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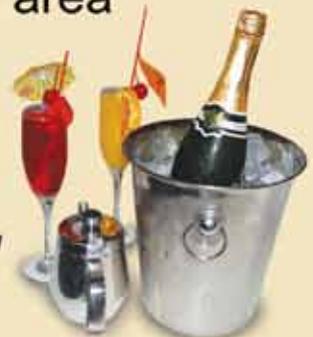
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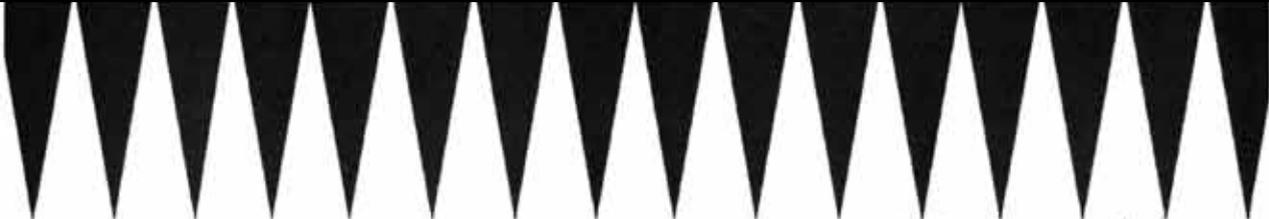
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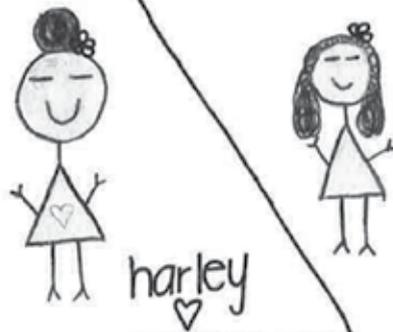
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VOLUME 20

Number 2



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“Shadows of the Bar”

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AMASS is published by the Society For Popular Democracy and AMASS Press, 10920 Wilshire Boulevard Suite 150, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Web: www.amassmagazine.com. Email: amassmag@aol.com. Subscriptions: \$16 for individuals within the US, \$20 outside these areas; \$50 for institutions within the US, \$60 outside. Single copy: \$4.95. Back issues available on website. Visuals furnished by the authors. Authority to reprint articles must be sought from publisher. Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate and will not be returned without a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Editorial address: 1243 W. 13th Street, San Pedro, CA 90731. Thanks to Anne Kelly, Kristy Salisbury, and Caesar Sereseres for their support. Vb. AMASS, to cultivate, preserve, activate, gather together, socialize, cancel alienation. Distributed by Ubiquity, New York; Angel City, Santa Monica, CA; and Ingram. Member IPA. Indexed in MLA; Alternative Press Index; Ebsco; Cengage, ProQuest. Copyright © 2015 by Society For Popular Democracy. ISSN 0193-5798d

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BATTLING TO BECOME GIGACITIES

KRISTYN MARTIN

Amid concerns in some markets that big telecoms and cable companies are providing service that is too slow and too expensive, some cities are starting their own Internet services, spending millions of dollars to bring super-high-speed, or gigabit, Internet service to their communities through a new fiber-optic infrastructure. Proponents call it the single most important piece of infrastructure of the 21st century, attracting businesses, bolstering education and raising property values.

President Barack Obama has declared community broadband, as it's called, a key to economic prosperity. "Today I'm making my administration's position clear on community broadband. I'm saying I'm on the side of competition," he said.

But it's a layer of competition the telecom giants don't support. The industry says it shouldn't have to compete against a government entity and are pulling out all the stops to prevent these cities from going gig — suing them and even influencing restrictive laws in 19 states.

One place this battle has materialized is Chattanooga, Tennessee, which today is known as the Gig City. That's because in 2008, then-Mayor Ron Littlefield helped make it one of the first U.S. cities to offer super-high-speed Internet through its power utility, the Electric Power Board (EPB). To do it, he had to do battle with telecommunication giants. "When you're dealing with those giants — with the Comcasts and the AT&Ts — they are reluctant to give up the market that they have," he said.

He and other city officials worked with EPB in hopes of attracting entrepreneurs and new businesses — and to provide faster, cheaper service than what was available at the time. The existing providers were not happy.

"Representatives of AT&T and Comcast paraded into my office to tell me why they didn't think Chattanooga should get into this business of competing with private enterprise," said Littlefield.

