

**Ann Arbor City Council Session: August 5, 2010  
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| 8:15 PM       | 8:15 PM   | Hiefje, John   | Wiggert, Beth   |  | Email address and property address            | Privacy              |

**Greenshields, Rachel**

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**From:** Global Directory Invitation Dept. [info@bigcitymedia.net]  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 9:46 PM  
**To:** Taylor, Christopher (Council)  
**Subject:** Christopher : Your Invitation Into Our Global Directory

Dear Christopher,

You were recently chosen as a potential candidate to represent your professional community in the 2011 Edition of **The Global Directory of Who's Who Online**.

We are pleased to inform you that your candidacy was formally *approved* August 1st, 2010. Congratulations.

The Publishing Committee selected you as a potential candidate based not only upon your current standing, but focusing as well on criteria from executive and professional directories, associations, and trade journals. Given your background, the Director believes your profile makes a fitting addition to our publication and our online network.

There is no fee nor obligation to be listed. As we are working off of secondary sources, we must receive verification from you that your profile is accurate. After receiving verification, we will validate your online listing within 7 business days.

Once finalized, your listing will share prominent registry space with thousands of fellow accomplished individuals across the globe, each representing accomplishment within their own geographical area.

**To verify your profile and accept the candidacy, please [visit here](#).**

Our registration deadline for this year's candidates is August 30th, 2010. To ensure you are included, we must receive your verification on or before this date. On behalf of our Committee I salute your achievement and welcome you to our association.

Sincerely,  
John Franklin  
Vice President, Research Division

**The Global Directory of Who's Who**  
4250 Veterans Highway, Suite 2050  
Holbrook, NY 11741, USA

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## Greenshields, Rachel

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**From:** moderator@PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:20 PM  
**To:** PORTSIDE@LISTS.PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Subject:** The U.S. & Yemen: A "lethal blend"

The U.S. & Yemen: A "lethal blend"

by Conn Hallinan

submitted to Portside by the author

Foreign Policy in Focus

August 5, 2010

[http://www.fpif.org/blog/Yemen\\_JSOC\\_civil\\_war\\_President\\_Saleh](http://www.fpif.org/blog/Yemen_JSOC_civil_war_President_Saleh)

How involved is the U.S. military in Yemen, and is the Obama Administration laying the groundwork for a new foreign adventure? According to several news agencies, including Agence France Presse, UPI and the Washington Post, very involved and likely to be more so in the future.

"U.S. military teams and intelligence agencies are deeply involved in secret joint operations with Yemeni troops," says Dana Priest, the Post's ace intelligence and military affairs reporter, including "the U.S. military's clandestine Joint Special Operations Command, whose main mission is tracking and killing suspected terrorists."

The quarry of these assassination teams are supposed leaders of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), but the deepening U.S. alliance with the authoritarian government of Yemen may soon entangle it in two complex civil wars—a rising by disenfranchised Shiites in the north, and an increasingly powerful secession movement in the country's south.

According to UPI, the White House is quietly expanding "the footprint" of "elite forces inside Yemen." One military official told the news agency, "The numbers are definitely going to grow." The Obama administration increased "security" funds for Yemen from \$67 million to \$150 million.

Navy Seals, Delta Force troops, and intelligence units are working closely with the government of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, providing weapons, training and intelligence. And sometimes more.

On Dec. 17, 2009, a U.S. BGM-109D Tomahawk cruise missile attacked the village of al-Maajala in south Yemen, killing 55 people, the bulk of them women and children. The Tomahawk—launched from a U.S. surface ship or submarine—was armed with a cluster warhead that spread a storm of razor sharp steel and incendiary material over 500 square feet.

Amnesty International's Mike Lewis said his organization was "gravely concerned by evidence that cluster munitions appear to have been used in Yemen," because "cluster munitions have indiscriminate effects and unexploded bomblets threaten lives and livelihoods for years afterwards."

The target was a supposed al-Qaeda training camp, but the Saleh government draws no distinction between AQAP and the Southern Movement (SM), a group advocating an independent south Yemen. The SM has a long list of grievances reflecting problems going back to 1990 when North Yemen and the southern Democratic People's Republic of Yemen were unified.

That merger between the conservative north and the better educated and socialist south was never a comfortable one and led to a particularly nasty civil war in 1994. The north won that war by using jihadists freshly returned from fighting the Russians in Afghanistan. Since the end of that four-month war, the SM charges that the north siphons off the south's oil without adequate compensation, discriminates against southerners on access to jobs, and has cornered the country's vanishing water supplies. Southern protests are met with tear gas and guns, and, according to SM leaders, some 1,500 "secessionists" have been imprisoned and more than a hundred killed.

According to UPI, "The [Saleh] regime's heavy-handed response to the southerners has only fueled the demand for independence and encouraged the disparate southern groups to come together."

Saleh claims the SM is closely tied to AQAP, which immediately gets Washington's attention, and has allowed his government to tap into the resources of the American "war on terrorism." Southern independence leaders, like Tariq al-Fadhli, deny any ties to AQAP and say the Southern Movement is non-violent. Whether it will remain so under the Saleh government's continued assaults is an open question. The December cruise missile strike is not likely to encourage pacifism.

The fighting in the north between the Saleh government based in the capital, Sanaa, and the Shiite Houthi, who inhabit the north's forbidding terrain, is long-standing. While Saleh and his supporters in Saudi Arabia say Iran is stirring up the trouble, there is no evidence for ties between Iran and the Houthi. The tensions between the Saleh government and the Houthi are local and generally have to do with access to political power. But by bringing Iran into the picture, Saleh can claim he is fighting terrorism, thus making his regime eligible for arms, intelligence, and training.

The U.S. is ratcheting up the use of Special Operations Forces (SOF) worldwide. The administration has increased the number of countries in which SOFs are deployed from 60 to 75, and upped the SOF budget 5.7% to \$6.3 billion for 2011.

The White House also added an additional \$3.5 billion for SOFs to its 2010 budget.

One military official told the Washington Post that the Obama administration had given the military "more access"

than former President George W. Bush. "They [the Obama administration] are talking publicly much less but that are acting more. They are willing to get aggressive much more quickly."

In a recent talk that sounded very much like the Bush administration's doctrine of pre-emptive war, the White House's counterterrorism expert John Q. Brennan said that U.S. strategy was not to just "respond after the fact to terrorism," but to "take the fight to al-Qaeda and its extremist affiliates, whether they plot and train in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, and beyond."

If the U.S. does increase its military footprint in Yemen, it will be expending hundreds of millions of dollars in the poorest country in the region, a country where 40 percent of its 22 million residents are jobless and where water is becoming a scarce commodity. The U.S. shares much of the blame for the current economic crisis in Yemen. When Yemen refused to support the 1991 Gulf War against Saddam Hussein, Saudi Arabia expelled 850,000 Yemeni workers, and the U.S. cut \$70 million in foreign aid. The effect of both actions was catastrophic, and Yemen never recovered from the one-two blow.

U.S. support for the Saleh regime will inevitably draw it into the conflicts in the north and the south, with disastrous results for all parties.

"In Yemen the U.S. will be intervening on one side in a country which is always in danger of sliding into a civil war," says the Independent's Middle East reporter Patrick Cockburn. "This has happened before. In Iraq the U.S. was the supporter of the Shia Arabs and Kurds against the Sunni Arabs. In Afghanistan it is the ally of the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazara against the Pushtun community. Whatever the intentions of Washington, its participation in these civil conflicts

destabilizes the country because one side becomes labeled as the quisling supporter of a foreign invader.  
Communal and nationalist antipathies combine to create a lethal blend."

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[Conn Hallinan is currently a columnist for Foreign Policy In Focus (FPIF.com), a "think tank without walls." FPIF is associated with the Institute for Policy Study and draws together more than 600 foreign policy analysts from around the world to examine U.S. foreign policy. Hallinan is also a columnist for the Berkeley Daily Planet, and an occasional free lance medical policy writer. He is a recipient of a Project Censored "Real News Award." He formally ran the journalism program at the University of California at Santa Cruz, where he was also a college provost. He holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of California at Berkeley, and lives in Berkeley, California.

Read more of Conn Hallinan essays can at Dispatches from the Edge, where he can also be contacted.]

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## Greenshields, Rachel

**From:** moderator@PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:22 PM  
**To:** PORTSIDE@LISTS.PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Subject:** Were You Born on the Wrong Continent? How Europe builds better products for better lives

Were You Born on the Wrong Continent? How Europe builds better products for better lives

What We Can Learn: An Excerpt from Were You Born on the Wrong Continent? How Europe builds better products for better lives.

By Thomas Geoghegan

In These Times

July 26, 2010

[http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/6194/what\\_we\\_can\\_learn](http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/6194/what_we_can_learn)

Americans may believe the United States is set up for the middle class, and Europe is set up for the bourgeois. Or let's put it this way: America is a great place to buy kitty litter at Wal-Mart and relatively cheap gas. But it is not designed for me, a professional without a lot of money. That's who Europe is for: people like me.

OK, as a union-side lawyer, Europe's really set up for people like my clients, or those who used to be my clients before the unions in America collapsed. Let's put my own self-interest aside: Where would my clients, who are not poor, who make \$30,000 to \$50,000 a year and yet keep coming up short, maybe by \$100, \$200 a month, really be better off?

That's easy: Europe. I can answer that as their lawyer, the way a doctor could answer about their health. The bottom two-thirds of America would be better off in Europe. I mean the people who have not had a raise (an hourly raise in real dollars) in maybe 40 years, and who do not even have a 401(k), nothing but Social Security, and either have no health insurance or pay deductibles of \$2,000 or more. Sure, they'd be better off in Europe. When unemployed, they'd certainly be better off in Europe. Over there, even single men can get on welfare. And in much of Europe, contrary to what we hear, unemployment is much lower than over here.

One of the ways Europe is set up for the bourgeois - including, perhaps, many readers of this magazine - is the very fact that it is also set up for people who make \$50,000 or below. Since it's set up for these people too, the bourgeois - me, maybe you - get the political cover to have it set up for them. What the people-in-the-unions get, people-from-the-good-schools also get. (And indeed, in Europe people-in-the-unions are often people-from-the-good-schools.) They get the six weeks of vacation each year and the pension like a golden parachute. And the higher up we are in terms of income, the more valuable these things are. In America, they don't tell us: Social democracy, or socialism, or whatever Europe has, pays off biggest for people in the upper middle class, those just below the top. Public and private wealth.

Public and private wealth

Take Zurich and Chicago. One looks good and the other, broken down. If America has such a famously high GDP per capita and Chicago is one of America's crown jewels, maybe there is something wrong with using GDP per capita as an index of social well-being. It's not that the numbers "lie" in any crude way, but past a certain point, maybe these numbers mislead us as to where we're better off. For to look at the numbers, who would guess that Zurich looks gloriously like Zurich all over, and that Chicago looks glorious in Lincoln Park, dumpy west of Pulaski Avenue, and gulag-like by 26th and California? But forget the look of the place. It's also the way of life.

The numbers say, on paper, I have a better way of life in Chicago. But are these numbers right? It may be that, past a certain level, an increase in GDP per capita pushes my living standard down. I don't mean this in a spiritual sense

- I mean it in a cold, neutral, out-of-pocket sense.

Example: If I make more by working longer, I might subcontract out more of my life and incur other "costs,"

like losing a trip to Zurich, which may be of far more value than the extra income. Or another example: If I get a raise, I might be worse off. I might widen the gap in income with others around me. Who cares? Well, by doing this, I might be spreading poverty, which, like everything, is relative: I might make my public space more of a hellhole than before.

People at the libertarian Cato Institute love to scoff: "Oh, our poor in America are so well off in GDP per capita." Go ahead. Argue. I'll let you win. But I dare the Cato types, when the argument is over, to go outside and walk around some Chicago neighborhoods.

