



PRAccess

Published by Political Research Associates SPRING/SUMMER 2003 • Volume No. 2 • Issue No. 1

Resisting Political Repression

Surveillance, infiltration, harassment, media demonization, disruption, police misconduct, excessive use of force, and other repressive

techniques have been used to stifle dissent in the United States since it was founded. Repression appears whenever social and political move-

ments threaten the status quo and challenge the unequal distribution of power and wealth. Every progressive movement has faced political repression, and every progressive movement has — and will — sweep it aside. The sooner activists learn the basics... the faster political repression can be successfully countered.

Brian Glick in *War at Home* outlined the four main repressive techniques used during the FBI's illegal Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO): Infiltration, Psychological Warfare from the Outside, Harassment Through the Legal System, and Extralegal Force and Violence. COINTELPRO officially ran from 1961 until 1975.

After activists exposed COINTELPRO and it was terminated, many of the surveillance and disruption activities previously employed by the FBI were shifted into a network of right-wing "countersubversive"

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

It seems so long ago now. At 5:30 AM, in pitch dark with the temperature at zero, my friends and I waited with other huddled groups for buses to New York. It was February 15, and we were preparing to join a march with no permit in a city on edge, with an elevated terrorism alert in force. No one knew what to expect. My main goal was to express solidarity with millions of antiwar protesters and sympathizers all over the world and to demonstrate that there is also a committed antiwar movement here in the US. Five hours later as we pulled up to the Port Authority, the throngs of dissenters stretching in all directions as far as the eye could see made it obvious that we were going to make our point — big time. We never got anywhere near the rally. My group spent the afternoon on 3rd St., in the midst of a lively and diverse crowd — chanting, shouting, freezing, standing still, shuffling forward and eventually marching freely. We were proud to be part of an unprecedented worldwide call for peace.

Meanwhile PRA Researcher Pam Chamberlain was a few streets over. "While I was standing with hundreds of thousands of others on First Avenue, Pete Seeger came on one of the big video screens and started

to sing. A group of young people next to us stared at his image while Pete led us in song. 'Who's that?' one young man asked his friends. 'Oh him,' came the reply. 'That's someone from WAY, WAY back!' It's truly an intergenerational movement."

International and intergenerational solidarity also describe this year's World Social Forum. In this issue of *PRAccess*, Research Director Nikhil Aziz gives us a glimpse of the huge gathering in Porto Alegre, entitled Another World Is Possible.

"Every progressive movement has faced political repression, and every progressive movement has — and will — sweep it aside," according to Senior Analyst Chip Berlet. See his article Resisting Political Repression (this page) for tips on countering a variety of techniques used to stifle dissent.

Who can predict the challenges we'll face in the weeks and months ahead? Regardless of what happens in the short term, there's reason to hope that the growing numbers of people throughout the world engaged in working for social and economic equality and justice will lead the way toward peace and true security. Another world is possible.

Kate Cloud

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institutions and groups in the private sector. Ross Gelbspan in *Break-Ins, Death Threats and the FBI* showed how clandestine right-wing groups coordinated attacks on the movement against US intervention in Central America while law enforcement and intelligence agencies looked the other way.

At the same time the FBI and other public law enforcement agencies sought to regain authority for spying on dissent by reframing it as leading to criminal activity or as a cover for terrorist violence. In Philadelphia the public and private countersubversion networks worked together. The search warrant used to justify a police raid on the headquarters for the protestors planning demonstrations against the Republican Party convention in the summer of 2000 included false allegations from the Maldon Institute, part of a right-wing intelligence network dating back to the 1960s.

Since the terror attacks on 9/11, the Bush administration has instituted a wide range of repressive measures, continuing a pattern followed by Reagan, Bush, and Clinton. The current wave of government repression has erased all of the safeguards that followed the exposure in the 1970s of the FBI COINTELPRO program, CIA covert operations, and the Watergate "Dirty Tricks" scandal.

PRA has collected much useful information in a special web collection, Security for Activists: Overcoming Repression at: www.publiceye.org/liberty/Security_for_Activists.htm

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PRA: Early Warning System to the Progressive Movement

Sometimes being a visionary hardly seems worth it. In May of 2001, the insert to our fundraising appeal written by our own Jean Hardisty contained the following excerpts. Mind you this was written almost a year before the recent stories on the Project for the New American Century:

Most PRA readers know of the Bush Administration's ideological split between Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense and Gen. Colin Powell, Secretary of State. Rumsfeld, a lifelong hawk, is eager to expand the "War on Terror" by invading Iraq...