EPB paid for the \$320 million project through bonds, a line of credit and a \$111 million government stimulus grant. But not before Littlefield said he offered to let local telecoms build out the infrastructure themselves. "They both said, 'Oh, we really can't afford to do that.' And I said, 'We really can't afford not to do that,'" he said. EPB began installing almost 9000 miles of fiber-optic lines. Meanwhile, Comcast sued the utility to prevent it from building its network.

Comcast and others have argued that cities have an unfair advantage over for-profit companies. "Most cities actually charge broadband providers a fee, and then if the city comes in and uses taxpayer dollars, doesn't have to make a profit, uses subsidies — it really is unfair," said Rob Atkinson, the president of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation.

In the end, EPB prevailed and today has almost 70,000 subscribers. It offers two data transmission speeds: 1 gigabit per second, for about \$70 a month, and 100 megabits per second, to which the majority of customers subscribe, for about \$58 a month. The national average broadband speed is just 11 megabits per second.

The city credits its gigabit service for attracting businesses and entrepreneurs and helping create a science, tech, engineering and math (STEM) education program.

"I have to say that we did it right. We did not actually compete unfairly with those giants, struggling as they are financially," said Littlefield.

"Our rates were on par or above theirs. We were simply competing on the basis of service quality. And in the process, we've taken half the market."

And the competition has gotten even fiercer. In May, Comcast announced it would offer 2-gigabit service in Chattanooga, one-upping EPB. A Comcast representative declined a full interview but said, "The Gig City should more accurately be described as the Two Gig City, thanks to Comcast's investment."

"You have municipal networks that will build a network in the absence of real competition. But that creates

But the giants are striking back — through litigation or by working with lawmakers — on the grounds that it is unfair to have to compete with a city-owned business, funded by taxpayer dollars.

— Kristyn Martin

real competition,” said Christopher Mitchell, the director of the community broadband initiative at the Institute for Local Self-Reliance. “When they’re facing competition from a local government, they phrase it in such a way as to say, ‘It’s unfair.’ But when you look at their actions across the board, they’re trying to restrict competition in all manner of ways against private companies. They’re looking for an advantage in every single way that they can get.”

But Alex Horwitz, a Comcast representative, said that this characterization isn’t accurate and that today’s competitive landscape includes multiple providers competing for business and multiple platforms for consumers to watch content.

The Sex Appeal of the Gigabit

The allure of gigabit Internet service is the speed. Downloading a two-hour high-definition movie takes half an hour or more at average broadband speed. At 1 gigabit per second, it takes just 25 seconds. But critics say cities are investing too much taxpayer money into infrastructure that provides too much speed for the average customer.

“You don’t need a gigabit today,” said Atkinson. “In general, a lot of cities have made a big mistake by putting money into these networks that are way ahead of consumer demand. Consumers aren’t asking for these networks.”

It’s a question some cities are asking as they explore the possibility of municipal broadband. “If we build it, will they come? That’s the question,” said Aldona Valicenti, the chief information officer for Lexington, Kentucky.

The city is weighing the costs and risks of investing in fiber-optic infrastructure. It’s looking at building a

network through a partnership with a private company. It’s one of many options the city is weighing. And there are many risks.

“People don’t come right away. So if a company has to make money and they’ve partnered with the city or the county, will they come fast enough for them to repay the loan, to repay the lease payment? Whatever that arrangement was to the point where the company can make money,” she said.

“We’re the kind of city that really needs to have fast Internet access, which is the fuel, really, for a university city,” said Scott Shapiro, a senior adviser to Lexington’s mayor. He said the city is considering investing money in a new fiber-optic gigabit Internet system because it will lure businesses, bolster universities and hospitals and empower a higher caliber of STEM education. He added that gigabit increases property values by 8 percent.

“Why hasn’t that happened yet? You can ask the incumbent Internet providers that question. It seems as if there needs to be a third party in many cities that comes in and builds a fiber-optic network. And that’s been the pattern around the country,” he said.

“None of our cities really want to do this work. It’s hard. It’s scary. It’s risky,” said Deb Socia, the executive director of Next Century Cities. “If they’re doing it, it’s because they have no alternatives.”

The success of municipal broadband varies. EPB planned on operating at a loss for four years but began to see a return after 19 months. But critics point to several failures.