In other words, the further ahead we get, the more our standard of living drops. Let's say, as a European, I work 1,500 hours a year. Now, let's put me at 1,800 or even 2,300 hours, like many Americans. While I've moved to higher GDP per capita, I don't have:

\* Six weeks off.

\* A perfect cup of coffee to sip at some place other than the office.

\* A city to inhale like a bank of violets.

In 2005, the real hourly wage for production workers in America was approximately 8 percent lower than it was in 1973, while our national output (productivity) per hour is 55 percent higher. So it's dubious whether most Americans have gained even a penny in purchasing power since 1989. And even skewed by all this U.S.-type inequality, we understate what Europeans at the "middling" level are able to get for free, i.e., publicly provided goods like education, healthcare, cities like banks of violets. Even apart from the grotesque U.S. social inequality, the net purchasing power disparity after we toss in the public goods is not so great.

Or maybe I mean this: Europe has a kind of invisible GDP, which we don't know how to count. The ambitious European who might want to work 2,300 hours may be the luckiest to escape his or her fate under the U.S. model. When that person has 700 more hours a year, to learn an extra language, to go to Sri Lanka, or just to read, it's that high achiever who may be best off under the European model.

It's no accident that the social democracies - Sweden, France and Germany, who kept on paying high wages - now have more industry than the United States or the UK. During the '70s, '80s and '90s, the Anglo-Americans, the neoliberals, The Economist crowd, and the press generally, would taunt the social democrats in Europe: "You'd better break the unions." That's the way to save your industry.

Indeed, that's what the United States and the UK did: They smashed the unions, in the belief that they had to compete on cost. The result? They quickly ended up wrecking their industrial base. But Germany, Sweden and France ignored the advice of the Anglo-Americans, the Financial Times elite, the banking industry: Contrary to what they were told to do, they did not wreck their unions.



And it was the high labor cost that pushed those countries into making higher "value-added" things. Where is Germany competitive? It's in high-end, precision machinery, made by people with the highest skills. It's in engineering services. People look at Germany and say, "What about the German unemployment?" But no one in the United States ever says, "What about the German labor shortages?"

Even in 2008, precisely because of "globalization," Germany had a serious shortage of people able to fill high-skill, high-paying jobs, especially engineers. In the United States, engineers complain they can't find work; many of them just end up in sales. In the union-free, lower-cost United States, we don't create the kind of jobs engineers can do. Germany's problem? It has too many such jobs. It's our whole globalization thesis turned upside down.

That leads to a seeming paradox: Higher labor costs can make a country more, not less, competitive. In many ways, the United States and the UK got out of manufacturing because their labor costs were too low. I have spent my life watching plants close in Milwaukee and Waukegan, where skilled labor was paid \$26 an hour, only to reopen in Georgia and North Carolina, where it was paid \$8 an hour. While still fighting over severance two years later, we get the news: The company is bankrupt. The products it makes so cheaply are now crap.

#### The German model

In the United States, our elite, scoffing, says that there is just not enough labor-market flexibility in a country like Germany to allow it to adapt to globalization as we do. But it's precisely because of our flexibility that we can't compete. What the laws manage to do in Germany is to keep people together and to hold onto their skills in groups. Co-determination and works councils - in other words, worker control - keep people in groups, rubbing elbows with each other, and all this rubbing of elbows helps build up human capital.

Indeed, for some economists this is now a fashionable idea. Think of all the buzz about the "knowledge" economy, which, in the world of academic economists, is an inquiry into how knowledge drives economic growth. David Warsh in his 2006 book, *Knowledge and the Wealth of Nations*, introduces us to economists trying to untangle the connections between the kind of knowledge that comes from groups and economic growth.

German worker control contributes to a group interaction that over time not only builds up but also protects a certain amount of human capital, especially in engineering and quality control. This kind of knowledge is not just individual but group knowledge. It's the kind of group knowledge that our efficient, "flexible" labor markets so readily break up and disperse. It's our flexible labor markets that make it so hard for the United States and the UK to compete. We spend vastly more on basic research than the Germans do - U.S. companies are unrivaled. We spend far more on higher education. But with our flexible labor markets, we're unable to capitalize on this research and education. Sometimes we try the Japanese model of work, but we never try the German, because we don't want to cede any real control to workers. Supposedly it's a great mystery why Germans keep investing in manufacturing and even prospering, despite the claims that the German education system is broken (OK, it needs help) and they aren't spending enough on research (OK, they aren't). But they're doing something right. What is distinctive about Germany is the privileged position the worker has within the firm.

And we must look to that privileged position of the worker to explain how our own middle-class way of life can survive.

Putting more money into education is a waste of effort.

Putting more money into basic research is a waste of effort.

We already spend enough. In fact, we have every factor of production going for us: We have more land, more labor, more capital and higher levels of formal education. But with our flexible labor markets, we cannot develop the human capital or knowledge needed to wean ourselves away from

turning out crap. In global competition, the United States has almost every comparative advantage over Germany, but the one great comparative advantage Germany still has over us is that it is a social democracy. Yes, I admit Germany has its problems. But we're losing our middle class, and our problems are even worse.

The real knowledge economy.

The strangest thing I saw this year is a YouTube video, with a hip-hop soundtrack, about a lot of German kids on strike.

These were IG Metall apprentices, and they weren't like the kids in the cafÃ©s. (IG Metall is the largest metal workers' union in Germany.) Instead they wore black, gray and white car coats and were from obscure little German towns, but all of them were marching, at night, both boys and girls, striking against the big global companies for not delivering on jobs. At about the same time as the strike, IG Metall held a rock concert with Bob Geldof, which drew 50,000 people, mostly kids. Here's a shocking thing to a U.S. labor lawyer like me: In 2008, youth membership in IG Metall - kids under 27 who voluntarily pay union dues - climbed yet again, this time by 6 percent. At last count, IG Metall had more than 200,000 of these kids! As someone who ran for Congress and found out why campaign staffs think it a waste of time to bother with young people, I find that stunning. Even the Financial Times, which always writes off labor, has had to admit that in Germany, unions are resurging among kids who are highly skilled.

Why are kids in Germany paying dues, voluntarily?

I think it's an American who can best explain why. It's not Marx but John Dewey whose picture should be in the lobby of the Willy Brandt Haus, the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party. It's Dewey who believed that schools should not just teach practical skills but explain why kids have to be political, to be citizens and yes, to get into labor movements to protect the skills they are acquiring.

One can say that union membership is a "tradition" in certain industries. But that's just an opaque way of saying that the kids get politicized both at home and at school as they go through the Dual Track - Germany's specialized, apprenticeship vocational schools.

The answer to the problems of our country is education, but not the kind we're pursuing, i.e., jamming more kids into college or even teaching practical skills; instead, it's teaching them how, politically, to cut themselves a better deal. As long as that's going on, it's impossible to write off the European or, more specifically, the German model.

Just as the answer to the problems of democracy is usually more democracy, so the answer to the problems of a social democracy is usually more social democracy.

[This essay was adapted from Thomas Geoghegan's new book, *Were You Born on the Wrong Continent?: How the European Model Can Help You Get a Life* (The New Press).]

[Thomas Geoghegan is a Chicago-based labor lawyer. He is the author of six books, including *Whose Side Are You On?*, *The Secret Lives of Citizens*, *The Law in Shambles* and, most recently, *Were You Born on the Wrong Continent?*]

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## Greenshields, Rachel

**From:** moderator@PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:21 PM  
**To:** PORTSIDE@LISTS.PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Subject:** Rapper is No Friend of Haiti -- Wyclef Opposed Aristide

Rapper is No Friend of Haiti -- Wyclef Opposed Aristide

by Charlie Hinton

San Francisco Bayview

August 2, 2010

<http://newamericamedia.org/2010/08/rapper-is-no-friend-of-haiti----wyclef-opposed-aristide.php>

To cut to the chase, no election in Haiti, and no candidate in those elections, will be considered legitimate by the majority of Haiti's population, unless it includes the full and fair participation of the Fanmi Lavalas Party of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Fanmi Lavalas is unquestionably the most popular party in the country, yet the "international community," led by the United States, France and Canada, has done everything possible to undermine Aristide and Lavalas, overthrowing him twice by military coups in 1991 and 2004 and banishing Aristide, who now lives in South Africa with his family, from the Americas.

A United Nations army, led by Brazil, still occupies Haiti six years after the coup. Their unstated mission, under the name of "peacekeeping," is to suppress the popular movement and prevent the return to power of Aristide's Lavalas Party.

One must understand a Wyclef Jean candidacy, first of all, in this context.

Every election since a 67 percent majority first brought Aristide to power in 1990 has demonstrated the enormous popularity of the Lavalas movement. When Lavalas could run, they won overwhelmingly. In 2006, when security conditions did not permit them to run candidates, they voted and demonstrated to make sure Rene Preval, a former Lavalas president, was re-elected.

Preval, however, turned against those who voted for him. He scheduled elections for 12 Senate seats in 2009 and supported the Electoral Council's rejection of all Lavalas candidates. Lavalas called for a boycott, and as few as 3 percent of Haitians voted, with fewer than 1 percent voting in the runoff, once again demonstrating the people's love and respect for President Aristide.

Fanmi Lavalas has already been banned from the next round of elections, so enter Wyclef Jean. Jean comes from a prominent Haitian family that has virulently opposed Lavalas since the 1990 elections. His uncle is Raymond Joseph - also a rumored presidential candidate - who became Haitian ambassador to the United States under the coup government and remains so today. Kevin Pina writes in "It's not all about that! Wyclef Jean is fronting in Haiti," Joseph is "the co-publisher of Haiti Observateur, a right-wing rag that has been an apologist for the killers in the Haitian military going back as far as the brutal coup against Aristide in 1991. "On Oct. 26 [2004] Haitian police entered the pro-Aristide slum of Fort Nationale and summarily executed 13 young men. Wyclef Jean said nothing. On Oct. 28 the Haitian police executed five young men, babies really, in the pro-Aristide slum of Bel Air. Wyclef said nothing. If Wyclef really wants to be part of Haiti's political dialogue, he would acknowledge these facts. Unfortunately, Wyclef is fronting."

As if to prove it, the Miami Herald reported on Feb. 28, 2010, "Secret polling by foreign powers in search of a new face to lead Haiti's reconstruction ." might favor Jean's candidacy, as someone

with sufficient name recognition who could draw enough votes to overcome another Lavalas electoral boycott.

Wyclef Jean supported the 2004 coup. When gun-running former army and death squad members trained by the CIA were overrunning Haiti's north on Feb. 25, 2004, MTV's Gideon Yago wrote, "Wyclef Jean voiced his support for Haitian rebels on Wednesday, calling on embattled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to step down and telling his fans in Haiti to 'keep their head up' as the country braces itself for possible civil war."

During the Obama inaugural celebration, Jean famously and perversely serenaded Colin Powell, the Bush administration secretary of state during the U.S. destabilization campaign and eventual coup against Aristide, with Bob Marley's "Redemption Song."

Jean also produced the movie, "The Ghosts of Cite Soleil," an anti-Aristide and Lavalas hit piece, which tells us that President Aristide left voluntarily, without mention of his kidnapping by the U.S. military, and presents the main coup leaders in a favorable light. It features interviews with sweatshop owners Andy Apaid and Charles Henry Baker without telling us they hate Aristide because he raised the minimum wage and sought to give all Haitians a seat at the table by democratizing Haiti's economy, a program opposed by the rich in Haiti.

It uncritically interviews coup leader Louis Jodel Chamblain, without telling us he worked with the Duvalier dictatorship's brutal militia, the Tonton Macoutes, in the 1980s; that following the coup against Aristide in 1991, he was the "operations guy" for the FRAPH paramilitary death squad, accused of murdering uncounted numbers of Aristide supporters and introducing gang rape into Haiti as a military weapon.

It uncritically interviews coup leader Guy Phillipe, without telling us he's a former Haitian police chief who was trained by U.S. Special Forces in Ecuador in the early 1990s or that the U.S. embassy admitted that Phillipe was involved in the transshipment of narcotics, one of the key sources of funds for paramilitary attacks on the poor in Haiti.