In 1997, concerned that Clinton Administration was not articulating a coherent post-Cold War policy for the U.S. internationally, a think tank called the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) met quietly to formulate a competing doctrine... It called for the U.S. to take its place in history as the dominant global force and achieve greatness by being bold and purposeful. Signers of the statement of principles included Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Donald Rumsfeld, Elliot Abrams of the Reagan State Department, who repeatedly misled Congress about the abuses of the Salvadoran military during the Contra War in Central America, Jeb Bush, and Frank Gaffney, president of the right-wing Center for Security Policy.

One component of the new doctrine is the idea of "limited sovereignty," which asserts that a country only enjoys sovereignty if those governing it do not harbor or aid terrorists.... Another component if the doctrine is that when the U.S. decides to act militarily, it will assemble "a coalition of the willing." That is, those who are with us are welcome to join; those who are not are of no consequence.

...the foreign policy doctrine gaining ascendance inside the administration is frighteningly coherent. But it can be stopped if public opinion strongly opposes it.

Playfully, many of our friends and supporters call Jean the "Queen of Gloom" because of the foreboding scenarios she lays out in describing the political landscape. She's not only ahead of her time, she's often right.

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Another World IS Possible: World Social Forum III, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2003

I attended the third World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, from 22-29 January 2003 on behalf of PRA. I went as a member of the Grassroots Global Justice delegation which comprised people from across the United States representing a variety of social justice movements. A significant number were young people, many of whom were first-time travelers outside the United States.

This was also my first time to Brazil, and I was very excited to be going to the WSF after Lula's (Luis Ignacio "Lula" DaSilva) election as president of Brazil. Lula, who won an overwhelming victory in the Fall of 2002, was the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT-Workers' Party) candidate. Additionally, Porto Alegre was ruled by the PT, and had initiated a participatory budget process where citizens get to determine budget priorities and spending.

That same sense of excitement and hope pervaded the entire country and the WSF, which drew about 100,000 people from around the world. Despite the enormous pressure such numbers must have put on the city and its residents, delegates felt very welcomed—the city's official slogan for the WSF was "Porto Alegre embraces the World." Yet, in the midst of the post-election fervor, Brazilians and visitors alike were cautious in their hope that the PT and Lula would make good on their promises for moving Brazil forward on issues of social and economic justice. So much so, that Lula felt

compelled to come to Porto Alegre before going to the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland, to explain to a crowd of 100,000 why he was going; and that he was carrying the message of the WSF to the WEF.

Of course, there were problems. Brazil's indigenous peoples and Afro-Brazilians were disproportionately underrepresented in the process and actual events at the WSF. Panels were cancelled at the last minute (over 2,000 had been scheduled) and there were scheduling problems.

For example, Egyptian scholar Samir Amin found himself on four panels in four different roles at one time! Others pointed out that the WSF alternative was itself getting institutionalized and mainstreamed.

Two panels, of the many I attended, stand out for me. The first featured Uruguayan author Eduardo Galeano and Brazilian scholar Leonardo Boff, one of the fathers of Liberation Theology. The second had Indian author Arundhati Roy, Noam Chomsky, and (via letter) Evo Morales, a peasant leader in the

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Another Warning We Wish We Didn't Have To Make

Last summer we published a special report called *The Pioneer Institute, Privatizing the Common Wealth*. A case study of one state-level think tank's influence on government policy, the report examines how the libertarian free-market ideas advocated by the Pioneer Institute have taken hold in Massachusetts.

"One of the fundamental changes wrought by Pioneer and its supporters has been a massive shift of public funds from democratically accountable institutions to private, often for-profit entities such as charter schools or corporate-run health care centers," according to co-author Paul Dunphy.

Recent events are reinforcing the report's conclusions. A recent Boston Globe (3/17/03) headline reads, "Pioneer group's voice grows stronger." The pull out quote: 'Now you're facing a budget crisis...and people are much more receptive to ideas for restructuring government.' (Stephen Adams, Pioneer Institute CEO). The article describes "the institute's core policies – shrinking government and applying free-market principles to what is left" as finding an especially warm welcome from Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, "even while they are denounced as extremist by labor groups and teachers."

