

Our Little Secrets

IT REALLY WAS A COUP

Can you imagine if it was the other way round, and it was Bush who'd won the popular vote but lost the electoral college after a US Supreme Court dominated by Democratic appointees had voted 5-4 to stop counting votes likely to assure a Republican victory in, let us say, Illinois? We think we can safely guarantee that the Republicans would not be taking the soft path of "coming together" and reconciliation. They would be screaming about stolen elections, constitutional illegitimacy and pledging to resist the "coup" by any means necessary. By now we would have had the Republicans in both House and Senate vowing to boycott the Inauguration. Unlike the Democrats, Republicans take losing and winning seriously.

You can tell the Republicans know this is going to look bad in the history books. Why else have they floated the notion that it might be wise, in the interests of civic tranquillity, to put all Florida's ballots under lock and key for all eternity? It seems that Christie Todd Whitman, the governor of New Jersey, first put the idea up on MSNBC, claiming that a recount of the sort promised by the Miami Herald

would somehow delegitimize the Bush presidency. Then Jennifer Dunn, the right-wing Republican from Washington state, hammered the point home by announcing on Capitol Hill Gang that "Those ballots are going to be sealed right after the election."

You'll note that neither Whitman nor Dunn entertain any romantic notion that a recount of Florida's ballots would propel George W. Bush into an assured and unchallengeable majority. Florida would certainly have reflected Gore's popular victory across the rest of the country, by a margin that has now risen to 540,435 votes. A useful article in the Philadelphia Inquirer by John Duchneskie and Stephen Seplov gives us the final official national tally with all absentee ballots counted. According to The Inquirer's review, Gore has 50,977,109 votes to 50,436,674 for Bush, thus giving a margin way wider than that enjoyed by Kennedy over Nixon, which was 119,450.

NO CLOSURE, NO PEACE

Back in the 1980s we radicals used to write about "demonstration elections", (title of a useful book by Frank Brodhead and Edward Herman) conducted in Central American countries such as El Salvador at the instigation of the US government and micromanaged by the CIA. After the money was appropriately spread around, the opposition's more tenacious and principled leaders either butchered by death squads or driven underground, and the unruly poor thoroughly intimidated, the election ritual would take place amid complacent orations about the democratic way from North American commentators.

We've just had a peaceful and non-lethal version of these "demonstration elections" in the state of Florida and no calls for closure will erase that national disgrace, least of all in the minds of those who were denied their democratic rights. Don't forget, as we narrated in our last issue, beyond those who made it to the polls in Florida, there were those denied even the dubious benefits of that access. It was only after Gore had conceded that mainstream media began to concentrate on this story. For example, Jim Lehrer devoted an hour to it three days after the Prince of Tennessee finally fell upon his sword.

A FRAUD CALLED SCALIA

So far as the Florida decisions are concerned Scalia should certainly have recused himself since he had more than one conflict of interest. For example: on November 7 his son John joined the Miami law firm Greenberg, Traurig. The following day Barry Richard, a partner in that firm, said he was called to represent Bush in Florida.

Clarence Thomas's wife has been working for the Heritage Foundation which is putting forward resumes for appointments in the Bush administration. Section 455 of Title 28 of the United States' code requires recusal if a spouse has "an interest that could substantially be affected by the outcome of the proceedings." Other family relations, such as Scalia's, can cause for recusal. Scalia has leaked stories to the effect that if Gore were to be elected he would leave the Court.

The weeks since November 7 have entirely vindicated the accuracy of Nader's assault on the corruption of the two party system. We've seen Republicans toss aside their supposed dedication to states' rights, same as did Scalia as he bent his supposed principles to elect a President he hopes will make him Chief Justice. We've seen Democrats equally eager to assert states' rights, while exhibiting absolutely no disquiet about the actual application of states' rights in Florida, meaning the racist efforts described above to stop blacks and other minorities from voting at all. Not a word from Gore on this. Honesty is divisive. It was a "demonstration election" in every sense of the word. It demonstrated how rotten the whole system is.

THE CURSE OF CONSTRUCTIVE CONSENSUS

The air is thick with pieties about "healing the nation", and "ending partisan bickering". President-elect George Bush distilled this mush last Wednesday night into the narcotic slogan, "constructive consensus".

But what will all this treacle amount to when Democratic and Republican legislators start hunkering down with Bush's new cabinet appointments to stake out "common ground"? In fact the Clinton administration, triangulating its way through the Nineties, has given us a good preview. Consensus amounts to the usual collective enterprise of gouging the poor to refresh the rich, and to pillaging nature at the behest of oil companies, real estate barons and big timber.

The genius of the Clinton administration was to coat this deal-making with a patina

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If, despite the political cover afforded by consensualism, Bush starts to catch flak from the greens, he can always resort to the maneuver practised by Clinton: create a National Monument.

of green. Take the outgoing administration's approach towards endangered species that have the misfortune to cling to existence on terrain in private ownership. The way the Endangered Species Act was intended to work, no private owner could undertake any activity that put the species at risk.

