeachment. **Mary Coyne, Havertown, Pa.**

Please read Vincent Bugliosi's *The Betrayal of America*. Of course, it's clear Gore won Florida and Bush is illegitimate. But what's really frightening is the treason of five Supreme Court justices. **Lincoln M. Stanley, Rockville, Md.** 27

Prevalent recommendations

Throughout the vast research for this book that included reading of recommendations by authors, politicians, political scientists, grassroots members, and others, a few suggestions kept cropping up. The following are some of the more prevalent ones:

- * Mount a persistent campaign, involving street protests, letter-writing, and other non-violent means to make sure a court never again decides the presidency.

- * Lobby for the archaic Electoral College to be abolished.

- * Work to oust Bush from the White House, if not by impeachment, then by the next election in 2004, through support of Democratic organizations, letters, protests, etc. Also work to oust his brother, Jeb, and Katherine Harris from Florida offices in 2002 for their roles in stealing the election.

- * As author and former district attorney Vincent Bugliosi recommends in *The Betrayal of America*, take steps to impeach the felonious five Supreme Court Justices - Rehnquist, Scalia, Thomas, Kennedy, and O'Connor - for breaching their public duties as impartial judges and

handing the election to Bush in a highly partisan decision. And make sure that more far right-wing justices are not placed on this court.

- * Change the law in Congress that appoints Supreme Court justices for life.

- * Democrats must stop making compromises with Republicans and fight them as strongly as they fought us when our last elected president, Bill Clinton, occupied the White House. The only thing Republican bullies respect is someone who stands up to them and fights them to the end; they were laughing during Christmas parties in late December 2000 about how Democrats bowed down and how they stole the presidency.

- * Democrats should challenge rude and offensive statements made by right-wing Republicans, not just ignore them. If an email is sent that is obscene or makes hateful, personal attacks, file a complaint against the sender to the internet company, which is in the sender's email address [complaints against joesmith@aol.com can be sent to aol.com; those against joesmith@pacbell.net can be sent to pacbell.net; etc.]. The Internet companies usually have form letters to send complaints on their Web sites.

- * Support election reforms, including more updated balloting equipment in all precincts. All precincts should have electronic ballot readers that catch voter mistakes before they leave the polls.

- * Designate more funds to voter education.

- * Outlaw illegal voter purge campaigns by states and make it mandatory that former felons who serve their time have their voting rights restored.

- * Individuals should support their local Democratic organizations, joining forces to work to elect more Democrats who will stand up to the right-wing.

- * Hand recounts should be mandatory in all counties in elections closer than 0.5 percent.

- * Pass substantial campaign finance reform, including public financing of elections and free media time to all candidates.

- * Cut salaries of federal officials making more than \$100,000 - the average American only makes around \$25,000. This will allow more money for election reforms and other programs that benefit all.

- * Pass tax cuts for middle- and lower-income people only.

Advice on Responding to the Sept. 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks, Jackson K. Thoreau

- * Think before talking and acting.

- * Seek understanding.

- * Read history.

- * Pray.

- * Help the victims with your money, your hands, your prayers. A Web site to learn more about the relief effort in New York City is at <http://www.nyc.gov/html/em/volunteer.html>.

- * Seek justice, not vengeance.

- * Bond with others.

- * Spend more time with your family, especially your children.

- * Reflect on your life.

- * Take a walk in nature.

- * Write a letter.

- * Read a poem.

- * Stay informed.

* Take pride in your home, your community, your country. But avoid blind patriotism and nationalism. Like it or not, we are a global community.

* Urge an international effort to find the perpetrators and bring them to justice through the courts, not a bomb-dropping war that could kill more innocent people.

* Urge a global campaign to prevent terrorism through increased security, intelligence, international cooperation and aid, and diplomacy.

* Expand your thinking about terrorism beyond the normal limits. The perpetrators of the Oklahoma City federal bombing in 1995 were white Americans. The IRA bombers were white. Some countries have committed carpet-bombing campaigns that other countries consider terrorism.

* Call for examining the conditions that lead some to commit such violent acts.

* Call for action to improve those conditions.

* Join a group working to help a poorer country.

* Join an organization working for peace in the Middle East and other places.

* Visit a house of worship different from your own.

* Befriend someone of a different race than your own.

* Be more courteous to others.

* Don't take unnecessary risks. But go on living your life.

* Put your faith in God, not institutions.

Footnotes

1. Rainbow/PUSH Coalition press releases, Dec. 2000, http://www.rainbowpush.org/im/news/press_release/intgdemo.htm; January 2001, http://www.rainbowpush.org/im/news/press_release/tenpoints013101.htm; Sept. 2001, <http://www.rainbowpush.org/pressreleases/releases/war092101.htm>
2. Barbra Streisand press release and statements, March 2001, Sept. 2001, http://www.barbrastreisand.com/news_niceguys.html; http://www.barbrastreisand.com/news_statements.html
3. Paraphrased from speech Ronnie Dugger gave, May 2001, Washington, D.C. Dugger said he included ideas from Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., Professor Steve Russell of San Antonio, Nick Seidita, Northridge, Ca., and colleagues of Dugger's on the Council of the Alliance for Democracy, especially Ted Dooley, St. Paul, Minn., Nancy Price, Davis, Ca., Sue Wheaton, Tacoma Park, Md., Stefanie Miller, Indianapolis, Ind., Vikki Savee, Sacramento, Ca., and Dolly Arond, Northridge, Ca. <http://votermarch.org/May19/May19speeches.html>
4. NAACP press release, July 2001, <http://www.naacp.org/news/releases/eleceref070701.shtml>
5. U.S. Civil Rights Commission report, June 2001, <http://www.usccr.gov/vote2000/stdraft1/ch9.htm>
6. National Commission on Federal Election Reform report, July 2001, http://www.reformelections.org/data/reports/98_summary.php
7. Voting Technology Project press release, July 2001, <http://web.mit.edu/newsoffice/nr/2001/voting2.html>
8. Voting Technology Project report, July 2001, <http://web.mit.edu/newsoffice/nr/2001/voting2facts.html>
9. Election Center Task Force report, Aug. 2001, <http://www.electioncenter.org/>
10. Rep. Conyers press statement, March 2001, http://www.house.gov/apps/list/speech/mi14_conyers/ProtectingVotingRightsAct.html; Rep. Conyers press release, April 2001, <http://www.house.gov/conyers/>; House Judiciary Committee press release and report, Aug. 2001, http://www.house.gov/judiciary_Democrats/electioncommreptpr73101.pdf
11. Rep. Dodd press statement, Dec. 2001, <http://www.senate.gov/~dodd/fr-photo3.html>
12. Sen. McConnell press release, June 2001, <http://www.senate.gov/~mccconnell/Releases/JUN01/06272001.htm>
13. Sen. McCain press release, Feb. 2001, <http://www.senate.gov/~mccain/voteintro.htm>

14. Rep. Johnson press release, Dec. 2000, <http://www.house.gov/ebjohnson/cbcprrelease121400.htm>
15. Rep. Meek press release, March 2001, http://www.house.gov/meek/pr_010302_electionreform.htm
16. Rep. McKinney press releases, Dec. 2000, <http://www.house.gov/mckinney/news/pr001220.htm>; Dec. 2001, <http://www.house.gov/mckinney/news/pr011204.htm>
17. U.S. Rep. Peter Defazio press release, Dec. 2000, <http://www.house.gov/defazio/121900GORElease.htm>
18. Democrats.com Web site, 2001, <http://Democrats.com>
19. Voter March Web site, Jan. 2001, <http://votermarch.org>
20. Michael Rectenwald speech, May 19, 2001, Washington, D.C., http://www.legitgov.org/library_dcm19_mr.html; Citizens for Legitimate Government press release, 2001, <http://www.legitgov.org/DLCpressrelease.htm>
21. ACLU press release, June 2001, <http://www.aclu.org/news/2001/n060801c.html>
22. ACLU press release, July 2001, <http://www.aclu.org/news/2001/n071901c.html>
23. State Public Interest Research Groups press release, November 2000, <http://www.pirg.org/votersdecide/press.html#release>
24. Rep. Maloney press release, May 2001, <http://www.house.gov/maloney/press/107th/20010525overseas.html>
25. Association of State Green Parties press release, Dec. 2000, <http://www.greenparties.org/press.html>
26. Petitiononline.com, Sept. 2001, <http://www.petitiononline.com/yarock/petition.html>
27. Petitiononline.com, Jan. 2002, http://www.petitiononline.com/mod_perl/signed.cgi?ddc12&501

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth.
 - **Tom Paine**

Chapter IX. Other People Who Will Not Get Over It

The following is a directory of organizations and Web sites - complete with addresses, phone numbers, and other pertinent information - working to oppose the Bush administration and form an election system we can truly trust. Not all of the organizations endorse all of the goals of this book, as some maintain a nonpartisan position while only opposing the Bush administration on certain issues. Being listed here does not necessarily mean these organizations agree with all of the goals of this book.