Wyclef runs the Yele Haiti Foundation, which the Washington Post reported on Jan. 16, 2010, is under fiscal scrutiny because "(i)t seems clear that a significant amount of the monies that this charity raises go for costs other than providing benefits to Haitians in need. In 2006, Yele Haiti had about \$1 million in revenue, according to tax documents.

More than a third of the money went to payments to related parties, said lawyer James Joseph. (T)he charity recorded a payment of \$250,000 to Telemax, a TV station and production company in Haiti in which Jean and Jerry Duplessis, both members of Yele Haiti's board of directors, had a controlling interest. The charity paid about \$31,000 in rent to Platinum Sound, a Manhattan recording studio owned by Jean and Duplessis. And it spent an additional \$100,000 for Jean's performance at a benefit concert in Monaco." A foundation spokesperson "said the group hopes to spend a higher percentage of its budget on services as it gains experience."

PLEASE SPREAD THE NEWS: "WYCLEF JEAN IS NOT A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT OF HAITI." The floating of his candidacy is just one more effort by the international forces, desperate to put a smiley face on a murderous military occupation, to undermine the will of the Haitian majority by making Wyclef Jean the Ronald Reagan of Haiti.

Let us be clear. Jean and his uncle, the Haitian ambassador to the U.S., are both cozy with the self-appointed czar of Haiti, Bill Clinton, whose plans for the Caribbean nation are to make it a neo-colony for a reconstructed tourist industry and a pool of cheap labor for U.S. factories. Wyclef Jean is the perfect front man. The Haitian elite and its U.S./U.N. sponsors are counting on his appeal to the youth to derail the people's movement for democracy and their call for the return of President Aristide. Most Haitians will not be hoodwinked by the likes of Wyclef Jean.

[Charlie Hinton is a member of the Haiti Action Committee and works at Inkworks Press, a worker owned and managed printing company in Berkeley. He may be reached at [ch\\_lifewish@yahoo.com](mailto:ch_lifewish@yahoo.com) ]

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**Green Shields, Rachel**

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**From:** moderator@PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:20 PM  
**To:** PORTSIDE@LISTS.PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Subject:** Labor's Role in the Obama Era: A Troublesome and Unreliable Ally? -- An Exchange

Labor's Role in the Obama Era: A Troublesome and Unreliable Ally? (An Exchange between Nelson Lichtenstein and Melvyn Dubofsky)

Labor's Role in the Obama Era: A Troublesome and Unreliable Ally?

by Nelson Lichtenstein

DissentMagazine.org/Online

June 7, 2010

<http://dissentmagazine.org/online.php?id=360>

With a perilous set of midterm elections on the horizon, it would be understandable if labor and its liberal allies just closed ranks with President Obama and the Democrats, downplayed any disappointment they might feel, and muted their critique of his often lukewarm liberalism. After all, if the Republicans take one or both houses of Congress, then the whole Obama presidency will be in danger.

As every good unionist knows, solidarity is a great thing, but in this case it is the wrong prescription for the American labor movement. Instead, the unions and other labor partisans should be difficult and demanding allies of our president. History shows that such a posture would generate the greatest political and organizational dividend, for labor as well as any insurgent group that seeks to transform American politics and policy. To show what I mean, let's take a look at two eras of labor and social movement success—the 1930s and the 1960s—in order to win a few insights that might be useful for our own times. As Mark Twain once wrote, "History never repeats itself, but sometimes it rhymes."

There are three points to be made about such times past.

First, conservative movements and right-wing ideas actually grow more extreme in eras of liberal and labor reform. We know that is true today, but it was also true at other moments of change or potential change in twentieth-century U.S. history. Second, when a Democratic administration is in power, the most potent and efficacious strategy for labor and its leadership is to be—and be seen as—a troublesome, even unreliable ally. And third, the labor movement needs to be, and be seen as, a social movement. This does not come without organizational costs. It is a dangerous strategy, but such a transformation is essential if anything resembling an organized labor movement is to survive.

We sometimes look at past moments of victory through rose-colored glasses, but neither the era of the New Deal nor that of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and early 1960s were times of uncontested liberalism. They were also times of mobilization, a renewal of ideas, and activism on the Right. The opponents of reform were not always out-of-touch reactionaries. They were often innovative and aggressive men and women who would later achieve power and position when the political winds tilted in their direction.

The Right grew in these eras not because of too much radicalism on the part of labor and civil rights activists, but because any great reform, no matter how carefully put forward, polarizes a society. The rise of labor in the 1930s created a kind of civil war even within the working class.

It was mainly nonviolent, and it would later subside, but such polarities can be expected whenever many Americans, even some that one might expect to be allies, see change as a subversion of their religious or ideological worldview. In the 1930s that social and ideological civil war divided not just American parties, but also churches, factories, and many communities. Anti-labor and anti-FDR rhetoric was pervasive in the years of the Great Depression, even as the unions triumphed at Flint and Pittsburgh and in the mines and mills of countless smaller towns.

One of the great right-wing demagogues of that time was Father Charles Coughlin, a Catholic priest from Royal Oak, Michigan who pioneered the use of radio for sermons and political talk. He was a brilliant speaker whose audience far exceeded, in comparative terms, the reach of Fox News and its most flamboyant pundits. Coughlin had been a supporter of FDR and labor in 1933 and 1934 because he hated the big banks, the big corporations, and the Depression itself. "Roosevelt or Ruin" was the slogan he deployed when FDR ran for president in 1932.

Indeed, Coughlin thought that Wall Street and the Communists were the twin evils of a secular Satanism subverting the virtuous citizens of the United States. And as Elizabeth Warren has reminded us in such compelling fashion, Americans really do mistrust the bankers and the speculators of that New York street, today as much as eighty years ago.

Father Coughlin broke with FDR when he realized that the New Deal would regulate Wall Street, not abolish it; and because Coughlin and some other conservative Catholics believed that the new, militant industrial unions, who deployed as organizers lots of socialists and Communists and other kinds of secularists, were stealing the loyalty of their own parishioners right out from under them. Indeed, it was the success of the UAW-CIO right in Coughlin's own Detroit that sent him into a frenzy of anti-labor, anti-Semitic, and anti-FDR invective. To Coughlin, the New Deal was a Jewish plot and the UAW a red front. Sinclair Lewis was thinking of people like Father Coughlin, as well as Huey Long, the roughshod governor of Louisiana, when he published in 1935 *It Can't Happen Here*, a novel which imagined a fascist dictatorship come to America.

Father Coughlin was eventually defeated and silenced when the very highest leaders of the Catholic Church realized that he was a grave liability. The Church did not want to force American Catholics, who were probably a majority of all the workers enrolled in the new unions during the later years of the Great Depression, to choose between their Catholic faith and the CIO and its New Deal allies. Cardinal Francis Spellman, the powerful, conservative New York bishop, eventually told FDR and other federal officials that he would stand aside if the federal government cut off Coughlin's radio license.

The first point to remember from this tale is that liberal administrations and social movements are bound to face right-wing demagogues. To defeat that threat, labor and other progressive groups must go after their base. This is best done by mobilizing their own constituencies, so as to create an alternative structure of meaning and motion around which those on the fence or even deep within the enemy camp may rally. That is what the CIO did to Coughlin. The second point is that there was never an era of good feeling in American politics, nor for that matter an era when labor and its liberal allies could comfortably command the allegiance of a majority of the populace. They have always been under attack.

The next important point to remember is that the labor movement, as well as the civil rights movement, achieved their greatest influence when the Democratic administration in power perceived the leadership of these social movements as troublesome, unreliable, and unpredictable allies. Labor leaders like John L. Lewis of the Mineworkers, Philip Murray of the Steelworkers, and Walter Reuther of the Autoworkers were frequently seen by the White House as "going off the reservation," a phrase I first encountered in the archives at Hyde Park when I poured through the files of FDR's public policy staff.

In 1936 John L. Lewis took a half million dollars from the UMW treasury—real money in those days—and parceled it out to FDR's reelection effort, but on Labor Day 1937 Lewis denounced the president



for trying just a few months before to remain neutral during the Little Steel strike, an industrial war that reached its bloody climax when ten demonstrators were shot to death by police outside of the Republic Steel Corporation on Chicago's South Side.

Declaimed Lewis in his rich Shakespearian voice:

Labor, like Israel, has many sorrows. Its women weep for their fallen and they lament for the future of the children of the race. It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace.

In 1940 John L. Lewis, by then president of the CIO, rejected FDR's bid for a third term and supported Republican Wendell Willkie, because he thought U.S. entry into the Second World War would lead to the same disastrous results for labor as involvement in the Great War twenty years before: right-wing reaction, strike-breaking, and the destruction of industrial unionism.

John L. Lewis was a difficult and sometimes vain individual. Did he win friends in the White House? Certainly not! Did he win respect for the labor movement and policies more to their liking? Yes, if only because FDR and his advisors were determined, on the eve of the Second World War, to ensure that labor would be an ally and that the influence of Lewis, and the politics he represented, would be effectively marginalized.

The same was true of Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights leadership in the early 1960s. Like the leaders of labor during the insurgent 1930s and 1940s, civil rights leaders were unreliable allies, because the movements they represented were multifaceted and in many respects uncontrollable. These ministers, students, and local activists were loyal first and foremost to the movement over which they tried to preside.

Although King's canonization today often obscures the real tensions that existed between his movement and the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, King, like John L. Lewis, was indeed a troublesome and unpredictable ally. When, in the late summer of 1964, LBJ asked King to suspend demonstrations during the fall campaign, King was inclined to go along, but he soon rejected the president's request because he simply did not have the power or even the moral authority to enforce such a suspension on a social movement then at flood tide. King thereby cemented his own leadership and pushed the president to back with unprecedented vigor one of the nation's most radical pieces of legislation, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which finally consigned a reactionary brand of states rights to the dustbin of American history.

One other example of this sort: just before May 1, 2006, Congressional allies of the Latino organizations and unions that were about to stage a massive "Day Without Immigrants" march advised organizers to hold off-or at least to have their march on a Saturday, not a workday, when the event would be less disruptive. But the organizers, a very loose-knit coalition, went ahead, and with magnificent results, which transformed a march into a general strike and helped solidify a Latino-labor alliance that did much to engender the massive vote for Barack Obama two years later.

And now to my final point. The labor movement wins when it is broad and inclusive, but the expansion comes with its own dangers. Today, given the dire straits in which the labor movement finds itself, those risks must be courted. We know about those risks and rewards from the experience of social movements in the recent past. The feminist movement provides a fitting parallel. It has transformed America-but who are the feminists, and how do you organize them? You don't. In the late 1960s and early 1970s when that movement took off, people simply announced that they were part of the women's liberation movement: there was no test, no membership card, no dues to pay, no line to follow.

The same was true of the labor movement in the first third of the twentieth century, before the codification of labor law and the creation of the administrative apparatus necessary to enforce it. Under those circumstances there was plenty of room for a labor movement to define itself in expansive fashion. Was it an immigrant rights organization which gave voice to Southern and Eastern Europeans recently stigmatized by the 1924 immigration restriction law; was it a movement for industrial democracy, even socialism, in which middle class people could participate, and even become leaders; or was it a community mobilization in which women and all sorts of non-workers of that time could play major roles?

Those questions remain controversial. In the early 1970s when the feminist movement pushed at labor's door, many women unionists began to organize a group which eventually became the Coalition of Labor Union Women. But would unaffiliated pro-labor feminists be allowed to join? This would have added invaluable energy to the new labor-feminist alliance, but it would also have transformed CLUW into the kind of grouping that the labor leadership of that era might not entirely understand, much less control. So George Meany, who actually remembered similar conflicts stretching all the way back to the Women's Trade Union League in the 1920s, decreed that only existing union women could become part of CLUW. That organization was built, but it lost its links to the feminist left.