Wherever you are located in the US, chances are there's a state-level think tank influencing your state government to shrink government by cutting taxes and public services. You can find out more about this growing threat to the social fabric by ordering the Pioneer Report, and by exploring the PRA web site: www.publiceye.org.



Another World *continued from page 3*

fight against water privatization and U.S. imperialism from Bolivia. There were 15-20,000 people packed inside, with thousands more crowded outside watching on TV monitors. An overwhelming number of those present were young people, mostly Brazilians and other Latin Americans who were familiar with the work of Galeano, Boff, Roy, Chomsky, and Morales! And, who were radicalized and committed to global social justice and against U.S. imperialism and corporate globalization. This was, for me, the most energizing and revitalizing aspect of the WSF.

- Nikhil Aziz

Where Does Your Money Go?

Many donors, as they are about to give to their favorite non-profit, mask themselves “Where does my money go?” When you give to PRA, you help us inform activists, media and the public of the dangers of scapegoating immigrants and government repression. But what does that really mean?

Our new Activist Resource Kit, *Defending Immigrant Rights*, helped people respond to the anti-immigrant assault post 9.11, and find answers and resources. CNN, looking for information on the White Order of Thule, contacted Chip Berlet for an interview airing in July. Jean Hardisty travels the country, helping progressive funders strategize ways of improving their grantmaking. You ensure that our unique analysis, honed by 21 years of experience, will continue to be heard. In short, it means our work truly wouldn't be possible without your support.

Your tax-deductible gift, of whatever size, shows that you want to make a difference and truly value our work. Aside from the good feeling you get from supporting PRA, your donation of \$50 or more gets you a subscription to *The Public Eye*, featuring in-depth articles, book reviews, resources and more!

If you've recently made a gift to PRA I want to thank you again for your generosity. If you've never given, or it's been a while, I hope you'll consider including PRA in your giving plans. Progressives across the country are counting on it!

- Allen Jackson

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On the Horizon

Racism in Foreign Policy!

Our own Nikhil Aziz will author a thought-provoking piece exploring racism and U.S. foreign policy in the next issue of *The Public Eye*. The next issue will also feature Matthew Lyons on homeland security, and our always informative book reviews. Definitely not to be missed!

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The following books are a good place to start more detailed research:

- Chang, Nancy. (2002). *Silencing Political Dissent: How Post-September 11 Anti-Terrorism Measures Threaten Our Civil Liberties*. New York: Seven Stories.
- Churchill, Ward and Jim Vander Wall. (1988). *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*. Boston: South End Press.
- Dempsey, James X. and David Cole. (2002). *Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security*. Los Angeles: First Amendment Foundation.
- Donner, Frank J. (1980). *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Gelbspan, Ross. (1991). *Break-Ins, Death Threats and the FBI: The Covert War Against the Central America Movement*. Boston: South End Press.
- Glick, Brian. (1989). *War at Home: Covert Action Against U. S. Activists and What We Can Do About It*. Boston: South End Press.

– Chip Berlet

PRAccess

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PRAccess is a publication of:

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© Political Research Associates Spring/Summer 2003
ISSN 1543-575X





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1310 Broadway, Suite 201
Somerville, Massachusetts 02144-1731

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A REPORT FROM POLITICAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

By Paul Dunphy with Mark Umri Perkins
JULY, 2002



“One of the fundamental changes wrought by Pioneer and its supporters has been a massive shift of public funds from democratically accountable institutions to private, often for-profit entities such as charter schools or corporate-run health care centers.

In education alone, close to \$600 million has been diverted to charter schools, which are answerable not to their community or any democratically elected body, but only to an appointed Board of Education, whose members are largely aligned with Pioneer.

Contrary to Pioneer’s claims, its initiatives have meant higher costs, less access to schools and services (charters are free to limit enrollment) and reduced public scrutiny.

The recent wave of corporate scandals emphasizes, again, the importance of public accountability, and makes it clear that Pioneer is pushing Massachusetts in the wrong direction.”

— Paul Dunphy, Co-author

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