Organizations opposing Bush administration on many issues and reminding people of stolen election

Democrats.com

PO Box 20594

New York, NY 10021

public@democrats.com

<http://www.democrats.com>

Started in August 2000 by Bob Fertik and David Lytel, has become one of the most detailed sites on the stolen election. Sends out a daily email informing people of latest news.

Trust the People

<http://www.trustthepeople.com/>

Group formed by Democrats.com in wake of Nov. 2000 election to organize count-the-vote rallies.

Citizens for Legitimate Government

contactus@legitgov.org

<http://www.legitgov.org>

Michael Rectenwald, Founder and Chairman

mike@legitgov.org

Pro-democracy activist group established in Jan. 2001 to expose the Bush coup d'etat, and to oppose the Bush Occupation in all of its manifestations. Has done actions like flying a banner over the Rose Bowl and Super Bowl in 2001 and helped organize protests.

Oral Majority

P.O.Box 402263

Miami Beach, FL 33140

305-864-5110

Fax 305-867-1976

theoralmajority@hotmail.com

<http://www.oralmajorityonline.com>

Robert P. Kunst, President

Organized more than 150 protests against stolen election and for election reform since Nov. 2000.

CounterCoup.org

Box 40

86 Kirkland Ave

Cambridge, MA 02138-2079

CounterCoup@netscape.net

<http://www.geocities.com/countercoup/>

Zack Exley, CounterCoup.org founder

Began in Nov. 2000 as a Web site listing locations to protest the election and call for all votes to be counted.

Turned into a grassroots movement.

Voter March

P.O. Box 731, Grand Central Station

New York, N.Y. 10163-0731

212-492-5175

Fax 646-349-3757

Lou Posner, Chairman

212-421-2255

Chairman@votermarch.org

<http://votermarch.org>

Grassroots group formed in November 2000 in response to the presidential election. Has logged more than 1 million hits to its website and has more than 60 state and local chapters with more than 10,000 people on email lists and egroups. Staged Inaugural Day Voter March in D.C.'s Dupont Circle in January 2001 and organized the Voter Rights March to Restore Democracy May 19, 2001, in Washington D.C. and San Francisco.

Democracy March

New York City, N.Y.

212-803-5410

info@DemocracyMarch.org

TWard62754@aol.com

<http://www.democracymarch.org>

Grassroots coalition formed in Nov. 2000 by four New York City residents outraged over the disenfranchisement of tens of thousands of Floridians in the presidential election. First called DemocracyNYC, spread to organize protests and other campaigns.

International Action Center

39 West 14th St., Room 206

New York, N.Y. 10011

212-633-6646

Fax 212 633-2889

iacenter@iacenter.org

<http://www.iacenter.org>

<http://www.mumia2000.org>

Direct action organization that coordinates anti-Bush protests.

Justice Action Movement

Washington, D.C.

(202) 842-4479

bhale@ic.sunysb.edu

<http://www.justiceactionmovement.org>

Multi-issue coalition advocating a political system that gives each person full representation and justice. Involved in protests against Bush. Many of the groups and individuals forming the coalition have supported past demonstrations for progressive change, including the demonstrations in Washington in April 2000 against the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Genoa Social Forum

via San Luca 15/9

16124 Genova Italy

010 2461749

Fax 010 2461413

info@genoa-g8.org

webmaster@genoa-g8.org

<http://www.genoa-g8.org/news.htm>

Umbrella organization that organized the G-8 summit protests in July 2001 in Italy.

Fight the Right

fighttheright@email.com

<http://www.fighttheright.org/>

Organization started in July 2001 to combat the right-wing more directly.

Home of the Brave

indigo1153@yahoo.com

<http://www.thebraveonline.com/>

Another group formed to protest the stolen election. Carries catchy slogan, "We will never forget. We will never forgive. We will never be silent." Protested Bush at his Texas ranch in August 2001.

Shocking the Monkey

shydemocrat@yahoo.com

<http://www.geocities.com/shydemocrat/>

Organizes a creative protest in which people donate money to environmental and social organizations that are hurt by Bush's policies in Bush's name. Donors request thank you cards be sent to Bush at the White House.

Democratic Underground

Fax 561-760-3311

mail@DemocraticUnderground.com

<http://democraticunderground.com/>

Founded on Inauguration Day, January 20, 2001, to protest the illegitimate presidency of Bush and provide a resource for the exchange of progressive ideas. Publishes original content six days a week and hosts one of the Web's most active left-wing discussion boards.

The Walk For Democracy

Jeanette Wallis

206-755-9705

contactmantra@yahoo.com

grievancegirl@riseup.net

<http://www.thewalkfordemocracy.org>

Woman walking from Seattle to Washington, D.C., to call attention to the stolen election. Plans to reach D.C. in 2002 to give the White House grievances.

Organizations working exclusively on electoral reform

Voting Technology Project

Patti Richards, Senior Communications Officer, MIT

(617) 253-8923

prichards@mit.edu

Jill Perry, Media Relations Director, Caltech

(626) 395-3226

jperry@caltech.edu

<http://web.mit.edu/newsoffice/nr/2001/voting2.html#contact>

Studies voting technology in wake of 2000 presidential election, involving experts at the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation.

The Election Center

12543 Westella, Suite 100

Houston, TX 77079

281-293-0101

electioncent@pdq.net

<http://www.electioncenter.org/>

International service association of state and local election officials. Completed its own election reform report in Aug. 2001.

National Voting Rights Institute

One Bromfield Street, 3rd Floor

Boston, MA 02108

617-368-9100

Fax 617-368-9101

nvri@nvri.org

<http://www.nvri.org>

Prominent legal center in the campaign finance reform field founded in 1994.

National Commission on Federal Election Reform

c/o The Century Foundation

41 E. 70th St.

New York, NY 10021

212-452-7750

212-535-7534

contactus@reformelections.org

<http://www.reformelections.org>

Campaign organized by The Miller Center of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia and The Century Foundation. Formed in the wake of the 2000 presidential election to formulate concrete proposals for election reform.

Election Reform Information Network

dadams80@swbell.net

<http://erin.home.4t.com/>

Nonpartisan, nonprofit site founded by Dave Adams and his son, Kevin, promoting election reform, with the goal of improving the efficiency, equity, and accuracy of election returns across the United States. Includes archive of news articles on the subject.

Citizens for True Democracy

742 North Amherst Avenue

Claremont, California 91711

True_Democracy@yahoo.com

<http://www.truedemocracy.org/>

Organization dedicated to improving the fairness of American elections through improving voter turnout, abolishing the Electoral College, and campaign finance reform.

Voters Decide

926 J St #523

Sacramento, CA 95816

Derek Cressman, Democracy Campaign Director,

National Association of State PIRGs

916-448-4516

cressman@pirg.org

<http://www.pirg.org/votersdecide/>

Program that calls for presidential candidates to get at least 50 percent of the vote to win elections, and Instant Runoff Voting to be implemented in cases where no candidate achieves a majority on the first ballot.

Center for Voting and Democracy

6930 Carroll Ave., Suite 901

Takoma Park, MD 20912

301-270-4616

cvdusa@aol.com

<http://www.fairvote.org/irv/index.html>

Non-profit organization that studies how voting systems affect participation, representation, and governance.

Center for Constitutional Rights

666 Broadway, 7th Floor

New York, N.Y. 10012

212-614-6452

Fax 212-614-6499

demconv@ccr-ny.org

<http://www.pro-democracy.com>

Advocates for Voter's Bill of Rights that would abolish the Electoral College, give full voting rights to former prisoners, statehood for the district of Columbia, and address other issues.

Internet sites about Bush**BuzzFlash**

P.O. Box 618354

Chicago, Illinois 60661-8354

BuzzFlash@BuzzFlash.com

<http://www.buzzflash.com/>

Very detailed site with breaking news on Bush, long list of media links. Regularly named one of best sites on Bush. Won About.com's category of "Best Bush Watchdog" for "monitoring, resisting and burning Bush" in the First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed in July 2001.