It is therefore not enough for organized labor to broaden itself by welcoming new forces into its ranks. It must also adopt as its own the students and activists who are now on the outside looking in. It is from those unruly movements and initiatives that a new generation of activists will arise. In courting such individuals, labor faces the unpredictable and the untidy, because the AFL-CIO may well be held responsible for the actions and rhetoric of people it does not fully understand or control. But that is a risk that must be taken if we are to become a social movement once again.

[Nelson Lichtenstein is MacArthur Foundation Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he directs the Center for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy. His most recent book is *The Retail Revolution: How Wal-Mart Created a Brave New World of Business*. This article is taken from a talk given at the AFL-CIO Executive Board Meeting on March 1, 2010. ]

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Labor's Role in the Obama Era: A Comment

by Melvyn Dubofsky

DissentMagazine.org/Online

July 26, 2010

<http://dissentmagazine.org/online.php?id=371>

[The following is a response to Nelson Lichtenstein's June 7 web article, "Labor's Role in the Obama Era: A Troublesome and Unreliable Ally?"]

For nearly forty years now the labor movement in the United States has been on the defensive and in decline. But for a brief moment, it appeared that the election of Barack Obama might offer labor an opportunity to revive. That moment seems to have come and gone. To recapture it, my good friend and colleague, Nelson Lichtenstein, offers labor leaders lessons from history about how to build a stronger movement.

Lichtenstein draws his primary lessons from the 1930s and 1960s. To prove that he is a realist and not a dreamer who romanticizes an unrepeatable past, Lichtenstein cites Mark Twain's aphorism, that "History never repeats itself, but sometimes it rhymes." To which I would add, it offers no hard and fast truths.

The primary lesson that Lichtenstein derives from the past is that labor and its friends must act as "difficult and demanding allies of our president." According to Lichtenstein, that is precisely what labor and its allies did during the 1930s and 1960s. Labor and civil rights movements, he claims, "achieved their greatest influence when the Democratic administrations in power perceived the leadership of these social movements as troublesome, unreliable, and unpredictable." Moreover, he adds that Franklin D. Roosevelt's White House advisers worried constantly about John L. Lewis, Phillip Murray, and Walter Reuther "going off the reservation."

I have read and used the same White House files that Lichtenstein cites, but I draw quite different lessons from them. Between 1934 and 1936, when Lewis and other labor leaders provided the president and the Democratic Party with their firmest support, the president, his party, and the unions made their greatest gains. Union success resulted as much from White House support as from worker militancy and turbulent and contentious strikes.

Such success not only generated growing opposition to Roosevelt from the usual right-wing suspects identified by Lichtenstein, but also created enormous disquiet among elements within the Democratic electoral coalition. In the aftermath of the great Flint sit-down strike and a wave of others that culminated in the violent Little Steel Strike of 1937, Roosevelt's political advisers warned him that labor militancy, including worker infringements on property rights, were turning many voters and even more moderate union members against the administration. They advised the president that labor's militant and more radical factions had no alternative to the Democrats, and that it was time to assuage the unease of those made uncomfortable by labor militancy. Hence when Lewis appealed to Roosevelt for support in the course of the Little Steel Strike, the president responded by declaring "a plague on both your houses," big capital and big labor.

Roosevelt read the common mind more accurately than Lewis, whose response to the president as cited by Lichtenstein reads like the sorrows of an unrequited suitor. Yes, the public that listened to Father Coughlin and Huey Long detested Wall Street, international financiers, and giant corporations but it also disliked "big labor" and its militant, sometimes violent adherents.

Did Lewis gain anything for himself, his union, and the broader labor movement by "going off reservation," partly in 1937, and more decisively 1940 by endorsing Wendell Willkie for president? Unlike Lichtenstein, I believe that Lewis failed on all counts. His failure would have been even grander had the Republican Party nominated his preferred candidate in 1940, Herbert Hoover, but even Republicans were not that foolish. In the election, Lewis's closest union allies, including most of the officials in the United Mine Workers (UMW) and union members in CIO strongholds and coal-mining towns, voted Democratic. Only Communist Party affiliated labor leaders and their union loyalists still in their "Yanks are not coming" phase followed Lewis into the political wilderness.

Lewis and his supporters lacked a mass base among the electorate, or in any social movement for that matter. Ever since the labor upheaval and triumphs of the first half of 1937, the political tide had been turning against the Democratic Party and its more leftist elements. In Detroit, the UAW could not elect its preferred municipal candidates in 1937, and the following year labor saw its great benefactor, Michigan Governor Frank P. Murphy, lose decisively in his reelection campaign. A similar swing away from Democrats and toward Republicans developed across a wide swath of the nation. Labor did best not where its leaders went off the reservation but rather where they remained committed parts of a New Deal coalition, such as in Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party or New York's American Labor Party. AFL officials were similarly shrewd, operating cooperatively with the White House while simultaneously forming tactical alliances with business and Republican critics of the New Deal.

When war came in December 1941, it was labor leaders like Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray, and William Green who played roles in shaping wartime labor policies that would provide unions with their greatest absolute membership gains in U.S. history. Roosevelt and the Democrats allowed such policies not because they feared troublesome, demanding labor leaders but because the demands of war and labor scarcity left them no choice. Yes,

Lewis won his union members material gains denied other workers through strikes held on the eve of war and again in 1943. But those UMW victories came at a great political cost for the larger labor movement; Lewis became the personification of union greed and a primary reason for the belief that the power of unions had to be curbed.

By the end of the war, unions had reached the peak of their power in U.S. history, having organized nearly one third of the non-agricultural labor force. Neither employers, who would have preferred to operate without unions, nor politicians, Republicans as well as Democrats, could disregard a movement that incorporated a third of the labor force and a larger proportion of the electorate. Labor's political influence came not from its leaders acting as "difficult and demanding allies" ever ready to go "off the reservation," but from its role as a mass movement.

The triumphs of the civil rights movement during the 1960s also came not because Martin Luther King Jr. threatened to leave the reservation and give LBJ hell, but because the labor movement and civil rights leaders cooperated with the White House in its efforts to amass an anti-filibuster majority in the Senate. For a brief time the political coalition that Bayard Rustin had called for in his Commentary article, "From Protest to Politics," paid off with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

During the good years for labor between 1945 and 1973, and even during the bad years that followed, union leaders, by working cooperatively within the corridors of power, won legislation that benefited the vast majority of citizens.

Without labor's lobbying influence and the votes of its members, civil rights legislation may have failed, the minimum wage would not have been raised regularly, and Social Security would not have been extended to increasing numbers of citizens, with expanded benefits. Nor would Medicare have been passed. As the political scientist Karen Orren observed, labor served as the core constituency of twentieth-century American liberalism. But it did not achieve the reforms in labor law needed to maintain and increase union membership.

FOR MORE than three decades, liberalism has been in retreat, as has the labor movement. Today unions cannot even claim as members 8 percent of employees in the private sector, and their far larger proportion of members in the public sector has come under relentless criticism and attack. Unions have yet to bring the primary goal of labor law reform, the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA), before Congress. Do the lessons that Lichtenstein draws from the 1930s and 1960s offer grounds for altering this dire reality? I think not, and more recent history as well as the history of the FDR and LBJ years shows why.

The 1976 election returned the Democrats to power, and the AFL-CIO trumpeted its contribution to Jimmy Carter's victory. For the next four years, labor leaders behaved precisely as Lichtenstein recommends. Led by an obstreperous George Meany, union leaders proved themselves a troublesome and difficult presence. As the labor secretary and good friend to trade unionists Ray Marshall noted, Meany did not even speak Carter's language-Southern Baptist. Committed to frugal management of the federal budget, the president refused to spend money on an ambitious jobs program when his economic advisers told him that such expenditures would only serve to intensify the then-record level of inflation. They also advised him that the best way to advance his political fortunes was by taking the offensive against union leaders whose labor market "monopolies" fostered wage-generated inflation, lower wages for nonunion members, and unemployment for young workers.

Carter's political advisers assured him that women and minorities, the other core elements of the Democratic electoral coalition, could be satisfied with cost-free measures like affirmative action, and that labor's electoral influence was declining rather than rising. That led Carter to offer less-than-enthusiastic support to labor's one cost-free demand, labor law reform, a measure that lost by one vote in the Senate. The defeat of labor law reform and the president's refusal to fund an expansive jobs program led labor leaders to break with the administration and to act as Lichtenstein's "unpredictable and unreliable allies."

As the 1980 election approached, union leaders turned against Carter's candidacy for reelection and instead supported Edward Kennedy. Reagan and hard years for labor followed.

A similar story played out in the Clinton years. Unlike Carter, Clinton did fight for labor law reform, and the commission (led by John Dunlop) that he appointed to propose such reforms recommended revisions that went beyond those that labor had sought during the Carter years. Yet when the commission delivered its final recommendations, its union members dissented, claiming that the reforms were too generous to employers and subverted independent unionism. The immediate aftermath of labor's rejection of the Dunlop Commission proposals was the Newt Gingrich-led Republican congressional triumph in the election of 1994 and the burial of the Dunlop Commission report.

Today the leaders of labor seem to have read their history lessons better than Lichtenstein has. Obama has not given them everything, or even much of what they desire. EFCA appears dead, if not yet buried, although today labor has been open to compromise on the particulars. They again have a friend as labor secretary, Hilda Solis, who has implemented reforms that benefit workers and unions, and the president has reconstituted a full National Labor Relations Board that promises to be friendly to unions and truer to the original purposes of the National Labor Relations Act. For good reason, labor leaders have concluded that more is to be gained by working with and within the administration than by acting as a troublesome and threatening presence.

As long as unions represent less than 8 percent of private sector workers, barely 12 percent of all non-agricultural workers, and an even smaller sector of the electorate, their influence is bound to be circumscribed, as is their ability to build a social movement. Lichtenstein wants labor leaders to make a place in their movement for those who think like him and seek to transform unions into his vision of what a social movement should be. I doubt that labor's vision of a social movement coincides with Lichtenstein's. Despite its rhetoric of middle-class Americanism, the labor movement remains at its core bound to a class-based version of reality. And it is that core that is missing from Lichtenstein's vision, in which labor allies with feminists and civil rights' advocates, many of whom have little in common with workers. A social movement whose members lack class commitments and harbor mutually conflicting goals is no movement at all. Humans may exercise agency and make their own history but only within the bounds set by tradition and current realities. In words written by the French nineteenth-century observer of democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville: "Providence has, in truth, drawn a predestined circle around each man beyond which he cannot pass; but within these vast limits, man is strong and free." Unlike Lichtenstein, today's labor leaders have learned from hard experience that Tocqueville was too optimistic-that the constraints binding human agency are not so loose.

[Melvyn Dubofsky is Distinguished Professor of History & Sociology Emeritus, Binghamton University SUNY, and author of numerous books and essays in U.S. history, including a major history of the IWW, a biography of John L. Lewis, a study of the role of the federal government in regulating labor- capital relations, and a collection of essays on labor history under the title Hard Work. ]

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**Greenshields, Rachel**

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**From:** moderator@PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:19 PM  
**To:** PORTSIDE@LISTS.PORTSIDE.ORG  
**Subject:** Reader Responses - Why Is the Antiwar Movement Stalled?

Reader Responses - Why Is the Antiwar Movement Stalled?

(responses from ten readers - David McReynolds, Kirstin Roberts, Bill Doar, Andy Coates, Michael Wafkowski, Rosita Johnson, Jay Schaffner, Ethan Young, Ernest Savage and George Fish)

=====

I don't agree with Justin Raimondo but his view should be heard. He is far too concerned with the very marginal Trotskyist movement in the 40's and its even more marginal splinter, "Socialist Action", which is around today.

While I do not have an answer for what should have been done on the eve of WW II, it is foolish to deny that the America First movement included anti-Semites.