“If you look at Provo [Utah] or Burlington [Vermont], they put a lot of municipal money in, and the sys-

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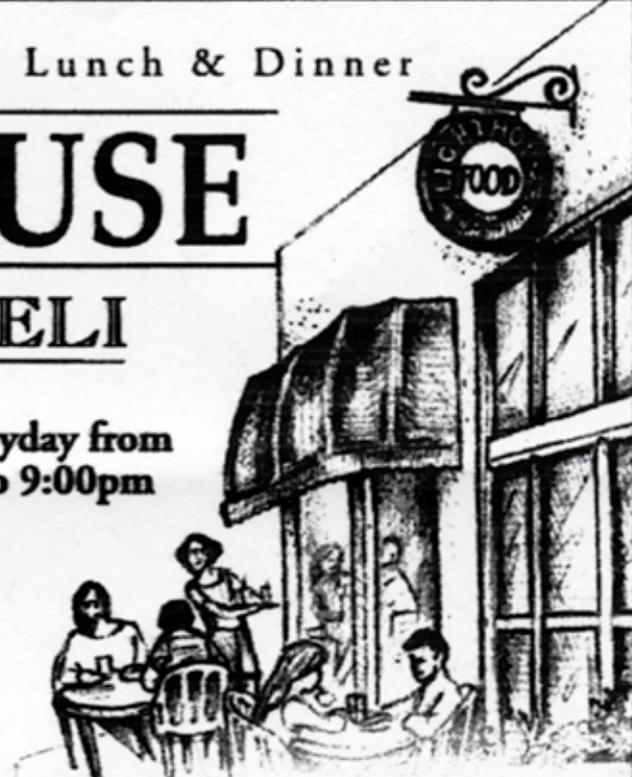
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tems went bankrupt and weren't sustainable," said Atkinson.

Jim Baller, a lawyer who has been involved with more than 60 community-led fiber-optic projects, said most cities don't fail. "By the time a project goes through the process of being viewed as an opportunity and the time the community gets to the end of the process, every number, every theory, every assumption will be tested in the marketplace," he said. "The incumbents will participate in that process. And since that vetting process has worked so effectively in weeding out the strong projects, we've seen very few projects that fail for lack of consideration of what might be the future of a project."

A large part of the expense comes from installing fiber-optic lines, which can be attached to telephone lines or buried underground, as Google Fiber is doing. The company is already in three cities and plans to expand to 12 others.

"I anticipated that when Google came to town, the game would change and there would be a lot more competitors willing to step up," said Socia. "And that's exactly what happened. There was a lot of fearmongering early on, saying, 'You know, if Google comes in and builds, there won't be any incentive for anybody else to be in the market.' And the exact opposite has happened."

In Kansas City, Missouri, and Austin, Texas, where Google has set up shop, AT&T is offering gigabit service for \$70 a month — less than in cities where Google Fiber doesn't have operations. For example, in Cupertino, California, where there isn't Google Fiber, AT&T charges \$110 a month.

As for Lexington, it says the key to its economic growth was getting gigabit service. "This is one of those

opportunities, I think, from a technology perspective, where you have to sort of make the big leap. And the leap is that we will need that bandwidth," said Valicenti.

But the giants are striking back — through litigation or by working with lawmakers — on the grounds that it is unfair to have to compete with a city-owned business, funded by taxpayer dollars. There are 19 states that have laws on the books that restrict or prohibit city-led broadband. One of those states with restrictive laws is Tennessee, where utilities that provide high-speed Internet service may not expand past their service areas.

This poses a problem for rural areas like Tennessee's Bradley County, just 30 miles east of Chattanooga. Country roads lead to a picturesque landscape of grazing cattle and cornfields. But its Internet landscape — that's a different story.

"Currently, our Internet landscape looks like nothing. We have no Internet here," said Penny Coltrin, a middle school teacher and mother of two with no access to high-speed Internet. Her family has two choices: dial-up or satellite service, which she says isn't reliable.

"And so the Internet that we use, my husband and I, is just using our data on our cellphones," she said. But she and her family run into problems with that system, especially if her sons have homework. Some websites needed for school assignments won't open on her phone.

Coltrin said she has been waiting for years for broadband to arrive in her area. She's not alone. In rural areas of the U.S., 53 percent of residents don't have access to basic broadband.

"The reason Comcast isn't there or other providers is ... it costs a lot of money and the revenue isn't high,"

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said Rob Atkinson, the president of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, a libertarian think tank.

But one company does want to offer high-speed Internet service to Bradley County: the Electric Power Board (EPB), Chattanooga's utility, which offers ultra-high-speed Internet access, with data transmission speeds of 1 gigabit per second. It has fiber-optic infrastructure that ends just a half a mile from where the Coltrins live.

"We've looked at a couple of those and can serve those and make a financial business model work out of serving some of those areas and could do it fairly quickly," said David Wade, EPB's chief operating officer. The utility is willing to invest \$60 million to extend service to Bradley County. But the company can't take action because of the state law that prohibits local utility companies from expanding past their service areas.