Bush Watch

politex@geocities.com

<http://www.bushwatch.com/headlines.htm>

Comprehensive Texas-based site formed before 2000 election, includes links to daily news articles on Bush, detailed history.

GWBush.com

Box 40

86 Kirkland Ave

Cambridge, MA 02138-2079

info@gwbush.com

<http://Gwbush.com>

Zack Exley, webmaster

Formed in 1998 that Bush tried to shut down through legal action but failed. Bush called Exley a "garbage man."

WhatPresident.com

P.O. Box #302

Boulder, CO 80306

866-774-7900

Fax: 702-549-6687

supercombo@yahoo.com

<http://store.yahoo.com/whatpresident/info.html>

Sells toilet paper with Bush's likeness, bumper stickers, other items. Webmaster John Fischer was arrested in Aug. 2001 for allegedly suggesting people throw rolls at Bush's motorcade during a protest. He denied the charge and contested the \$150 fine.

U.S. Versus Bush

315-251-9028

Christina1831@hotmail.com

<http://www.usvbush.com/>

Site by Christina Rosetti, former Reform Party presidential candidate, that endeavors to bring a fair and balanced view of the Bush presidency and Congress.

BushFiles.com

307 West 7th Street

Austin, Texas 78701

(800) 939-6620

(512) 477-0746

observer@texasobserver.org

http://bushfiles.com/bush_toc.html

Maintained by Texas Observer, includes past and recent articles, columns on Bush.

The Bush Record

Liberator@JoinHUGS.Org
<http://www.joinhugs.org/mainpage/bushrecord.html>
 Site with photos, links, more on Bush's record.

We Will Remember

<http://www.wewillremember.org/>
 Includes photos, Bugliosi's article.

GW Bushwatch

esolidarity@gwbushwatch.com
<http://www.gwbushwatch.com/>
 Another good site that keeps a watchful eye on Bush.

Dems United

demsunited@democrats.com
<http://demsunited.cjb.net>
 Cartoons, news and more on the crime.

Stop Dubya

Editor@StopDubya.com
<http://www.stopdubya.com>
 Keeps voting records of Democratic Senators and Representatives, provides links, information about Bush's past.

Fringefolk

Sun Valley, CA 91352
roserose@earthlink.net
<http://www.fringefolk.com>
 Site by Ann "Rose" Thomas against the theft of the presidency.

Restore Democracy

souci@bellatlantic.net
<http://www.geocities.com/forjustice.geo/>
 Links to current articles, photos, etc. of protests and other events to restore democracy.

Bush's Distorted Head

Icon Art & Design
 125 Milani Road
 North Bay, Ontario P1B 7P4
 Canada
 705-472-7258
info@iconad.com or distortme@iconad.com
<http://www.iconad.com/georgebush.html>
 View Bush's distorted head.

Count Every Vote

commiett@yahoo.com
<http://www.geocities.com/commiett/counteveryvote.html>
 Photos, articles to oppose this sonofabush.

AntiBush

metal_guitar_music@hotmail.com

<http://antibush.sphosting.com/index.html>

Detailed site with commentary, news, videos, links, more by young Northern Ireland anti-Bush advocate.

Resident Bush

<http://residentbush.com/>

Includes off-color photos on the chief resident.

Mad About Chad

madaboutchad2000@yahoo.com

<http://www.madaboutchad.com/>

Includes graphics and information about the stolen election. As Thoreau said, What are you doing out there?

Bush Kills

webmaster@bushkills.com

<http://bushkills.com/>

Examines Bush's record on executions.

BushAndCheneySuck.com

sales@shirtmagic.com

<http://bushandcheneyssuck.com/>

Offers t-shirts, articles, more on the concept.

Skeleton Closet

Real People for Real Change

research@realchange.org

<http://www.realchange.org/bushjr.htm>

Details Bush's hypocritical past of sex, drugs, and rock 'n roll, including how many times he lied about his 1976 drunk driving conviction.

FearBush.com

P.O. Box 1697

New Bern, N.C. 28563

FearBush1@hotmail.com or DarthLordViper1@hotmail.com

<http://fearbush.com>

Started in Feb. 2000 with goal to get readers to spread the word about Bush's dishonesty and hypocrisy.

Most content is submitted by readers.

BushForPope.com

Bushforpope@hotmail.com

<http://bushforpope.com/>

Satirical site maintained by James Beacham and Chris Winstead calling for Bush to be coronated Pope because he doesn't need to win an election to lead, he is "clearly mandated by God, not man."

DoubleU

chanceman@att.net

<http://www.digisite.com/w/index.asp>

Maintained by Chance Houston, contains probably the most complete collection of Anti-Bush and Pro-Gore links on the net. Was banned by a Microsoft link exchange site.

OurPres

ourpres@usa.com

<http://home.density.com/ourpres/>

Contains detailed stories on Election 2000, Bush lies, quotes, more.

Free Speech Central

billcv2000@yahoo.com

<http://www.linkcrusader.com/>

Large directory of links to anti-bush sites, progressive sites, others, maintained by Bill Cavanaugh.

Anti-Bush Graphics

chennipher@yahoo.com

http://www.geocities.com/gwbush_fraud/index.html

Graphics on Bush for the sharing.

The “W” Impeachment Movement

gorewonit@yahoo.com

<http://www.geocities.com/gorewonit/index.htm>

Includes list of alleged crimes committed by Bush and administration against American people. Goal is to impeach Bush.

Lick Bush

ckoski@socal.rr.com

<http://lickbush-2000.com/>

An anti-Bush paraphernalia distribution clearinghouse with bumper stickers, buttons, t-shirts, more.

Too Stupid To Be President

citizentwain@hotmail.com

<http://www.toostupidtobepresident.com/>

Contains articles, cartoons, “Top Ten” lists to show that Bush is not fit for office solely by reason of insufficient intelligence. Won a people’s choice award for “All-Around Excellence in Bush-Whacking” in the First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed by About.com.

Bush and Bin Laden

Rightor1@aol.com

<http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/parliament/2398/posts.html>

Site that explores relationship between Bush, Bin Laden, and oil.

Smirk-o-rama

amazon@politicalamazon.com

<http://www.politicalamazon.com/smirkorama.html>

Contains links to many articles on Bush, action alerts to “de-wimpify” the Democratic Party.

The Dumbya Chronicles

thedumbyachronicles@managedwebsolutions.com

<http://www.thedumbyachronicles.com/>

Links of news articles, forums, cartoons, more, maintained by Steven Leser.

That Son of a Bush

Austin, Texas

512-293-3701

Eric@LinkToIt.com

<http://www.thatsonofabush.com/>

Detailed site by Eric Rainbolt with links to articles and more. Includes a countdown to the last repugican administration clock.

Race 4 Democracy

Austin, Texas

512-293-3701

Eric@LinkToIt.com

Volunteers@race4democracy.org

<http://www.race4democracy.org/>

Eric Rainbolt is also organizing a bicycle ride from Florida to Washington, D.C., in late 2002 to register people to vote and make sure people don't forget about the 2000 election sham.

Bartcop

P.O. Box 54466

Tulsa, OK 74155

publicist@bartcop.com

<http://www.bartcop.com/>

Started as an anti-Limbaugh site, grew to include entire right-wing. Won people's choice award for "Best Bush Watchdog" in First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed by About.com in July 2001.

The Liberal Media

P.O. Box 40411

San Diego, CA 92164

Theliberalmedia@aol.com

<http://www.geocities.com/theliberalmedia>

A site only for liberals, contains cartoons, articles, links.

PresidentMoron.com

postmaster@presidentmoron.com

<http://www.presidentmoron.com>

Points out, among other aspects, that Bush Jr. had the lowest IQ of any U.S. president at least since FDR, while Clinton had the highest IQ.

SonofBush.com

marc@perkel.com

<http://sonofbush.com/>

Articles, links, cartoons on Bush by Marc Perkel, a computer entrepreneur, writer, publisher of Thinking Magazine, member of both the Democrat and Republican parties, and webmaster of Republicans for Clinton and Gore 2000.

MonitorBush

ulm@ix.netcom.com

<http://www.monitorbush.com/>

A guide to surviving Bush. Monitors Bush's extreme agenda and works to fix the broken democratic process.

AlGoreWon

Political Justice

<http://www.algorewon.org/>

<http://www.politicaljustice.com/>

Details how Gore really won and what Bush has done since. Complete with message boards.

BushBoyzStoleTheVote.com

webmaster@bushboyzstolethevote.com

<http://www.bushboyzstolethevote.com>

Very detailed site, credited with inventing the phrase, "Hail to the Thief."