But . . . I am sorry that War Resisters League was not at the Albany conference. I'm even sornier, desperately sornier, that the pacifist movement, which played such a key role in the Vietnam movement and in the anti-nuclear weapons movement, is now silenced, has no serious coalition of its own, and is drifting.

WRL, FOR, AFSC, Peace Action need to have some viable, serious consultations - NOT with Socialist Action, but to think through what a pacifist approach would be. I think we should reach out for joint action at some points with the "right" that Justin Raimondo represents, and not simply write it off. For the same reasons I would not exclude Socialist Action or other left groups from our work. But we have been too willing to let groups such as the Party of Socialism and Liberation, and the various fronts of Workers World, be taken seriously. All told their memberships do not reach even 1,000 - dedicated, serious, but not the basis for a movement that would reach into the ranks of both the churches and the other vital areas, labor, civil rights, etc.

I don't agree with the reasons Raimondo has given, but I know the pacifist groups in which I've worked all my life are not, at this time, playing a serious role. That ought be on the agenda of the groups I've listed.

Peace,  
David McReynolds  
NYC

=====

I would have expected better than this from Portside. When did you guys decide that the right-wing nut jobs needed more consideration from your subscribers?

Kirstin Roberts

=====

Justin Raimondo thinks that linking war spending to the lack of jobs and health care and the cutbacks and layoffs that are devastating our communities is "leftist sectarianism." Why exactly is portside distributing this article?

Bill Doar

=====

I was disappointed -- indeed shocked -- that an apparent lapse of editorial judgment led you to reproduce the outrageous celebration of the chauvinism and fascism of the "America First" movement by Justin Raimondo. This right winger's attack upon the United National Peace Conference was based upon his study of youtube videos, not participation in Albany, NY.

Raimondo focused upon participation of "Trotskyist" groups to set up not only an attack upon the conference -- but a fond recollection of the day when Americans sympathetic to fascism mobilized on a mass scale.

Checking my inbox one more time... Portside, Did you really reprint that -- ?!!

Today we might simply ask ourselves: Contemporary "Firsters" would redeploy the United States military from Iraq and Afghanistan to the Mexican border! Are these the people we want to embrace as our closest allies? (And we might answer: we are not that confused!)

Would you please reprint the report below for you readers this report on the conference from one of its prime movers?

(You need not reprint my comment although you are welcome to do so.)

The author of the report is a founder and leader of the Bethlehem Neighbors for Peace here in suburban Albany, a group with hundreds of members, a weekly vigil, a monthly discussion group, a monthly meeting and a monthly forum - one of the most vigorous peace groups in the nation -- and as you will see in his report, a group that has been part of the defense of Muslims persecuted by the "War on Terror" -- something the right wing will never do.

The author's name is Joe Lombardo. He is my friend and neighbor..

[Full report is at: <http://pjep.org/news/?id=460> ]

thank you

Andy Coates

=====

Mr. Raimondo - I'm not trying to be offensive, but your piece is as lame as the failures of the "Left" as an agent of the "Antiwar Movement." The very title of your article is as disingenuous as anything spouted by the old peace movement establishment. Uh, if you look around you might have to actually come to terms with the fact that there is no "Antiwar Movement" and the possibility of ANY effective mass movement is approaching or has approached >0 for the foreseeable future.

Your pretzel logic politibabble just sounds, well, silly and pretentious.

Regards,

Michael Wafkowski

=====

I agree with a great deal of what you said- the Peace Movement has not reached out to the masses of working people. but to put Rachel Maddow opposite Limbaugh? NO WAY!

Rosita Johnson

=====  
I had real trouble with one of last night's posts - "Why is the Antiwar Movement Stalled". How did this post last night help better the understanding of the left, how does it help unify and build the anti-war movement? Not at all.

Portside consists of different moderators, with different backgrounds and views. Over the past ten years that I have been receiving portside posts, (and being one of the different portside moderators), I have found it one of the unique sources for news, opinions and analysis. I don't agree with all the posts, but they get me thinking, and expose me to information and views that I might not otherwise have seen.

The goal of portside is "to provide varied material of interest to people on the left -- things that will help them to interpret the world, and to change it." That's why I keep looking forward to portside every day. This post doesn't meet the standards of what I think readers have come to expect from portside.

The anti-war movement was just able to give a spine to those in Congress who voted to cut off appropriations for the war in Afghanistan - the largest vote ever in Congress. Seems to me that we need to elect more anti-war candidates, and to turn up the heat and light a fire under the rest of Congress.

We are in the midst of a serious depression, yet the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are draining funds away from jobs creation, green jobs, education, and the green rebuilding of the infrastructure of our country.

I like many other worked to elect Barack Obama - there is still no question in my mind that this was a better alternative than John McCain, Sarah Palin and the GOP's continued control of the country. Am I disappointed? You bet I am. But I also realize that we need to give depth to the people's movement, and continued pressure on Congress, the Senate and the President. I don't think we have found the way to do this - partly because many on the left do not want to appear to be dumping on the President for the mistakes and mis- leadership of the GOP-Blue Dog block in both the Senate and the House.

The Left is very broad and not-homogeneous. Is Justin Raimondo part of the Left? Maybe, maybe not. Some on the left embrace Libertarian views, which is what his website <http://original.antiwar.com> does. Some of these folks embrace isolationism, and harken back to the America First position that he articulates. Let his website promote those views - Portside doesn't have to.

I don't think this was a contribution to left dialogue, to helping interpret the world because he heaped criticism on some "left" sect? So what? Who cares what some small grouplet thinks or does - that is not the vast majority of those who are anti-war, who have marched, lobbied, canvassed or signed petitions.

I also don't think this was a contribution to a better understanding because he criticized James Cannon? Again so what. Since the 1930s, history has shown that Cannon, as well as Earl Browder, William Foster, Gus Hall and others have been wrong more often than right. Again, so what!

The world in 2010 is much different than the world of the 1930s, or 1960s or 70s, or even the past decade. I came of age in the 60s - the period of the massive civil rights, anti-war and student movements. I always followed my gut feeling that what was needed was the broadest possible unity against the main enemy. Others got hung with Mao's Little Red Book or with the Selected Works of Lenin - all that they got for it was either a torn back pocket or over-weight book bag.

Portside needs, in my opinion to keep giving us varied material, information that we might not otherwise see, and analysis.



I don't think I am alone in my disappointment. If the goal of this post was to generate responses, I am sure that there will be many. But I don't think this is primarily what people look for in portside.

Jay Schaffner

[Note: this is the personal opinion of Jay Schaffner as a reader and one of the moderators of portside, this is not the opinion of the portside collective.]

=====

The first thing we need to be clear on is that antiwar.com is NOT a left website. To the extent that isolationist views, whether libertarian or paleocon in origin, dovetail with the aims of the broader peace movement [which is generally viewed as left by the public], they may play a progressive role, but the source is still based on conservative-to-reactionary principles. They favor market against government, nationalism against internationalism, 'community standards' against democratic rights. Some [not all] hold with conspiracy theories that come very close to racial scapegoating.

Does this mean we can't have dialogue with Raimondo & co?

No, but we can't have LEFT dialogue with them. They are reaching out to The Nation, to individuals like Paul Buhle, and their goal is not hidden or sneaky: they want a liberal-conservative alliance to put a break on US intervention. One reason they are excited about this: with the lack of any kind of coherent left - in or out of the peace movement - they get a shot at setting the agenda, and they are in a good position to win over activists. That's why they take the antisectarian stance toward Socialist Action, which in times of stronger left presence would be seen as redbaiting [which it is].

But this is good because it puts the peace movement on the spot to THINK, and dialogue as progressives. I think activists should be made uncomfortable. I think they should increase their awareness [but not their anxiety] about the heterogeneous right wing in this country. So this calls for a warning [or caveat] about Antiwar.com, but with it a challenge to activists: if we are only anti-interventionist, what are we? Can we think politically about our purpose, goals, strategy, tactics? Is moralism enough? Are we a movement spreading outward or an in-group that goes public once or twice a year?

The inability to focus on such questions is what really threatens the movement, not a successful inroad by a minor league right winger.

Ethan Young

=====

Can this go into readers comments:

I think the two words Justin Raimondo should have chosen are: President Obama.

Like most liberals Raimondo misses the forest for the trees.

Prior to Obama's election the world experienced the largest anti-war movement in history, which was led primarily by leftists. Has the left's actions changed radically since Obama's election? No, but even if they had, would that have accounted for the radical demobilization on all progressive fronts within the US? No. The job of democratic presidents, at least since Carter, has been to continue the US Imperial project while reducing protests. When Clinton was elected anti-war protests plummeted. I saw virtually no liberals on the protest lines when the US killed tens of thousands of Somali's, nor during the atrocities in Indonesia, nor when the US destroyed

Yugoslavia. There was a muted liberal outcry when Madeline Albright claimed on National TV that it was OK to kill 500,000 Iraqi children through sanctions.

Obama is fulfilling the role for which he was chose, at least from the Elite's perspective. Just as liberals, to this very day, do not understand what happened in Yugoslavia, because they believe the lies of the democratic president they worked so hard to elect, so today liberals believe what president Obama claims are his goals in Afghanistan. Liberals are choosing not to protest.

The left needs to be less sectarian, obviously, but the real need is for liberals to understand the structure of social control. But then, at that point, they wouldn't be liberals anymore, they would be part of the left.

I'm generally impressed with the editorial decisions of portside, but this article is filled with mischaracterizations.

Ernest Savage

=====

Justin Raimondo's sharp polemic raises some very telling points about the present antiwar movement's ineffectiveness and non-visibility, but he makes a significant error when he blames it all on the "left": what he does here is conflate leftism with ultraleftism.

He is also rather naive about Rand Paul, the Tea Party and the America First movement. There are indeed racists and reactionaries in both the former, which are politically quite incoherent, and certainly are (as has been shown) bankrolled by big business and the Republican Party, a party united with Obama on the issue of pursuing foreign wars.

Further, the America First, while it did contain principled anti-interventionists, did indeed also contain pro-Hitler elements and anti-Semites, and was the funding beneficiary of anti-New Deal big business. Moreover, while certainly the U.S. and Britain did contribute much to the rise of Hitler and the initial success of his war machine, the fight against fascism was truly a life-and-death struggle to preserve even a modicum of humane and democratic values.

Despite the attempts to appease Hitler on the part of Western big business, it failed abysmally, and that attempt at appeasement and conciliation with fascism only made World War II inevitable--and necessary.

But Raimondo is absolutely right when he lauds the success of the Trotskyist SWP in building the anti-Vietnam War movement the way it did. This was a political and organizational triumph that not only built an effective antiwar movement by staying focused on one issue, it also organized and recruited for the left as a whole through its success, and the SWP's success here was a compelling reason why I joined its youth group, the YSA, after SDS self-destructed. Unfortunately, the sectarianism and left dogmatism that Raimondo rightly criticizes were already present in the SWP/YSA even as its "Popular Front" successes were triumphing, and eventually the sectarians won.

Which brings me to my last point: the left has done far more to undermine itself through ultraleftism and demanding adherence to its full range of issues and analyses than it ever has been undermined either by police repression or by "reformism." There just seems to be an inability of too many leftists to engage those who are sympathetic to it on one or two issues, but are not willing to become full-fledged members of the left church. It's ultraleftism that is killing the left and the antiwar movement, not leftism as such--but too much of the left would rather be ultraleft and "correct" than "reformist" but with mass appeal.

George Fish  
Indianapolis, IN

=====

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Portside aims to provide material of interest to people on the left that will help them to interpret the world and to change it.

Submit via email: [moderator@portside.org](mailto:moderator@portside.org) Submit via the Web: [portside.org/submit](http://portside.org/submit) Frequently asked questions: [portside.org/faq](http://portside.org/faq)

Subscribe: [portside.org/subscribe](http://portside.org/subscribe)

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Account assistance: [portside.org/contact](http://portside.org/contact) Search the archives: [portside.org/archive](http://portside.org/archive)

**Greenshields, Rachel**

---

**From:** Lanza, Dominick  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:58 PM  
**To:** Hieftje, John  
**Subject:** Re: a sincere thank you to the fire department.