Enter Al Gore and Clinton's Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. Back in the dawn of the Clinton era, amid the same bonhomous chatter about constructive consensus these two Democrats got together with California governor Pete Wilson and hatched the so-called Multiple Species Conservation Plan.

Amid thickets of enviro-bureaucratise about "habitat conservation plans" (HCPs), "whole habitats" and "managing for ecosystems and not individual species", this ended up as the usual "win-win" solution whereby the developers in Southern California got a green light to build, plus a "takings" permit which is a license to kill any inconvenient species on that land. Aside from the takings permit the species didn't get much beyond a landfill, a golf course, an interstate clover-leaf, or a culvert under the interstate officially labelled a "wildlife corridor".

Anyone wanting to look a look at what consensus and "win-win" achieved in San Diego county, home to more endangered species than any other county in the US, should drive down to the intersection of the San Diego Freeway and Routes 805 and 56 and look west to the ecological corpse of Carmel Mountain, who travails were brilliantly described by Professor Susan Davis of UCSD here in CounterPunch last February.

This initial foray into "constructive consensus" proved so successful that corporations across the country began hammering on Babbitt's door asking to get HCPs of their own. Amid a shower of soft money corporation donations to the Democratic National Committee, plus flattering nonsense in the press, Babbitt has been only too pleased to satisfy their demands.

Since 1993 there have now been more than 200 HCPs launched covering more than 10 million acres of endangered habitat coast to coast, with the corporate beneficiaries including such notorious predators as Weyerhaeuser, Boise Cascade and Maxxam.

So much for precedent. Assuredly, these

Habitat Conservation Plans will continue to flourish in ongoing consensual harmony. What else may we expect?

BIPARTISANSHIP ON COLOMBIA

One overseas zone for constructive consensus may well involve terrain of interest to the Gore family, now scheduled to be back in Tennessee mending fences figurative and literal, also figuring out how to make a living. Already forming a decent slice of the Gore family portfolio is its investment in Occidental Petroleum, whose fortunes the vice president magnificently augmented by privatizing the Elk Hills oil reserve near Bakersfield, to the great profit of Occidental, which took over the previously publicly owned, and greatly undervalued reserve.

The Elk Hills sale amounted to the largest privatization of a public asset in the history of the republic, and paves the way for a federal eBay auction in the Bush years of other public assets.

Part of claimed Occidental assets is land in Colombia which is the traditional home of the U'wa Indians, who have been demonstrating fiercely against Occidental's plan (backed by the Colombian military and paramilitary death squads) to extract oil. On November 3, Occidental started drilling its Gibraltar-1 well, and the U'wa are still pledging to commit mass suicide if such drilling continues.

Using the pretext of the war on drugs the Clinton administration earlier this year sent \$1.1 billion to back the Colombian military and its death squads. We can now expect constructive consensus to continue, with more money and military supplies and covert personnel being dispatched to Colombia to attack the guerilla movements and any peasants unlucky enough to get in the way. Wholesale destruction of peasant crops will continue courtesy of US-supplied bio-weapons supposedly intended for coca plants but utterly indiscriminate in their effect.

SOUL BREAUX

With the Texans heading en masse into government, energy policy will be on the front burner as a target for accelerated corporate predation. The lead Democratic

consensualist here will be Senator John Breaux of Louisiana, a leading light of Clinton, Gore and Lieberman's haunt, the Democratic Leadership Council.

Schooled at the knee of that mighty pro-consul of the oil patch, Bennett Johnson, Breaux has become the energy sector's favorite Democrat. Working with oil man and shadow president Dick Cheney, Breaux and his Democratic allies will no doubt pursue such avenues of consensus as:

- oil production in Alaska. This has always been an explosive issue, because it is anathema to greens and highly desired by the oil industry. But Breaux could build on a solution already put into play by the Clinton crowd. Hold off on drilling in the contentious Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWAR) and proceed with Babbitt's plan to exploit the oil resources some hundred miles to the west, in the old Navy Reserve, now known as the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska. This is 24 million acres and even though it is as ecologically pristine as ANWAR it has the huge advantage, from the point of view of the politico-corporate predators, of being unknown.

- natural gas extraction. The targets here are likely to be the natural gas reserves in the Gulf of Mexico and on public lands in the Rocky Mountain region. With natural gas prices soaring through the roof and with Gore himself having anointed natural gas as a virtuous fuel, it will be easy for the Cheney-Breaux consensualists to give the natural gas companies everything they want: expanded production in publicly-owned reserves and a new round of tax breaks and incentives.

If, despite the political cover afforded by consensualism, Bush starts to catch flak from the green groups, he can always resort to the maneuver practised by Clinton. Every two years designate a few more National Monuments. They look good, they sound good and unlike National Parks or Wilderness Areas, their status offers no impediment to orderly pillage, by oil, gas and coal extractors.

Consensus. We've been on the receiving end for the past eight years. In any showdown between consensus and gridlock, all greens should vote for gridlock as though their lives depended on it.CP

A CounterPunch Decenary

Here's this year's CounterPunch list of ten groups that deserve your support. As always, we encourage you to pass up the outfits with big staffs and excessive overhead in favor of these lean and hardy battlers for the public good. With one exception, the Mintwood collective, all have 501 c 3 tax exempt status. In the case of Save Our Forests donors should contact McPetridge on the question of tax status.