BushIsNotPresident.com

info@bushisnotpresident.com

<http://www.bushisnotpresident.com/>

Updated frequently with news, message board, and more.

Bush Follies

webmaster@bushfollies.com

<http://www.bushfollies.com>

Covers Bush's flops and follies with news, audio/video, and message boards.

The Georgy Bush Project

georgybushproject@hotmail.com

<http://www.georgybush.com>

Started in 1999 to warn people what it would be like with Bush as pResident.

WeStoleFlorida.com

WeStoleFlorida@yahoo.com

<http://www.westoleflorida.com/>

Satirical site by Larisa Thomason on the group that stole Florida.

Bush Occupation

<http://www.BushOccupation.com>

Offers t-shirts for sale, discussion group at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/bushoccupation>. In Jan. 2001, webmaster Mike Hershdorfer was intimidated by two Secret Service agents and a police officer who wanted to know what Web sites he visited, to search his Maryland home, review his medical records, and whether he had ever threatened to blow up the White House. Hershdorfer and his site does not advocate violence, nor did he consent to a search of his home.

Bush For Dummies

<http://www.bushfordummies.com/>

A primer on Bush with his quotes under revealing photos.

Bushology

moldea@moldea.com

<http://www.moldea.com/bushology.html>

Investigator reporter and author Dan Moldea provides links to public information sources to investigate the Bush family.

NotMyPres.com

notmypres@browserlife.com

<http://www.notmypres.com/>

Informative, detailed site with news, discussion groups. Even offers free, trendy email address @notmypres.com.

George Bush: AntiChrist

trebby@my-deja.com

http://www.geocities.com/trebtor_92627/Bush.htm

Provides satirical [we think] evidence that Bush is actually the anti-Christ.

ChadSux.com

Webmaster@chadsux.com

<http://www.chadsux.com/welcome.htm>

Uses satire and humor to combat the Bushies. Won a people's choice award for the best Bush-inspired animations, phototoons or other Web art in the First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed by About.com.

Formed in Jan. 2001.

The Complete Bushisms

<http://politics.slate.msn.com/Features/bushisms/bushisms.asp>

Online magazine Slate compiles a running list of Bush butchering the English language. Updated often.

Mad Kane's Dubya's Dayly Diary

madkane@madkane.com

<http://www.madkane.com/bush.html>

Regular column by Madeleine Begun Kane, a New York-based humor columnist. Her columns have appeared in Family Circle Magazine, America Online, Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer, Miami Herald, Houston Chronicle, and the New York Times. Won a people's choice award for the best Bush parody on the Web in the First Annual Bushie Awards bestowed by About.com.

BushWhackerUSA.com

bushwhackerusa@yahoo.com

<http://www.bushwhackerusa.com/>

Pictures, archives, and more on the Bush residency.

Coup2k.com

thediva@coup2k.com

<http://www.coup2k.com/>

Started in Nov. 2000 as Bush Brothers Banana Republic by Texas-raised liberal entrepreneur Tammy Talpas. Has grown to a large site with columns, items for sale, activism and media links.

DubyaSpeak.com

<http://dubyaspeak.com/>

A site by Justin Thorne chronicling Bush's misstatements.

WeWasRobbed.com

wewasrobbed@wewasrobbed.com

<http://wewasrobbed.com/>

Examines the events of Bush's theft. Includes a message board, links, and gallery.

Resist the Bush Coup

webmaster@resistthebushcoup.com

<http://www.resistthebushcoup.com/>

Articles and links on what to do about the Bush residency

BushSuckz.com

<http://www.bushsuckz.com>

Site that protests the Bush campaign trying to silence Free Speech and buy up scores of Internet domains like bushsucks.com - they couldn't buy them all, though.

Stolen Election 2000 Online

P.O. Box 3267

Framingham, MA 01705-3267

508-879-9923

stolen_election_2000online@hotmail.com

<http://www.stolenelection2000online.com/>

Offers t-shirts, buttons, other materials about stolen election.

Internet sites aimed at other Republicans

Republicans Suck

webmaster@republicanssuck.com

<http://republicanssuck.com/>

Branches out from just covering Bush to include other Republicans.

John Ashcroft Sucks

EugeneMail@Email.com

<http://johnashcroftsucks.com/>

Dedicated to exposing the bigot that is Ashcroft.

Katherine Harris Sucks

secretary@mail.dos.state.fl.us

<http://www.katherineharrissucks.com/>

Dedicated to exposing the wrongdoings of Katherine Harris. Those include not just stopping the counting of legal votes in Florida, but spending more than \$100,000 in Florida tax dollars to jet to places like Barbados, Brazil, and the Australia Olympics in just two years. In 1994, she was implicated in a campaign finance scheme. And in 2000, she also spent \$30,000 of tax money for an ad featuring Bush supporter retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf urging people to vote.

Boot Newt Sing Along Page

wtong@earthlink.net

<http://www.geocities.com/wmktong/bootnewt/>

Contains hundreds of song parodies of the right-wing Republicans who gave us an appointed president, impeachment witch hunts, grand hypocrisy, congressional gridlock, corporate welfare, greed, the Contract "On" America, government shutdowns, and environmental protection laws rewritten by polluters and lobbyists.

The Hypocrite Party

hypocrite@islandimage.net

<http://hypocriteparty.org/>

Examines the record of hypocrisy of the GOP.

The Vast Right Wing Con Job

ryan_oblivion@yahoo.com

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Parliament/2271/>

Outlines the right wing's longtime campaign to get Clinton and leading Democrats.

Rush is Wrong

wonk@rushiswrong.com

<http://www.geocities.com/TimesSquare/1131/index.html>

Devoted to exposing the lies of Rush Limbaugh. Formed in 1996.

The U.S. Supreme Court Bitch Slap

angry_candy@usa.net

<http://www.angelfire.com/rant/gwbush/scbs3.html>

Take out your frustrations by slapping Scalia, Rehnquist, Thomas, Kennedy, and O'Connor in the mouth.

Conservative Hypocrisy

ranting_wacko@hotmail.com

http://rush_awards.tripod.com/

Mock recognition to conservatives who do not practice what they preach, especially Bush. Maintained by Texas Democrat "Ranting Wacko."

Boycott Republicans

<http://www.boycott-republicans.com/>

Provides mail form to send messages to Republicans and list of companies to boycott.

Informational Internet sites about the 2000 election**Election 2000: FAQs**

cowanme@yahoo.com

<http://home.netcom.com/~mecowan/FAQs.htm>

FAQs on the election in question.

Bush LOST

<http://geocities.com/dchainn/>

Links to articles on the 2000 election.

Red Flags in Florida

BushNeverWon@aol.com

<http://bushneverwonflorida.com/>

Shows how Bush and Republicans would not have won Florida in a fair election.

United Progressive Citizens for Action

Nashville Insanity

anise_leinen@yahoo.com

<http://www.nashvilleinsanity.com/NPbreakingnews.html>Tennessee,

Group led by Cathy Danielson dedicated to researching evidence of voter disenfranchisement in the November 2000 election, especially in Tennessee.

Democratic Party organizations**Democratic Leadership Council**

600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 400

Washington, DC 20003

202-546-0007

Fax 202-544-5002

press@dlcppi.org

memberships@dlcppi.org

<http://www.ndol.org>

Nonprofit corporation to promote debate within the Democratic Party and the public about national and international policy and political issues, especially related to the New Democrat movement.

Progressive Policy Institute

600 Pennsylvania, Ave., SE, Suite 400

Washington, DC 20003

Fax 202-544-5014

jobs@dlcppi.org

<http://www.ppionline.org>

Research and education institute to promote a new progressive politics for America in the 21st century related to New Democrat movement.

Third Way Foundation

600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Suite 400

Washington, DC 20003

202-547-0001

Fax 202-544-5014

press@dlcppi.org

<http://www.ppionline.org>

Conducts fund-raising and other duties for New Democrats movement.

Young Democrats of America

430 S. Capitol St., SE

Washington, DC 20003

202- 863-8150

Fax 202-863-8081

yda@dnc.democrats.org

<http://www.yda.org/yda/>

The official youth arm of the Democratic Party since 1932. Open to anyone under the age of 36 who affiliates with the Democratic Party. Has 42 chartered states and 780 local chapters, with some 43,000 members.

Democratic Caucus

Rep. Martin Frost, chairman

1420 Longworth House Office Building

Washington, DC 20515

202-226-3210

Fax 202-225-9253

<http://dcaucusweb.house.gov/about/office.asp>

Democratic congressional group that advocates for key Democratic positions.