I have done so thank you

On Aug 5, 2010, at 12:50 PM, "Hieftje, John" <[JHieftje@a2gov.org](mailto:JHieftje@a2gov.org)> wrote:

Chief:

Please make sure those involved in dealing with this incident receive this grateful message from a resident.

Thanks,

John

---

**From:** Kai Petainen [mailto:[\[REDACTED\]](mailto:)]  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 12:48 PM  
**To:** Hieftje, John  
**Subject:** a sincere thank you to the fire department.

I'd email the fire department, but I don't know their email, so I'll email you and wish a thank you to the AAFD.

I'd like to wish a sincere THANK YOU to the Ann Arbor Fire Department. They responded quickly to the spill and worked hard on the initial containment of the spill. Many people came from the department that night, and from the incident reports I read, they are to be THANKED. Even as I read about the spill that night, and as frustrated as I might be for the lack of information regarding certain aspects of it from other agencies, their incident report seems to be the most comprehensive, honest and without worry of political correctness. Lt. S., FF T., and Capt. L., Thank you!

In other words, the Ann Arbor fire department and the firefighters did their job and they seriously rocked at it. Thank you!

-kai petainen  
living in Ann Arbor along the Huron River

**Greens hields, Rachel**

---

**From:** David Barrier [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:34 PM  
**To:** Bobby Hancock; Gary Goss; Gary Henry; Jimmy Marsden; Hieftje, John; Mike and Marie Daniels; Nicole Rash; Sharon Heydenreich; Sue Hyatt; Trisha Pederson; Tim & Debra Drewry  
**Subject:** FW: Is There One Country that Loves America?  
**Attachments:** ATT00162.jpg; ATT00165.jpg; ATT00168.jpg; ATT00171.jpg; ATT00174.jpg; ATT00177.jpg; ATT00180.jpg; ATT00183.jpg; ATT00186.jpg; ATT00189.jpg; ATT00192.jpg; ATT00195.jpg; ATT00198.jpg; ATT00201.jpg; ATT00204.jpg; ATT00207.jpg; ATT00210.jpg; ATT00213.jpg; ATT00216.jpg; ATT00219.jpg; ATT00222.jpg; ForwardToAFriend.gif

---

Subject: FW: Is There One Country that Loves America?  
Date: Thu, 5 Aug 2010 11:48:11 -0600

**Is there one Country that Loves America? The answer is YES!**

**This is a country honoring our fallen military. You won't see or hear of many countries doing this.**

**God Bless Plzen!**

---

**Have you ever wondered if anyone in Europe remembers America's sacrifice in World War II?**

**There is an answer in a small town in the Czech Republic. The town called Pilsen (Plzen)**

**Every five years Plzen conducts the Liberation Celebration of the City of Pilsen in the Czech Republic. May 6th, 2010 marked the 65th anniversary of the liberation of Pilsen by General George Patton's 3rd Army. Pilsen is the town that every American should visit.**

**Because they love America and the American Soldier.**



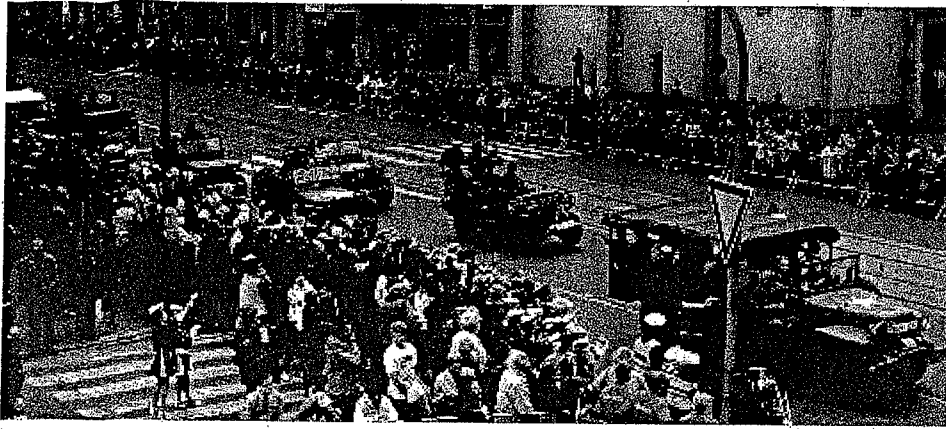
**Even 65 years later and by the thousands.**



**The citizens of Pilsen came to say thank you.**



**Lining the streets of Pilsen for miles.**



**Large crowds.**



**To quiet reflective moments.**





Including this American family's private time to honor and remember their American hero.

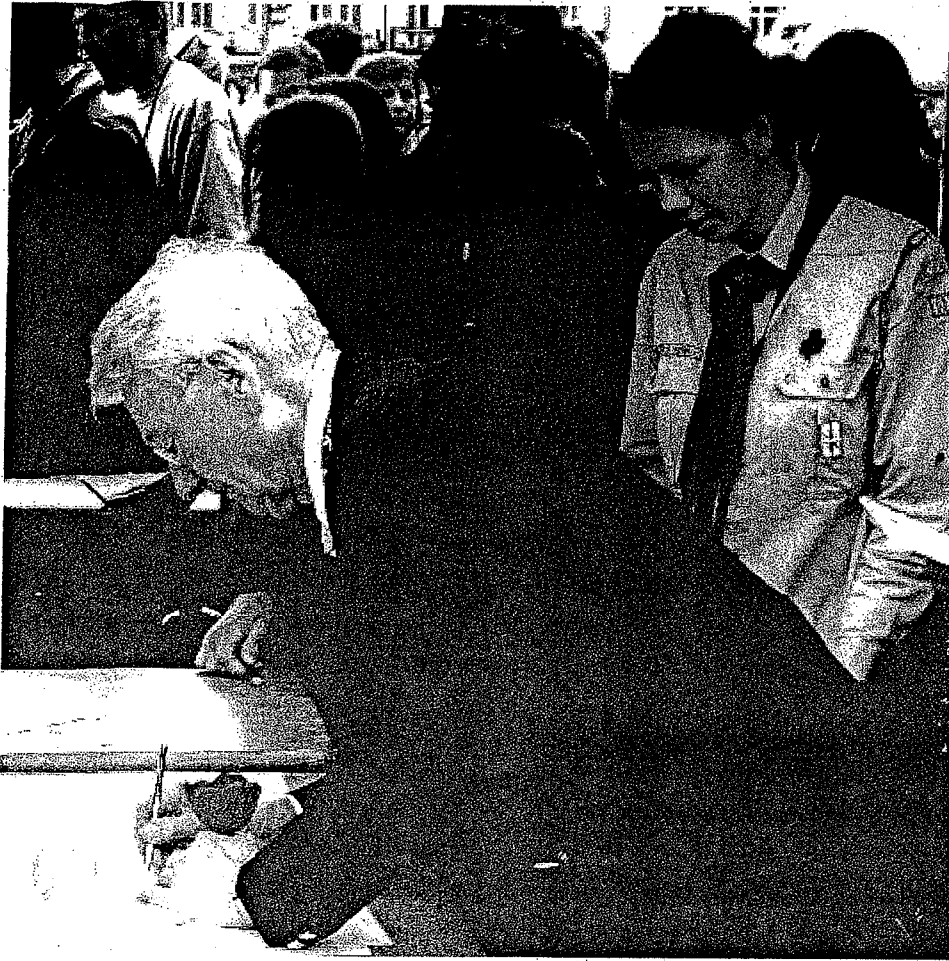


**This is the crash site of Lt. Virgil P. Kirkham, the last recorded American USAAF pilot killed in Europe during WWII. It was Lt. Kirkham's 82nd mission and one that he volunteered to go on. At the time this 20 year old pilot's P-47 Thunderbolt plane was shot down, a young 14 year old Czech girl, Zdenka Sladkova, was so moved by his sacrifice she made a vow to care for him and his memory. For 65 straight years , Zdenka, now 79 years old, took on the responsibility to care for Virgil's crash site and memorial near her home. On May 4th she was recognized by the Mayor of Zdenka's home town of Trhanova, Czech Republic, for her sacrifice and extraordinary effort to honor this American hero.**



Another chapter in this important story.....the Czech people are teaching their children about America's sacrifice for their freedom.





American Soldiers, young and old, are the "Rock Stars" these children and their parents want autographs from..Yes, Rock Stars! ... As they patiently waited for his autograph, the respect this little Czech boy and his father have for our troops serving today was heartwarming and inspirational.



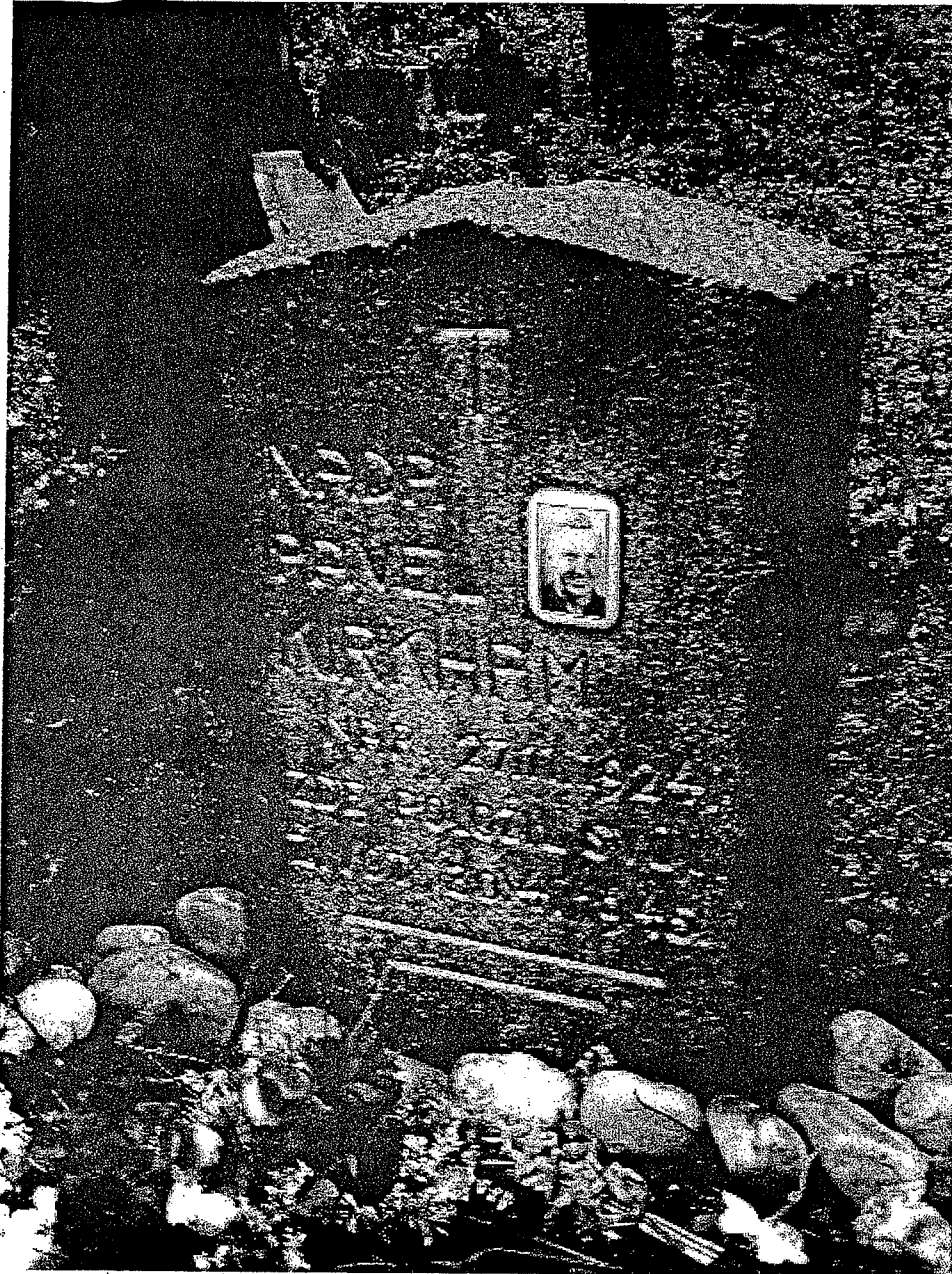
**The Brian LaViolette Foundation will established The Scholarship of Honor in tribute to General George S. Patton and the American Soldier, past and present.**



**Each year, a different military hero will be honored in tribute to General Patton's memory and their mission to liberate Europe. This award will be presented to a graduating senior who will be entering the military or a form of community service such as fireman, policeman, teaching or nursing, a cause greater than self. The student will be from one of the five high schools in Pilsen, Czech Republic.**



The first award will be presented in May 2011 in honor of Lt. Virgil Kirkham, that young 20 year old P-47 pilot killed 65 years ago in the final days of WWII.