He said the reason is that the telecom and cable giants don't want to compete with utilities. "It's certainly about retaining service rights and service territories ... and reducing competition, to be honest," he said.

"I understand that any company is in it for a profit," said Coltrin. "The problem is, if they aren't willing to provide it for us, why not let somebody that is come in?"

So EPB and the city of Chattanooga filed a petition last year, asking the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to pre-empt Tennessee's law, charging that it limits city-owned broadband from competing with major players like Comcast and AT&T. Wilson, North Carolina, was also a

part of the petition.

"There's certainly no question that if Chattanooga and Wilson were private entities seeking to do what they wanted to do and the state prohibited it from doing it, that the FCC could and would overturn it," said Jim Baller, the lead counsel representing the EPB, Chattanooga and Wilson. In February the FCC pre-empted Tennessee's law.

"We have a situation where the federal government is pre-empting a state from pre-empting cities," said Christopher Mitchell, the director of the community broadband initiative at the Institute for Local Self-Reliance.

Kristyn Martin writes on the internet and other social issues for a variety of publications, including *Aljazeera*.

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JOURNALISM HOW JOURNALISM HELPS LUNACY BECOME REALITY

LARRY BEINHART

After the second prime-time Republican presidential debate on Sept. 16, *The New York Times* published an astonishing editorial. It said the candidates must be “no longer living in a fact-based world” and described what they said as “a collection of assertions so untrue, so bizarre that they form a vision as surreal as the Ronald Reagan jet looming behind the candidates’ lecterns.”

It was about time that someone as authoritative as *The New York Times* editorial board said it as bluntly as that. One of the things that made the editorial so striking is that the news coverage of the same events, in the same paper as well as in the rest of the media, treated what the candidates said as almost entirely unremarkable.

That prompts interesting questions. Why was this only an editorial? Why wasn’t it in the news? Shouldn’t it be newsworthy that the leading contenders for the Republican nomination are “no longer living in a fact-based world” and that what they say is “untrue ... bizarre ... surreal”?

A Political Problem

It may have been hearing it all in a chorus that so excited the *Times* editorial board. But no candidates on that stage said anything much different from what they and their colleagues in the Senate, the House and state governments say every day.

Normally the news takes what a person in authority says at face value. Then the media publish or broadcast it, usually without question or challenge. Quoted statements are certainly not described as lunatic assertions, however much they might be.

The news then becomes part of a political and social problem: By reiterating and repeating such assertions, they normalize the surreal. If it happens enough without challenge, lunacy becomes reality.

Consider the false stories about Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction leaked by Vice President Dick Cheney’s associates to *New York Times* reporter Ju-

dith Miller. After she got the misinformation published, Cheney and his team quoted the *Times* to prove that the falsehoods must be true.

Or consider the example of tax-cut plans described as pro-growth. Anytime tax reform is described as pro-growth, it is proposing tax cuts for the rich. There are several more accurate tags that could be hung on them: greater inequality tax plan, “them that’s got shall get” tax reform and bubble and crash economics.

Is it possible for journalists to move from objective journalism, as practiced, to the more difficult task of reporting objective reality?

Is it hard to make the case for that second set of labels? Bill Clinton raised taxes, and it was pro-growth. George W. Bush cut taxes, income inequality increased, and there was a bubble and a crash. Barack Obama raised taxes, and there was growth. A quick bit of research going back to Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt will demonstrate pretty much the same thing.

Yet news reporters invariably avoid deconstructing the mantra that tax cuts for the rich are pro-growth and tax hikes will strangle the economy.

Chinese-menu Journalism

Is there such a thing as a fact-based world? (*The New York Times* editorial presumes that there is.) Does objective reality exist?

And if there is objective reality — and a politician makes untrue, bizarre, surreal statements — can a journalist report facts that oppose and discredit those assertions?

Stated that way, it sounds as if the answer must be yes. But as American journalism has traditionally been taught and as it is typically

practiced, the answer is no. The best that a journalist can do if she thinks that Sen. Ted Cruz, for example, is spouting nonsense, is find someone of authority who says so and then quote that person.

This is called “objective” journalism. It has its virtues. It can guard against media outlets putting their own twist on every story. Going to authorities and experts can protect a journalist from being blamed if the statement of contradiction is wrong or incomplete.

The pejorative name for this is Chinese-menu journalism: The reporter orders two quotes, one from column A and one from column B, and there’s a complete news meal. Describing it that way reveals the inherent weakness of the method.

The *Times* editorial complained that the candidates in the debate didn’t talk about “child poverty, police and

What’s even more troubling is that the truth or verifiability of a statement doesn’t matter. What matters is the stature of the people being quoted and if they have a stake in making the case.