Democratic National Committee

430 S. Capitol St., S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

202-863-8000

<http://www.democrats.org>

National Democratic organization to promote the party's agenda.

Democrats Abroad

Tom Fina, Executive Director

7400 Rebecca Drive

Alexandria, VA 22307

703-768 3174

Fax 703-768-0920

demsabrd@bellatlantic.net

<http://www.democratsabroad.org/>

Official Democratic Party organization for some 6 million American citizens who live outside the United States. Has committees in more than 30 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas

Internet sites about Democrats**Al Gore 2004**

P.O. Box 1321

Bartlesville, Okla. 74005-1321

questionsAlGore2004_org@yahoo.com

<http://www.al-gore-2004.org/>

Very detailed site supporting President Gore's re-election in 2004.

Bob Kunst

Kunst for Governor Campaign

P.O. Box 402263

Miami Beach, Fla. 33140

kunstforgovernor@hotmail.com

<http://www.kunstforgov.com/>

Running for governor of Florida in 2002 as a Democratic Party candidate with the slogan, "I wouldn't steal your vote."

DemocratsWithSpine.com

webmistress@democratswithspine.com

<http://www.democratswithspine.com/>

Well-organized site that started soon after Bush took over by a Democrat who was sick of Democrats being called spineless wimps. As she says, Republicans never compromise and get their laws and playing nice doesn't work in politics.

DemocraticNews.org

James Chapman, Editor

jameschapman3@yahoo.com

<http://democraticnews.org/>

Florida-based online newsletter about grassroots events in Florida. Not tied to the Democratic party or to any Democratic official or organization.

Democratic Talk Radio

7A Planville Drive

Fayetteville, TN 37334

931-433-3546

mscm@vallnet.com

<http://www.democratictalkradio.com/>

Features playable radio programs voicing Democratic views hosted by Stephen Crockett and Al Lawrence from archives. Active message board with posting limited to Democrats. Extensive links and webrings.

Friends of Bill/Citizens Against Bush

Juliet067@aol.com

<http://citizensagainstbush.org/>

Formed by Juliet Stewart in 1997 to support Clinton against far right-wing attacks. Expanded focus after stolen 2000 election.

Democratic Underground

Fax 561-760-3311

mail@DemocraticUnderground.com

<http://democraticunderground.com/>

Founded on Jan. 20, 2001, to protest the illegitimate presidency of Bush and to provide a resource for the exchange and dissemination of liberal and progressive ideas. Not affiliated with the Democratic Party.

The Angry Liberal

thebigcheese@theangryliberal.com

<http://www.theangryliberal.com/index>

Dedicated to fighting the right-wing campaign that helped make liberal a dirty name.

Organizations working for social justice that oppose some Bush administration policies

Fellowship of Reconciliation

Box 271

Nyack, N.Y. 10960

845-358-4601

Fax 845-358-4924

FOR@forusa.org

<http://www.forusa.org>

Works against worldwide militarization, including Bush's Star Wars plan, and for budget funds for human needs.

Lawyers' Committee For Civil Rights Under Law

1401 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 400

Washington, DC 20005

Tel: 202-662-8600

Fax: 202-783-0857

kcoates@lawyerscomm.org

<http://www.lawyerscomm.org/>

38-year-old nonpartisan, nonprofit civil rights legal organization. It was formed in 1963 at the request of President John F. Kennedy to involve the private bar in providing legal services to address racial discrimination.

American Civil Liberties Union

New York, N.Y.

<http://www.aclu.org/>

Civil liberties organization that filed numerous voting discrimination lawsuits related to the 2000 election.

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee

4201 Connecticut Ave, N.W., Suite 300
 Washington, D.C. 20008
 202-244-2990
 Fax 202-244-3196
 ADC@adc.org
<http://www.adc.org/>
 Advocates against discrimination of Arab-Americans.

Amnesty International

99-119 Rosebery Avenue
 London EC1R 4RE
 United Kingdom
 4420-7814-6200
 4420-7833-1510
 info@amnesty.org.uk
 www.amnesty.org.uk
 Worldwide organization dedicated to protecting rights of political prisoners, voters, and others.

Amnesty International U.S.

322 8th Avenue
 New York, NY 10001
 admin-us@aiusa.org
 www.aiusa.org
 U.S. chapter.

Common Dreams

P.O. Box 443
 Portland, Maine USA
 04112-0443
 207-799-2185
 Fax 651-321-1884
 editor@commondreams.org
<http://www.commondreams.org/>
 National non-profit citizens' organization to promote progressive visions for America's future. Founded in 1997. Many links to current news articles.

Partnership for Civil Justice Inc.

1901 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 607
 Washington, DC 20006
 202-530-5630
 Fax 202-530-5634
demo_support@JusticeOnline.org
<http://www.justiceonline.org>
 Legal group protecting the right to free speech. Involved in lawsuit filed against the U.S. government and the Bush Presidential Inaugural Committee for violations of protesters' Constitutional rights at the January 2001 inauguration.

Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

930 East 50th Street

Chicago, IL 60615-2702

773-373-3366

Fax 773-373-3571

info@rainbowpush.org

<http://www.rainbowpush.org/>

Rev. Jesse Jackson's organization dedicated to social change and protecting the rights of workers, women, and people of color.

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

820 1st Street, NE, #510

Washington, DC 20002

202-408-1080

Fax 202-408-1056

bazie@cbpp.org

<http://www.cbpp.org/>

Nonpartisan research institute focusing on budget issues affecting low- and moderate-income people.

Citizens for Tax Justice

1311 L Street NW

Washington, DC 20005

202-626-3780

Fax 202-638-3486

mattg@ctj.org

<http://www.ctj.org>

Nonpartisan, nonprofit research and advocacy organization dedicated to fair taxation at the federal, state, and local levels.

Public Citizen

1600 20th St., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20009

202-588-1000

member@citizen.org

<http://www.citizen.org>

Founded by Ralph Nader in 1971, consumer watchdog group on issues like open government with more than 150,000 members.

Pro-Democracy Convention

Jessica Stern

212-614-6452

demconv@hotmail.com

Organized convention in summer 2001 to work on electoral reforms and other issues.

Philadelphia II/Direct Democracy

1600 N. Oak St., #1412

Arlington, VA 22209

703-516-4056

Fax 703-516-4057

info@P2DD.org

<http://philadelphiatwo.org/>

Advocates for process through which the citizens of a country create and enact laws without the intervention of elected representatives.

Democracy Summer 2001 and 2002

202-234-9382, ext. 257

democracysummer@excite.com

<http://www.democracysummer.org>

Campaign in Florida to organize a diverse young people's movement to push for electoral reform and similar issues. Sponsored by groups like Center for Voting and Democracy and Democracy Matters.

Center for Responsive Politics

1101 14th St., NW, Suite 1030

Washington, DC 20005-5635

202-857-0044

Fax 202-857-7809

info@crp.org

Executive Director Larry Noble

lnoble@crp.org

Nonpartisan, non-profit research group that tracks money in politics and its effect on elections and public policy.

American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today [ADAPT]

201 S. Cherokee

Denver, CO 80223

303-733-9324

national@adapt.orgadapt@adapt.org<http://www.adapt.org/>

National grassroots disability rights organization, organizes protests against Bush policies.

American Association of People with Disabilities Disability

Vote Project

Jim Dickson, director

1629 K Street, N.W., Suite 802

Washington, D.C. 20006

202-955-6117 or 202-955-6114

Adina Topfer, assistant

adinatopfer@earthlink.net<http://www.aapd-dc.org>

Non-profit organization working for voting rights of disabled.

Peace Park Antinuclear Vigil

P.O. Box 27217

Washington, D.C. 20038

202-462-0757

prop1@prop1.org<http://prop1.org>

Group that has been protesting U.S. nuclear arms policies in an ongoing vigil outside the White House since 1981.

Alliance for Democracy

681 Main Street

Waltham MA 02451

781-894-1179 or 888-466-8233

Fax 781-894-0279

peoplesall@aol.com

<http://www.afd-online.org/>

Progressive populist movement working to end the domination of large corporations. Works on issues like campaign finance reform, alternatives to corporate globalization, universal health care.

FAIR

130 W. 25th St.

New York, NY 10001

212-633-6700

Fax 212-727-7668

fair@fair.org

<http://www.fair.org>

Organization working for a fairer media.