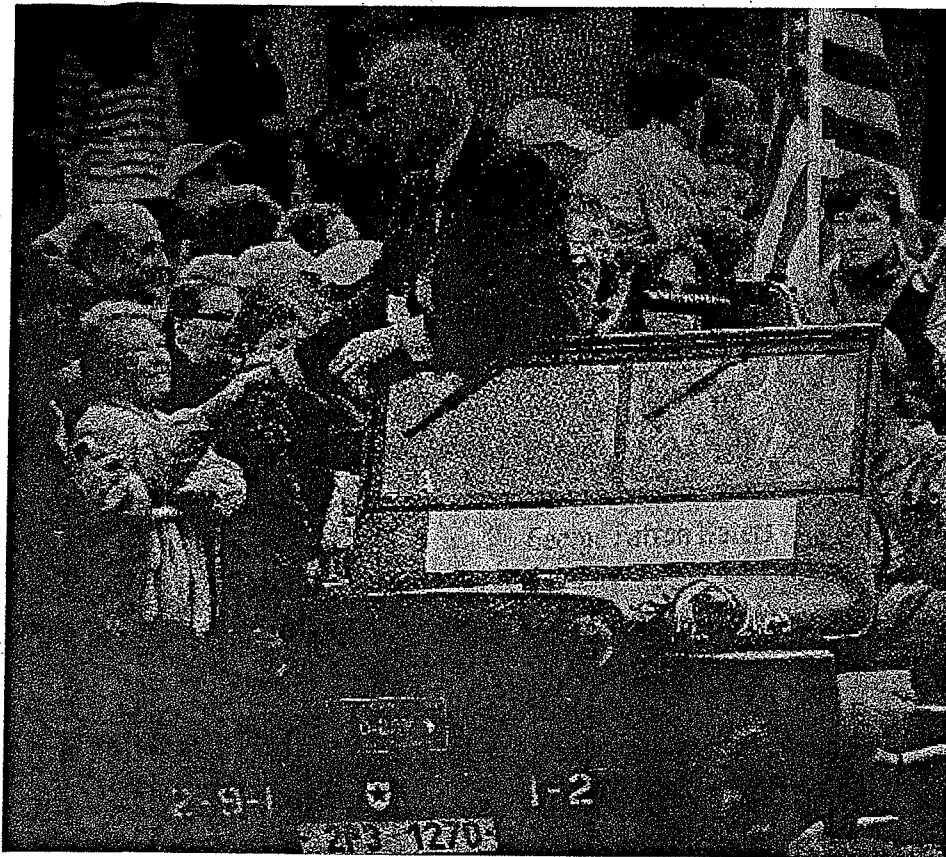
**Presenting Virgil's award will be someone who knows the true meaning of service and sacrifice -- someone who looks a lot like Virgil.**



**Marion Kirkham, Virgil's brother, who himself served during WWII in the United States Army - Air Corps.**

**In closing, here is what the city of Pilsen thinks of General Patton's grandson. George Patton Waters (another Rock Star) we're proud to say, serves on Brian's Foundation board.**





And it's front page news.. not buried in the middle of the social section..

# PLZENSKÝ deník

www.plzenskydenik.cz  
Policie v Hradci Královci  
zadržela dvou zlodějítků  
v expoziturní kanceláři  
objevili 170 tisíc Kč



Test hranolů  
Dmitry spouští  
kolekcionářské křeslo  
sádky 100 Kč



50 Kč  
www.plzenskydenik.cz  
tel: 327 10 20 21  
www.plzenskydenik.cz

## Thank you! volali Plzenané



Plzeňští vojáci vyznamenáni...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...

**Plzeňská policie**  
Policie v Hradci Královci zadržela dvou zlodějítků v expoziturní kanceláři objevili 170 tisíc Kč.  
**Test hranolů**  
Dmitry spouští kolekcionářské křeslo sádky 100 Kč.  
**Plzeňská policie**  
Policie v Hradci Královci zadržela dvou zlodějítků v expoziturní kanceláři objevili 170 tisíc Kč.  
**Test hranolů**  
Dmitry spouští kolekcionářské křeslo sádky 100 Kč.

## Kupředu leva a mavaťka: V Horušanech slavili První maj

První máj slavili v Horušanech...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...



První máj slavili v Horušanech...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...  
Vojáci z 1. brigády...  
Vyznamenání...

Brigadier General Miroslav Zizka - 1st Deputy Chief of Staff - Ministry of Defense - Czech Armed Forces.



**So please join this amazing journey...**



**Come visit Pilsen in the Czech Republic during the first part of May 2011, it may also be a life changing experience for you. And please share this email with your family and friends and ask them to do the same. Every American should hear this story.**



kindest regards,  
 Golden and Oscar

**Greens hields, Rachel**

---

**From:** Taylor, Christopher (Council)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:24 PM  
**To:** Beaudry, Jacqueline  
**Subject:** FW: Medical Marihuana Moratorium  
**Attachments:** 00009375.DOC; 00009448.DOC

Christopher Taylor

Councilmember (Third Ward)  
Mobile: 734-604-8770  
Work: 734-213-3605  
Home: 734-213-6223  
[ctaylor@a2gov.org](mailto:ctaylor@a2gov.org)

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Taylor, Christopher (Council)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 5:49 PM  
**To:** \*City Council Members (All)  
**Cc:** Fraser, Roger; Dempkowski, Angela A; Postema, Stephen; McDonald, Kevin; Larcom, Kristen  
**Subject:** FW: Medical Marihuana Moratorium

Colleagues,

Please see attached amendments to the Medical Marihuana Moratorium proposal. These amendments will be offered on the floor and read into the record to provide the public with notice of their contents.

Best,

Christopher

Christopher Taylor  
Member, Ann Arbor City Council (Third Ward) 734-604-8770 (m)  
734-213-3605 (w)  
734-213-6223 (h)

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Larcom, Kristen  
**Sent:** Thu 8/5/2010 5:06 PM  
**To:** Higgins, Marcia; Taylor, Christopher (Council); Teall, Margie; Rapundalo, Stephen  
**Cc:** Postema, Stephen; McDonald, Kevin  
**Subject:** Medical Marihuana Moratorium

We have made changes to the moratorium to clarify that it does not prohibit patient use or caregivers to assist patients as permitted by the Act. Attached are two documents, one showing the changes and the other with the changes incorporated.

<<00009375.DOC>> <<00009448.DOC>>

**RESOLUTION TO IMPOSE A TEMPORARY MORATORIUM ON THE USE OF  
PROPERTY AND STRUCTURES IN THE CITY FOR DISPENSING AND  
CULTIVATING MARIHUANA**

Whereas, City staff has received inquiries concerning the use of property and structures in the City for use as facilities for dispensing medical marihuana and/or cultivating medical marihuana plants;

Whereas, the City of Ann Arbor's Zoning Ordinance does not specifically provide for properties or structures to be used as facilities for dispensing marihuana or cultivating marihuana plants for medical or any other purposes, and this use was not envisioned when the zoning ordinance was adopted;

Whereas, the City of Ann Arbor Master Plan: Land Use Element adopted on November 5, 2009, by Council Resolution R-09-438, and the City's general prohibition on uses not expressly permitted by the City's Zoning Ordinance must be considered in addressing whether and/or where to allow facilities for dispensing marihuana and/or cultivating marihuana plants;

Whereas, the Michigan Medical Marihuana Act ("the Act") permits registered qualifying patients and primary caregivers to possess specific amounts of marihuana and to cultivate a specific number of plants, but the Michigan Medical Marihuana Act does not specifically provide for facilities for dispensing medical marihuana and/or cultivating medical marihuana plants;

Whereas, the federal law contains no provisions for the dispensation or cultivation of marihuana for medical or any other purposes;

Whereas, it is unclear whether any state and/or federal regulations that apply to entities that dispense controlled substances, for the benefit of the public health, safety, and welfare, would apply to facilities where marihuana is dispensed or where marihuana is cultivated;

Whereas, therefore, federal, state, and local laws lack clarity as to whether such facilities might be allowed and, if allowed, where they might be located that is conducive to the public health, safety and welfare of the City;

Whereas, the issue of allowing or disallowing facilities for the dispensing or cultivating of marihuana may be settled by the state Legislature;

Whereas, the City desires to ascertain the best and safest path to compliance with the Michigan Medical Marihuana Act, MCL 333.26423(d) in order to protect the public health, safety, and welfare;

Whereas, City Council has determined that it is necessary to amend City Code to address this issue and is directing City staff and the Planning Commission to study, and make specific recommendations to amend City Code regarding such facilities; and

Whereas, it is therefore prudent to immediately forbid use of all property and structures in the City of Ann Arbor as facilities for dispensing marihuana or cultivating marihuana plants for medical or any other purposes for a limited period of time until City Code can be amended to address such facilities;

RESOLVED, That City Council hereby imposes a temporary moratorium prohibiting the use of any property in the City as a facility for dispensing marihuana for medical and any other purpose and for cultivating marihuana plants, and that any zoning compliance permits or building and trade permits for such uses be deferred for a period of 180 days from the date of this resolution, in conjunction with the study and revision of the City's Zoning Ordinance or other ordinances regarding this issue;

RESOLVED, That this moratorium does not apply to the following:

- A dwelling unit (as defined by the Zoning Ordinance) where a qualifying patient under the Act resides and is cultivating up to the maximum number of marihuana plants permitted by the Act for personal use or possesses up to the maximum amount of marihuana permitted by the Act for personal use.
- A building or structure (as defined by the Zoning Ordinance) other than a dwelling unit where no more than one qualifying patient under the Act is cultivating up to the maximum number of marihuana plants permitted by the Act for personal use or possesses up to the maximum amount of marihuana permitted by the Act for personal use.
- A dwelling unit or other building or structure where no more than one primary caregiver under the Act is cultivating up to the maximum number of marihuana plants permitted by the Act for assisting a qualifying patient or possesses up to the maximum amount of marihuana permitted by the Act for assisting a qualifying patient.

RESOLVED, That City Council directs City staff and the Planning Commission to study and make specific recommendations for ordinance amendments that restrict facilities for dispensing marihuana to appropriate zoning districts along with spacing requirements, and to also regulate such use in residential districts;

RESOLVED, That any aggrieved person shall be entitled to receive a hearing by the City Council to show that the temporary moratorium pronounced in this resolution will result in the preclusion of any viable economic use of their property, or will otherwise



violate applicable provisions of State or Federal law, and if the City Council finds that an aggrieved petitioner or applicant makes such a showing, the City Council may grant relief from the moratorium to the degree necessary to cure the violation; and

RESOLVED, That the moratorium imposed by this resolution shall expire the earlier of 180 days from its effective date or upon adoption by City Council of ordinance amendments regarding the issue of facilities for dispensing marihuana and/or cultivating plants for medical or any other purposes.