Buffalo Field Campaign

POB 957

West Yellowstone, MT 59758

(406) 646-0070

<http://www.wildrockies.org/buffalo/>

The conquest of the American West started with the extermination of the buffalo. That slaughter continues, as the Department of Interior and Montana Department of Livestock pursue a policy of capturing and killing all buffalo that leave the boundary of Yellowstone National Park, supposedly to keep the animals from spreading brucellosis to cattle. During winter the buffalo often migrate down out of the deep snows of Yellowstone onto national forest lands in search of forage. When they do, they enter a free-fire zone. The science is fuzzy, but that hasn't slowed the slaughter. But the Buffalo Field Campaign has.

This courageous group sets up camp in a cabin in West Yellowstone. Each morning during the winter months, they strap on cross country skis and enter Yellowstone Park in search of the buffalo. Their objective, often at risk of arrest or injury, is to guide the herds away from the capture pens and the killing zones. Over the past three years, the brave souls at the Buffalo Field Campaign have saved the lives of hundreds of buffalo. This winter appears to be an exceptionally harsh one, with deep snows and frigid temperatures and the potential for more than a quarter of Yellowstone's shrinking buffalo herd to be captured and killed.

Citizens United for Alternatives to the Death Penalty

PMB 297 177 U.S. Hwy #1

Tequesta, FL 33469

(800) 973-6548

<http://www.cuadp.org/>

Citizens United for Alternatives to the

Death Penalty, headquartered in the state of Florida, is run by Abe Bonowitz who has been working to educate the public about human rights problems, in particular the death penalty, for over 12 years. Bonowitz gained first hand knowledge of the issue by working in the death penalty section of the Ohio Public Defender Commission, with murder victims' family members, and with death row inmates in Alabama, California, Florida, Ohio, Texas and other states as well. He appears briefly in the film "Dead Man Walking" and has worked closely on several projects with Helen Prejean, CSJ.

Glen Canyon Action Network

PO Box 466, Moab UT 84532

(435) 259-1063

www.drainit.org

Before David Brower died, he passed the torch to two of his feistiest followers, David Orr and Owen Lammers, who have made it their mission to complete the task Brower had assigned for himself: draining Lake Powell and restoring one of the world's great rivers, the Colorado. Orr and Lammers are militant, creative and have an impressive track record of victories. They decided to set up shop for their new group, the Glen Canyon Action Network, in the very belly of the beast, Moab, Utah. In little over a year, GCAN has already begun to work on a number of fronts, promoting river restoration throughout the Colorado River basin. In addition to educating the public about the need to decommission the wasteful Glen Canyon Dam and Lake Powell reservoir, they are pushing for immediate restoration of the Colorado River delta in northwest Mexico by restoring flows to the now-dry riverbed.

Homes Not Jails

P.O. Box 390351, Cambridge, MA

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(617) 287-9494

email: red@iww.org

Homelessness has slipped off the radar of the press and the big foundations which made it a cause celebre during Reagan time. But the situation is as bad, if not worse, as it was in the early 1980s. With a recession looming and the safety-net of the welfare system dismantled, the few years could see a new surge in home-

lessness.

Homes Not Jails was formed in 1992 to advocate for the use of vacant and abandoned housing for people who are homeless. To demonstrate the availability of vacant housing and to promote proposals to utilize the housing, HNJ publicly occupies vacant buildings. These are civil disobedience actions. Over the years, there have been many such occupations. HNJ simultaneously opens up vacant buildings and helps people who are homeless move in. Since 1992, hundreds of these "squats" have been opened. Many have lasted for years and recently Homes Not Jails filed for legal ownership (after paying the property taxes) of a squat opened in 1993, a process known as adverse possession. HNJ has branches in San Francisco, Boston and Washington, DC.

Kensington Welfare Rights Union

P.O. Box 50678 Philadelphia PA 19132

(215) 203-1945

<http://www.libertynet.org/kwru>

One of the best and most deserving grassroots organizations in the country, the Kensington Welfare Rights Union is a multi-racial organization by and for poor and homeless people. KWRU is dedicated to organizing of welfare recipients, the homeless, the working poor and all people concerned with economic justice.

Lead organizer Cheri Honkala was one of the first arrested at the WTO protests in Seattle, and one of the few they tried to prosecute. That didn't stop her from giving what many consider the best speech at the IMF protests in DC and then leading the protests and marches at the RNC convention in Philadelphia.

KWRU is mainly based in Kensington, a neighborhood in North Philadelphia. Once a center for manufacturing, Kensington is now the poorest district in the state of Pennsylvania. Throughout its history, KWRU has constantly been in motion, meeting the basic needs of its members and pressing for political and social change on all fronts. Tent cities, housing takeovers, and free food distribution are just a few of the facets of this fight. "In everything we do, as we struggle to meet our basic needs we are also fighting to build a movement to end poverty in this country", says Honkala.

Save Our Forests and Ranchlands

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