People For the American Way

Eye on Bush

2000 M Street, N.W., Suite 400

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-467-4999 or 800-326-7329

pfaw@pfaw.org

<http://pfaw.org/>

<http://eyeonbush.org/>

Organization founded in 1981 to work for fairness, justice, civil rights, and the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. Developed Eye on Bush site to monitor the Bush administration.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

4805 Mt. Hope Dr.

Baltimore, MD 21215

410-521-4939

members@naacp.org

<http://www.naacp.org/>

Oldest and largest U.S. civil rights organization formed in 1909.

MoveOn.org

info@moveon.org

<http://www.moveon.org>

Group working to bring ordinary people back into politics through electronic advocacy groups, campaigns, etc.

Pray for Peace Foundation

editor@steamboats.com

<http://surrealist.org/prayforpeace/2001.html>

Advocates meditation and redirecting anger in response to Bush policies.

Global Exchange

2017 Mission Street #303

San Francisco, California 94110

415-255-7296

Fax 415-255-7498

info@globalexchange.org

<http://www.globalexchange.org>

Human rights organization promoting environmental, political, and social justice around the world since 1988.

Americans United for Separation of Church and State

518 C Street, N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

202-466-3234

Fax 202-466-2587

americansunited@au.org

<http://www.au.org>

Organization that works to maintain the separation of church and state, opposes Bush policy of giving tax money to religious groups.

Environmental organizations advocating against parts of Bush energy plan

Sierra Club

85 Second St., Second Floor

San Francisco, CA 94105-3441

415-977-5500

Fax 415-977-5799

information@sierraclub.org

<http://www.sierraclub.org>

General interest organization that works on everything from conservation and recycling to political advocacy.

Greenpeace USA

702 H St., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20001

1-800-326-0959

kymberly_escobar@wdc.greenpeace.org

<http://www.greenpeaceusa.org>

Employs direct, creative, nonviolent action to draw attention to environmental problems.

Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund

180 Montgomery St., Suite 1400

San Francisco, Calif. 94104-4209

415-627-6700

Fax 415-627-6740

eajus@earthjustice.org

<http://www.earthjustice.org>

Nonprofit public interest environmental law firm that represents clients on issues like stopping oil and gas production in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska.

Stop Global Warming

Germany

Inside Germany: 02336/830455

Outside Germany: 0049/2336/830455

stopglobalwarming@ttacke.de

<http://www.globalwarming.isbad.net/>

Group fighting against the globalization of overwhelming economic influence, social injustice, and climate change.

Roll Your Own Black Out

press@RollYourOwnBlackout.com

<http://rollyourownblackout.com>

Group that helped organize a massive blackout in June 2001 to protest the Bush energy plan. Works on other projects.

Earthside

Colorado

mail@earthside.com

editordave@aol.com

<http://www.earthside.com/>

Updated news on the environment and Bush policies published by Dave Chandler.

Pressurepoint.org

info@pressurepoint.org

<http://www.pressurepoint.org>

Works against Bush energy plan through nonviolent direct action.

Wilderness Society

1615 M St, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

1-800-THE-WILD

member@tw.s.org

<http://www.wilderness.org>

Organization that campaigns to save natural areas and habitat.

League of Conservation Voters

1920 L Street, N.W., Suite 800

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-785-8683

Fax 202-835-0491

lcv@lcv.org

<http://www.lcv.org>

Advocates in Congress on environmental concerns. Has more than 9 million members.

Defenders of Wildlife

1101 14th Street, N.W., Suite 1400

Washington, D.C. 20005

202-682-9400

info@defenders.org

<http://www.defenders.org>

Organization that advocates for wildlife.

National Environmental Trust

1200 18th St., N.W., Fifth Floor

Washington D.C. 20036

202-887-8800

Fax 202-887-8877

dking@environet.org

<http://www.environet.policy.net/>

Nonprofit, nonpartisan group established in 1994 to inform citizens about environmental problems and how they affect our health and quality of life.

U.S. Public Interest Research Group

218 D Street, S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

202-546-9707

Fax 202-546-2461

uspirg@pirg.org

<http://www.uspirg.org/>

Works on consumer and environmental issues.

Natural Resources Defense Council

40 West 20th St.

New York, N.Y. 10011

212-727-2700

Fax 212-727-1773

nrdcinfo@nrdc.org

<http://www.nrdc.org>

Organization that advocates for saving natural resources.

American Lung Association

1740 Broadway

New York, N.Y. 10019

212-315-8700

info@lungusa.org

<http://www.lungusa.org>

Advocates for people with asthma and other breathing problems, particularly concerned about air pollution and its effect on health.

Physicians Committee for Responsible Medicine

5100 Wisconsin Ave., Suite 400

Washington, D.C. 20016

202-686-2210

Fax 202-686-2216

pcrm@pcrm.org

<http://www.pcrm.org>

Health and environmental advocacy group within medical industry.

Earth Day Energy Fast

323-654-6237

Fax 323-654-6264

NRGFast@cs.com

<http://www.earthdayenergyfast.org>

Group that advocates less electricity and fuel use on Earth Day each April. Also involved in protests against Bush energy plan.

Center for a New American Dream

6930 Carroll Ave., Suite 900

Takoma Park, MD 20912

301-891-ENUF

Fax 301-891-3684

newdream@newdream.org

<http://www.newdream.org>

Organization that helps Americans change the way they consume to improve quality of life, protect the environment, and promote social justice. Participated in June 2001 blackout day.

Free Radical

info@free-radical.org

<http://www.free-radical.org/>

Site by L.A. Kauffman that chronicles environmental and anti-globalization protests. Kauffman was a trainer at the FTAA protests in Quebec City in April 2001 and part of a tactical squad for the IMF/World Bank protests in Washington, D.C., in April 2000.

Downwinders at Risk

707 Wylie

Cedar Hill, Texas 75104

972-293-8300

info@downwindersatrisk.org

<http://www.downwindersatrisk.org/>

Works against air pollution in North Texas, particularly related to cement plants just south of Dallas.

Alternative media**Los Angeles Independent Media Center**

P.O. Box 7403

Santa Monica, CA 90406-7403

info@la.indymedia.org

<http://la.indymedia.org/contact.php3>

Joan Sekler, documentary producer

sekler@loop.com or sekler2001@yahoo.com

Grassroots organization that uses media production and distribution to promote social and economic justice in Los Angeles County. Work includes a documentary by Joan Sekler and Richard Perez called, "American Coup d'Etat: The Stolen Presidential Election and Beyond."

Salon.com

126 Fifth Avenue, 4th Floor

New York, NY 10011

212-549-3280

Fax 212-549-3866

David Talbot, Founder, Chairman, and Editor in Chief

dtalbot@salon.com

<http://www.salon.com>

Online political magazine.

The Democracy Chronicle

Aaron M. Cohen, Publisher and Editor

PO Box 12682
 Lake Park, Fla. 33403-2682
 Info@kiosk2000.com
<http://www.kiosk2000.com/DCOnline/cover.htm>

A new national publication launched in July 2001 to broaden access to liberal and progressive news and perspectives, and to make Internet-based content and resources available to people who are not online.

Meria Heller Show

Phoenix, Az.
 602-404-7556
 Meria@Meria.net
<http://www.meria.net>

Real news on the human condition, the environment, politics by a woman who is in it, not just a passive observer. The truth that corporate media refuses to tell the citizens of planet earth about our food, water, air, plants, politics, health, and more. Showcasing the true “heroes” of our time in interviews to give you the facts and have you make your own decisions. Also, how you can make a huge difference through simple changes and awareness. A warrior for truth, justice, and what used to be “The American Way.” Among guests have been Vincent Bugliosi and Bob Kunst. As of August 2001, the show had more than 18,000 regular listeners in more than 50 countries.

Online Journal

editor@onlinejournal.com
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/>

An online magazine started in 1998 with the goal of building a new news media of, by, and for the people.

Al Martin Raw

P.O. Box 43
 Pray, Montana 59065
 1-866-317-1390
virtualagency@lycos.com
<http://www.almartinraw.com/>

Insider news reports from retired U.S. Navy Lt. Cmdr. Al Martin, author of *The Conspirators: Secrets of an Iran Contra Insider*.

TomPaine.com

The Florence Fund
 P.O. Box 53303
 Washington, D.C. 20009.
 submissions@TomPaine.com
<http://tompaine.com/>
 John Moyers, Publisher

An online journal of opinion inspired by the great patriot Thomas Paine, author of Common Sense and The Rights of Man. Project of the Florence Fund, a non-profit corporation based in Washington, D.C., funded by foundations and individual donors like the Florence and John Schumann Foundation, a major supporter of independent media.