**RESOLUTION TO IMPOSE A TEMPORARY MORATORIUM ON THE USE OF  
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Whereas, it is unclear whether any state and/or federal regulations that apply to entities that dispense controlled substances, for the benefit of the public health, safety, and welfare, would apply to facilities where marihuana is dispensed or where marihuana is cultivated;

Whereas, therefore, federal, state, and local laws lack clarity as to whether such facilities might be allowed and, if allowed, where they might be located that is conducive to the public health, safety and welfare of the City;

Whereas, the issue of allowing or disallowing facilities for the dispensing or cultivating of marihuana may be settled by the state Legislature;

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Whereas, City Council has determined that it is necessary to amend City Code to address this issue and is directing City staff and the Planning Commission to study, and make specific recommendations to amend City Code regarding such facilities; and

Whereas, it is therefore prudent to immediately forbid use of all property and structures in the City of Ann Arbor as facilities for dispensing marihuana or cultivating marihuana plants for medical or any other purposes for a limited period of time until City Code can be amended to address such facilities;

RESOLVED, That City Council hereby imposes a temporary moratorium prohibiting the use of any property in the City as a facility for dispensing marihuana for medical and any other purpose and for cultivating marihuana plants, and that any zoning compliance permits or building and trade permits for such uses be deferred for a period of 180 days from the date of this resolution, in conjunction with the study and revision of the City's Zoning Ordinance or other ordinances regarding this issue;

RESOLVED, That this moratorium does not apply to the following:

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- A building or structure (as defined by the Zoning Ordinance) other than a dwelling unit where no more than one qualifying patient under the Act is cultivating up to the maximum number of marihuana plants permitted by the Act for personal use or possesses up to the maximum amount of marihuana permitted by the Act for personal use.
- A dwelling unit or other building or structure where no more than one primary caregiver under the Act is cultivating up to the maximum number of marihuana plants permitted by the Act for assisting a qualifying patient or possesses up to the maximum amount of marihuana permitted by the Act for assisting a qualifying patient.

RESOLVED, That City Council directs City staff and the Planning Commission to study and make specific recommendations for ordinance amendments that restrict facilities for dispensing marihuana to appropriate zoning districts along with spacing requirements, and to also regulate such use in residential districts;

RESOLVED, That any aggrieved person shall be entitled to receive a hearing by the City Council to show that the temporary moratorium pronounced in this resolution will

result in the preclusion of any viable economic use of their property, or will otherwise violate applicable provisions of State or Federal law, and if the City Council finds that an aggrieved petitioner or applicant makes such a showing, the City Council may grant relief from the moratorium to the degree necessary to cure the violation; and

RESOLVED, That the moratorium imposed by this resolution shall expire the earlier of 180 days from its effective date or upon adoption by City Council of ordinance amendments regarding the issue of facilities for dispensing marihuana and/or cultivating plants for medical or any other purposes.

## Greenshields, Rachel

**From:** Briere, Sabra  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:20 PM  
**To:** Constant, Sara  
**Cc:** Hieftje, John; Teall, Margie; Beaudry, Jacqueline  
**Subject:** RE: Voting Difficulties

Dear Ms. Constant,

(You can call me Sabra.)

Your colleague is mistaken. Michigan has had closed primaries for a long time. I haven't looked up the law, but can, if you want. It must be somewhere among the Michigan Compiled Laws . . . but I would turn to Larry Kestenbaum, the County Clerk, to find it. He handles elections locally, and could give me the citation. Jackie Beaudry, the City Clerk, could also find it. Both are, of course, quite busy today.

Other than finding the law, however, the issue for you is how to handle closed primaries.

Primaries determine the nominees for the parties. So called minor parties (such as the Greens) select their nominees through other means. I've read that the local Libertarian party bowls to select their nominees. But the Democrats and Republicans have elections. You, and all others in the State, have an opportunity to vote.

In other states, voters must register as either a Democrat or Republican in order to vote in the primary for that party. Michigan doesn't have party registration, but both parties do have exclusive (or closed) primaries. If you want to select the nominees for the Republican Party, you cannot also select the nominees for the Democratic Party.


The November election is general. All nominees have been selected, and you can vote for anyone you choose, without regard for party. Primaries are just different.

I know this puts you – and many others in Ann Arbor – in the position of not being able to select both the Republican nominee for Governor and the Democratic nominee for Mayor and Council. You have to decide where you believe your vote will make the most difference for Ann Arbor and Michigan.

I do hope you will vote.

*Sabra Briere  
First Ward Council member  
995-3518 (home)  
734-714-2237 (work)*

---

**From:** Constant, Sara [mailto:   
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 03, 2010 11:32 AM  
**To:** Briere, Sabra  
**Cc:** Hieftje, John; Teall, Margie  
**Subject:** RE: Voting Difficulties

Dear Ms. Briere,

Thank you for your response. I understood from a colleague that this law was enacted two years ago. It would be very helpful if you could direct me to find it. I am uncertain about how to go about accessing it.

The reasoning that one can vote in November across party lines only serves to illustrate my concern with this election. If my vote was given for my local government, I would be possibly negating my Republican candidate for governor's chance of being

on the November ballot. If I voted for the Republican governor candidate of my choice, I would negate my say in the local election.

Is there a fallacy in my thinking?

Sara

\*\*\*\*\*

Sara E. Constant  
Coordinator: Elementary Undergraduate Teacher Education Program  
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Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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**From:** Briere, Sabra [mailto:SBriere@a2gov.org]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, August 03, 2010 8:20 AM  
**To:** Constant, Sara  
**Cc:** Hieftje, John; Teall, Margie  
**Subject:** RE: Voting Difficulties

Dear Ms. Constant,

I'm very sorry to learn of your experience, and hope you will forgive me for butting in. Mayor Hieftje and Council member Teall should be just returning to their homes after getting all their poll signs out, but I'm not campaigning this year.

You were caught in a dilemma. Michigan has what is called 'closed' primaries. This means you can vote for Republicans OR for Democrats BUT NOT FOR BOTH PARTIES.

It's not your fault that you didn't understand this. You probably haven't tried to vote for both parties in a primary before. It isn't a new law, however; this has been Michigan's law for as long as I've been voting in Michigan, and longer.

The primary system selects the candidate for the November election for each party. If you can find the time, I hope you will return to your polling place and vote. You will have to decide where you believe your vote will matter the most, however. Many in Ann Arbor are being forced to decide whether they want to select the Republican candidate for governor or the Democratic candidates for Mayor and Council.

Thank you for your efforts today. I really hope you vote.

*Sabra Briere*  
First Ward Councilmember  
(734)995-3518 (home)  
(734)277-6578 (cell)

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**From:** Constant, Sara [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Tue 8/3/2010 7:59 AM  
**To:** Hieftje, John; Smith, Sandi; Briere, Sabra; Rapundalo, Stephen; Derezinski, Tony; Taylor, Christopher (Council); Kunselman, Stephen; Higgins, Marcia; Teall, Margie; Hohnke, Carsten; Anglin, Mike  
**Cc:** Constant, John  
**Subject:** Voting Difficulties

Dear All,

This morning when I went to my voting place, I was unable to vote for the mayor or my 4<sup>th</sup> ward representative on council, Margie Teal. My ballot was not accepted! Why? Because I wanted to vote for a republican governor and democratic city county, and, therefore, my ballot was rejected. When I attempted to leave, I was told by the workers, I had to leave my ballot also! What, so they could keep a record of my illegal thoughts?

I guess my America is gone. When does the government put the chips in our bodies and tell us what to say, where to go and what to eat?

I am angry and know that you are not to blame, but what you, the mayor, and you, my representative, need to know is that the lack of my vote for you was because of our NEW laws! I guess this means we no longer have the right to elect who we wish. Essentially, we can no longer have a say in our government.

Margie, you won all my family's votes with your support of our concerns and we thank you. I just wish we could have had a voice in your re-election.

Sincerely,  
Sara Constant

\*\*\*\*\*

Sara E. Constant  
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**Greens hields, Rachel**

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**From:** Beth Wiggert [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 8:15 PM  
**To:** Hieftje, John  
**Subject:** Re: congrats and question

Thank you for your prompt response

On Thu, Aug 5, 2010 at 9:20 AM, Hieftje, John <[JHieftje@a2gov.org](mailto:JHieftje@a2gov.org)> wrote:

Dear Ms. Wiggert:

It is complicated. Most road funding comes from the state or lately, the federal government. For instance, all of the work that has been done on Stadium has been for the most part, state funded, it was awarded years ago. A big part of the project is of course the replacement of the sewer and water mains along Stadium and this is local money but from the sewer and water fund, not roads.

Most of the funds local governments use come from restricted sources. For example, water and sewer funds come from the fees paid for each and it would be illegal to spend the money for something else. (By the way, A2 wins a award for its high quality water every year and the DNR released a study showing we have some of the lowest water and sewer rates in the state.)

It would also be illegal to use the Downtown Development Authority money that is being spent downtown, (or switch the bonds) to replace the Stadium Bridges. Bonding for the project would present difficulties because there is no funding stream in the way there is for something like a parking structure because the parking spaces themselves generate revenue to make the bond payments.

The work on Plymouth Rd. is part of the federal stimulus package. Those \$\$ cannot be moved to another project.

Large bridge projects have always been funded by the state govt. in Michigan, often passing along federal funds. This was the case with the Broadway Bridges project completed in 2004, 80% of the funding came from the state. That was about the last of the state funding for bridges before the state ran out of funds.

A report out of Lansing notes that 50 bridges in Michigan, three in Washtenaw County, are being closed or are already shut down. The engineers tell us the Stadium Bridges are safe, otherwise they would be closed. They are being closely watched and in fact the rating went up recently when a lane and the offending beams under it were removed. I use the bridges myself and have not noticed many delays at all , even at rush hour.



The city could have started the replacement of the Stadium Bridges this fall but that would have meant using all local funds, money that can go to fix our roads. Council decided to hold off for a few more months as there is a reasonably good chance we will win federal funding for up to 80% of the project and once started with local money there would be no hope of getting the federal \$\$\$. If the city is not successful in winning the 80% there are other, smaller pots of federal money the city is going after. All options are being pursued with our representatives in DC. In any event it seemed wise to put the project off for a few more months to see if we can bring in the outside funding.

Thanks for writing,

John Hieftje

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**From:** Beth Wiggert [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 6:58 AM  
**To:** Hieftje, John  
**Subject:** congrats and question

Congratulations on your re-election.

I have a question that is really puzzling me, and I'd really like an explanation.

I know Michigan is in dire economic straits, and even relatively affluent Ann Arbor is feeling that. But, there are a lot of road repair projects going on all around Ann Arbor. However, we are repeatedly told there is no money for the repair of the Stadium Bridge.

This is a major artery for traffic, and of course it's close to our beloved Stadium. It's unsafe, and it's embarrassing for out of town guests to see.

I don't understand why this is not given A priority status.

If there's money for road repair, then there should be money for road repair. I know it has to be more complicated than it would appear, but regardless it seems misguided and unnecessary

Sincerely

Beth Wiggert  
[REDACTED]

## **Greenshields, Rachel**

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**From:** audio@mygovernmentconferences.com  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 05, 2010 5:05 PM  
**To:** Rapundalo, Stephen  
**Subject:** Lat Chance to Register for: Manage & Monitor a Tele-Workforce: Do's & Don'ts for Government Managers 8/10 Webinar

Dear Stephen Rapundalo,

Last chance. Just a reminder that there are only a few days left to join us for this practical, 60-minute Webinar Conference:

"Manage & Monitor a Tele-Workforce: Do's & Don'ts for Government Managers"  
Tuesday, August 10, 2010 - 1:00-2:00 p.m. ET

<http://www.mygovernmentconferences.com/169/0/2/p3WNEYc/p4VHHV9Mi/p0e>

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We hope you'll join us.

Sincerely,

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