American Politics Journal Publications

459 Columbus Avenue, Suite 294
 New York N.Y. 10024
 Fax 212-501-0077
 editors@american-politics.com

<http://www.american-politics.com/>
Internet journal covering American politics.

Truthout

767 South San Pedro St.
Los Angeles CA, 90014
213-489-1971

COMMENTS@truthout.com

Editor, Marc Ash

EDITOR@truthout.com

<http://www.truthout.com/>

Online magazine devoted to exposing the truth about Bush and the right-wing.

Fair taxes coalition

Fair Taxes For All

<http://www.fairtaxesforall.org>

Large coalition of some 500 national organizations opposing the Bush tax-cut plan.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the AFL-CIO, the Invest in America Coalition, the Coalition on Human Needs, the National Council of Women's Organizations, the Consortium of Citizens with Disabilities, and the National Low-Income Housing Coalition.

People For the American Way, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, National Women's Law Center.

Coalition members include:

National Women's Law Center

11 Dupont Circle, N.W., # 800

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-588-5180

Fax 202-588-5185

Info@nwlc.org

<http://www.nwlc.org>

Legal center advocating for women.

United States Student Association

1413 K St. N.W. 9th Floor

Washington, D.C. 20005

202-347-USSA

Fax 202-393-5886

comm@usstudents.org

<http://www.usstudents.org>

Nation's oldest and largest national student organization, representing millions of college and university students.

Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-387-2800

Fax 202-667-9070

rac@uahc.org

<http://www.rac.org>

Hub of Jewish social justice and legislative activity for more than 35 years.

NETWORK

801 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Suite 460

Washington, D.C. 20003-2167

202-547-5556

Fax 202-547-5510

network@networklobby.org

<http://www.networklobby.org/>

National Catholic social justice lobby for more than 28 years.

USAction

1341 G Street, N.W., Suite 1000

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-624-1730

Fax 202-737-9197

usaction@usaction.org

http://www.fairtaxesforall.org/news/USAction_022701.phtml

Consumer organization with 4 million members in 37 affiliates. Works on issues like consumer protection, quality affordable health care, and better public schools.

National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare

10 G Street N.E., Suite 600

Washington, D.C. 20002

1-800-966-1935

general@ncpssm.org

<http://www.ncpssm.org>

Advocacy group for Social Security, Medicare.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

1700 Kalorama Road N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20009-2624

202-332-6483

<http://www.nglhf.org>

Founded in 1973, works to eliminate prejudice, violence and injustice against gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people at the local, state and national level.

Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network

New York, N.Y.

212-727-0135

glsen@glsen.org

Network of parents, students, teachers, and others working to end anti-gay bias in K-12 schools. Formed nationally in 1995.

OMB Watch

1742 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20009-1171

202-234-8494

Fax 202-234-8584

ombwatch@ombwatch.org

<http://www.ombwatch.org/ombwatch.html>

Nonprofit research and advocacy group to promote government accountability and citizen participation.

Invest in America Coalition

1742 Connecticut Ave., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20009

202-234-8494

Fax 202-234-8584

taylor@ombwatch.org

<http://www.investinamerica.org/>

Coalition of more than 300 organizations to lobby for increased domestic investment.

Coalition on Human Needs

1120 Connecticut Ave, N.W., Suite 910

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-223-2532

Fax 202-223-2538

chn@chn.org

<http://www.chn.org/>

Addresses the needs of low-income people and other vulnerable populations. Founded in 1981.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

1629 K Street, N.W., Suite 1010

Washington, D.C. 20006

202-466-3311

Fax 202-466-3435

<http://www.civilrights.org>

Progressive civil rights organization.

South Dakota Farmers Union

1410 Dakota Avenue South

P.O. Box 1388

Huron, South Dakota 57350

605-352-6761

Fax 605-352-6768

sdfu@sdfu.org

American Association of University Women

1111 Sixteenth St., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

800-326-AAUW

info@aauw.org

<http://www.aauw.org/home.html>

Trade organization for university women.

AFL-CIO

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20006

202-637-5000

Fax 202-637-5058
 feedback@aficio.org
<http://www.aficio.org>
 One of the country's largest labor unions.

National Organization of Women

733 15th St., N.W., 2nd floor
 Washington, D.C. 20005
 202-628-8NOW
 Fax 202-785-8576
 now@now.org
<http://www.now.org/>

National Council of Women's Organizations

733 15th St., N.W., Suite 1011
 Washington, D.C. 20005
 202-393-7122
 Fax 202-387-7915
 info@womensorganizations.org
<http://www.womensorganizations.org/>
 Focuses primarily on promoting public policy issues of concern to more than 100 member organizations.

Consortium of Citizens with Disabilities

1730 K Street, N.W., Suite 1212
 Washington, D.C. 20006
 202-785-3388
 Fax 202-467-4179
 Info@c-c-d.org
<http://www.c-c-d.org/>
 Coalition of about 100 organizations that advocate for public policies that ensure the independence, empowerment, and inclusion of children and adults with disabilities in all aspects of society.

National Low Income Housing Coalition

1012 14th St., N.W., Suite 610
 Washington, D.C. 20005
 202/662-1530
 Fax 202/393-1973
 info@nlihc.org
<http://www.nlihc.org/>
 Established in 1974, dedicated to ending America's affordable housing crisis.

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees

1625 L St., N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20036-5687
 202-429-1000
 TTY 202-659-0446
 Fax 202-429-1293
 pubaffairs@afscme.org
<http://www.afscme.org>
 National union of more than 1.3 million members of public service and health care workers.

National Urban League

120 Wall St.
 New York, NY 10005.
 212-558-5300
 info@nul.org
 Organization for and about nation's cities.

Progressive politics network**Independent Progressive Politics Network**

P.O. Box 1041
 Bloomfield, N.J. 07003-9991
 973-338-5398
 Fax 973-338-2210
 indpol@igc.org
<http://www.votersbillofrights.org>
<http://ippn.org/FrameIPPN.htm>
 Ted Glick, National Coordinator
 futurehopeTG@aol.com
 Network of progressive organizations that formed in 1995, working on issues like electoral reforms, the 2001 Pro-Democracy Campaign, social justice, and others.

IPPN members include:**African-American Women's Clergy Association**

214 P Street, NW
 Washington, DC 20001
 202-518-8488
 Fax 202-518-1273
 imageneshelter@aol.com
 Women preachers who operate shelters for battered and homeless women and their children, and homeless veterans and their families.

Alabama New South Coalition

P.O. Box 1228
 Montgomery, Alabama 36104
 334-262-0932
 Fax 334-262-0933
 staff@ansc.org
<http://www.ansc.org/>
 Promotes general welfare of people, dedicated to progressive ideals of freedom, justice, and democracy.
 Founded in 1986.

Alliance for Progressive Action

P.O. Box 5294
 Pittsburgh, PA 15206
 412-363-4410
 Fax 412-363-6610
 apa@fyi.net
<http://trfn.clpgh.org/alliance/>

Alliance of progressive organizations and individuals dedicated to social, political, and economic justice, and to serve as a progressive force for empowerment and change in southwestern Pennsylvania.

Alternative Communications

3853 Frahm Pike
Celina, Ohio 45822
419-363-3934

<http://www.ippn.org/ORAlternativeCommunications.htm>

Roger Wilson, president

“Left-Wing Traveling Roadshow” that displays literature and videos at county fairs in rural northwestern Ohio using a portable collapsible shed.

Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association

P. O. Box 61
Tillery, NC 27887
252-826-2800

Fax 252-826-3244

TILLERY@aol.com

<http://www.coax.net/people/lwf/bfaa.htm>

Grassroots organization created in 1997 in response to the staggering decline in African-American farmers and landowners.

Black Workers for Justice

P.O. Box 1863
Rocky Mount, NC 27802
(252) 977-8162

Fax: (252) 446-1274

eodell@igc.org

<http://www.freedomroad.org/fr/01/bwfi.html>

Promotes fairness for African-American workers.

Center for Campus Organizing

165 Friend St., M/S #1
Boston, MA 02114-2025
617-725-2886

FAX 617-725-2873

cco@igc.org

<http://www.cco.org>

National organization founded in 1995 to support progressive and social justice activism and investigative journalism on campuses nationwide.

Citizen Soldier

267 Fifth Ave., Suite 901
New York, NY 10016
212-679-2250

Fax 212-679-2252

<http://www.citizen-soldier.org/>

Works against militarism.

Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism

11 John Street, Rm. 506

New York, NY 10038

cofc@igc.org

<http://www.cofc.org>

Takes name from the U.S. revolutionary war against British colonialism when Committees of Correspondence were formed.

Common Agenda

National Priorities Project

160 Main St., Suite #6

Northampton, MA 01060

413-584-9556

Fax 413-586-9647

info@natprior.org

http://www.natprior.org/html/common_agenda.html

Coalition of organizations like Peace Action, Jobs with Peace, American Friends Service Committee, and the Campaign for New Priorities to support more federal funds to address social and economic problems.

Community Organizing Center

1101 Bryden Road

Columbus, OH 43205

walk@igc.org

Progressive organization that addresses social justice issues.

Empty the Shelters

dreese1@swarthmore.edu

<http://www.sccs.swarthmore.edu/org/ets/>

Social justice movement to reduce poverty.

The Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign

Kensington Welfare Rights Union

P.O. Box 50678

Philadelphia, PA 19132

215-203-1945

Fax 215-203-1950

kwru@libertynet.org

<http://www.kwru.org>

Effort led by poor and homeless women, men and children of all races to raise the issue of poverty as a human rights violation.

Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice

FCPJ@Juno.com

<http://www.fcpj.org/>

More than 50 Florida organizations concerned with progressive issues.

Freedom Road Socialist Organization

eodell@igc.org

<http://www.freedomroad.org/home.html>

Dedicated to building a movement that builds a new system.

Kansas City Progressive Network

P.O. Box 8744

Prairie Village, KS 66208 U.S.A.

brodskyd@earthlink.net

Publishes newspaper and conducts other activities for progressive politics.

League of Revolutionaries for a New America

P.O. Box 477113

Chicago, IL 60647

773-486-0028

Fax 773-486-1728

league@noc.org

<http://www.lrna.org>

Motto is to “refuse to accept that there should be great suffering in a world of great abundance.” Works toward a vision of a “cooperative world where the full potential of each person can contribute to the good of all,” employing media, speakers, and other methods.

National Child Rights Alliance

c/o Jim Senter

PO Box 61125

Durham, NC 27705

919/479-7130

JIMSENER@delphi.com

<http://www.ncra-youthrights.org/>

National organization directed entirely by youth and adult survivors of abuse and neglect.

National Lawyers Guild

126 University Place, 5th Floor

New York, NY 10003

212-627-2656

Fax 212-627-2404

nlgno@nlg.org

<http://www.nlg.org>

Founded in 1937 to fight for social and economic justice.

Peace and Freedom Party

P.O. Box 24764

Oakland, California 94623

(510) 465-9414

partisan@peaceandfreedom.org

<http://www.peaceandfreedom.org>

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/3666/>

Progressive political party founded in 1967.

The Organic Consumers Association

6101 Cliff Estate Rd.

Little Marais, MN 55614

218-226-4164

Fax 218-226-4157

ronnie@purefood.org

<http://www.purefood.org/aboutus.htm>

Grassroots, non-profit, public interest organization which deals with food safety, genetic engineering, corporate accountability, and environmental sustainability.

PR Forum

Sati Choudhary, founder
 satichou@yahoo.com

<http://www.egroups.com/group/PR-forum>

Promoted the Proportional Representational system of election, along with Instant Runoff Voting.

Project South

Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide

9 Gammon Ave SW

Atlanta, GA 30315

404-622-0602

Fax 404-622-7992

projectsouth@igc.apc.org

<http://www.projectsouth.org>

Develops education and research programs that strengthen community organizing as a vehicle for social and economic justice.

Quantum Leap 2000

3065 Monterey Blvd.

Oakland, CA 94602

(510) 531-2762

jcrocker@concentric.net

<http://www.quantumleap2000.org/>

Joy Crocker, founder

Dedicated to being catalysts in the transformation to a more progressive, peaceful society.

Solidarity

7012 Michigan Ave.

Detroit, MI 48210-2872

313-841-0160

solidarity@igc.org

<http://www.solidarity-us.org>

Solidarity 7012 Michigan Ave Detroit, MI · 48210-2872 313-841-0160 Email: solidarity@igc.org Web:

www.solidarity-us.org.

Progressive, anti-racist organization founded in 1986.

Southern Organizing Committee for Economic & Social Justice

P.O. Box 10518

Atlanta, Ga. 30310

404-755-2855

Fax 404-755-0575

socejp@igc.apc.org

<http://www.igc.org/socejp/>

Multi-racial network against racism, war, economic injustice, and environmental destruction.

Student Environmental Action Coalition

P.O. Box 31909

Philadelphia, PA 19104-0609

215-222-4711

Fax 215-222-2896

seac@seac.org
<http://www.seac.org>
 National student environmental activist network.

Unity Party

P.O. Box 170610
 Brooklyn, NY 11217
 718-898-3753
unity@odyssey.net
 African-American-led, multi-racial, progressive political party.

WarZone Education Foundation

c/o Mike Griffin
 675 E. Hillshire Rd.
 Decatur, IL. 62521
 217-428- 6372
mgriffwzef@aol.com
 217-428- 6372
 Foundation founded after major labor disputes in Decatur.

We the People

P.O. Box 253
 Jackson, N.H. 03846
 603-383-4285
 Fax 603-383-6793
CiciChase@aol.com
PETERSWTP@aol.com
<http://www.WeThePeople-WTP.org> and www.PetersForPresident.com
 Citizen's organization with priority on campaign finance reform.

Miscellaneous

Clinton Presidential Center

P.O. Box 1104
 Little Rock, AR 72203-1104
info@clintonpresidentialcenter.com
<http://63.79.158.13/>
 Organization working to establish President Clinton's presidential library, a foundation, and other remembrances.

Adam Clymer Fan Club

asshole@adamclymerfanclub.org
<http://www.adamclymerfanclub.org/>
 Devoted to New York Times reporter Adam Clymer, who became famous in Sept. 2000 when Bush referred to him as a "major league asshole" in a public appearance.

Poem To The People

PoemToThePeople@yahoogroups.com
<http://we.got.net/~memcneil/tamara.html>

Poem by Tamara Lynn Scott read at voter rights rallies in 2001.

Open Secrets

info@crp.org

sweiss@crp.org

<http://www.opensecrets.org>

Site dedicated to showing who is financing [or bribing] Bush and getting taxpayer-funded paybacks.

Campaign Watch

davids@campaignwatch.org

<http://www.campaignwatch.org>

Documents political corruption of U.S. voting system. Written by David E. Scheim, author of the 1989 New York Times best seller, Contract on America, an exposé of organized crime in the United States. He is a retired commissioned officer in the U.S. Public Health Service.

Law Professors Statement

lawprofs@the-rule-of-law.com

<http://www.the-rule-of-law.com/index.html>

Statement by law professors denouncing the Supreme Court Five's unconstitutional decision.

Blind Justice Vigil for Attorneys

512-397-7404

blindjusticevigil@justice.com

<http://www.whyaduck.com/fortunaworks/justice/>

Vigil organized by Austin attorney Nancy Lynch reflecting on the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Bush vs. Gore and its impact on future Constitutional interpretation and the legal profession. Occurs on the 12th of every month during 2001, from 12:15-12:30 p.m. on the steps of county courthouses. First one was Jan. 12, 2001, at the Travis County Courthouse in Austin, Texas.

Green Party of the United States

P.O. Box 18452

Washington, D.C. 20036

202-232-0335

capeconn@attbi.com

<http://www.greenpartyus.org/>

The U.S. Green Party that ran Ralph Nader for president in 2000.

European Federation of Green Parties

European Parliament

room PHS 2C85

rue Wiertz

1047 Brussels Belgium

Fax 32-2-284 91 35

EFGP@europarl.eu.int

<http://www.europeangreens.org>

Organization for growing Green Party movement in Europe.

Green Parties Worldwide

<http://www.greenparties.org/>

Green Parties around the world with links.

Liberals Like Christ

Ray Dubuque

26 Myrtle Ave.

East Haven, CT 06512

Liberator@JoinHUGS.Org

<http://www.joinhugs.org/religiousmenu.htm>

Examines how Christ was really a liberal and not someone who would embrace the bulk of conservatives' causes. Maintained by Ray, who was raised in a very devout Roman Catholic family and spent 12 years in Catholic seminaries. He earned the equivalent of a Master's degree in Theology at Catholic University of America, in D.C., was ordained a priest, and became a seminary professor. He later became a minister in the United Methodist Church.

Bibliography

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