— Larry Beinhardt

gun violence, racial segregation, educational gaps, competition in a global economy and crumbling infrastructure. On looming disasters (the changing climate)” — issues that the *Times* considers significant for our nation. But the people on that stage (let alone the debate moderators) don’t think those topics are important and, as it happens, all of them live in the same column. Call it column A.

The system breaks down when there is no one around from column B. Or, presuming there’s more than two ways to view things, from columns C, D and E.

What’s even more troubling is that the truth or verifiability of a statement doesn’t matter. What matters is the stature of the people being quoted and if they have a stake in making the case.

The classic disastrous example was Secretary of State Colin Powell’s 2003 speech at the United Nations claiming that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction. The Iraqi minister of science denied it. But if Saddam was Hitler, then his minister was Goebbels. He had negative stature and couldn’t be quoted against the noble American military hero.

Hans Blix, the U.N. weapons inspector on the ground, essentially denied the claim. But his stake was in appearing thoughtful, scientific and neutral. So he insisted on saying none had been found so far and he could not swear none would ever be found.

So off America went to war on what would have been, in a fact-based world, a set of assertions that could have been easily disproved. But only if journalists were committed to asserting reality. For its own sake.

Reporting Objective Reality

Is it possible for journalists to move from objective journalism, as practiced, to the more difficult task of reporting objective reality? It is being done, but only in certain narrow circumstances.

Political advertisements are now routinely subjected to independent fact-checking, then rated for their degrees of truth and falsehood. Sometimes campaign statements are also treated that way.

Yet claims made for policies once politicians are in office, even if they are identical to claims labeled false in political commercials, are not subject to such examinations. They should be.

We know that news organizations don’t abide by the rules of objective journalism when they don’t want to. The debates thus far are a perfect case in point.

In the first prime-time debate, run by Fox News, the questions the moderators asked had nothing to do with running the country. The goal of the questions was to test the degree to which the candidates were Fox News Republicans. Since all but one of them would not get to run for president, the questions served even better as auditions for becoming Fox News commentators.

CNN, desperate for ratings, announced and advertised that its goal was to try to provoke confrontations. The network showed no interest in discovering who might best run the country or in fact-checking anything said in those confrontations.



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Arguments from authority

Two things have damaged objective journalism. First, the method of only quoting authoritative sources has inherent weaknesses. People have figured out how to game the system. Now there's a whole class of people dedicated to doing so and to selling their services to stakeholders with enough money to employ them. They spin, package, focus-group phrases such as "pro-growth," churn out position papers, muddy the waters and try to destroy ideas that oppose the interests of their clients.

Readers and viewers may not be able to deconstruct and decipher all the interests that have shaped a given news story, but they can certainly feel that the material has been sliced, diced and manufactured. So there's great distrust, and rightly so, of the mainstream media, from both ends of the political spectrum.

Second, objective journalism is no longer the right method for the times. It grew up in an age when information was difficult to obtain. Simply letting us know who won the battle, what destruction a storm caused and what a presidential candidate said in a distant city was of great service. Now the problem is reversed. There's too much information coming to us way too quickly. We need someone to sort it out. What's important, trivial, true, false, relevant to our lives.

The proof that something is wrong with the method is the market. Almost all practitioners of straight-up objective journalism are either struggling or dead. In a land that once had many great newspapers, there's only one, *The New York Times* — maybe a second, *The Washington Post* — left. All the network news organizations have cut back.

Lessons from Two Successes

There are, however, two great success stories in the news business: Fox News and *The Daily Show*.

On a fundamental level, they offer the same services. They sort through the mountains of chatter and tell us what is important. They also perform the very gratifying function of telling us that everyone else is spouting bullshit. Of this we are certain and happy to cheer.

Admittedly, they do this in two different ways. Fox News does it by adhering to a political agenda in which myth always trumps reality. It is a major contributor to the conditions that prevailed on the stage of the Republican debates that so appalled the *Times* editorial board. Jon Stewart and *The Daily Show* did it by being the only news outlet with a historical memory — pulling the tape on what people said last year and the year before — and by holding claims up not to counterclaims but to the standard of objective reality.

The problem with objective journalism is illustrated perfectly by what was said in the *Times* editorial and what was not said in the news pages. By the standards of objective journalism, what the editorial said is opinion. If it's opinion, then there's yours and mine and no way to choose one over the other.

If serious journalism is going to survive and even to thrive, the challenge is to elevate the whole standard of objective journalism to one that is based on the idea that there is objective reality and that it is the job of the journalist to go beyond getting usable quotes and to sort that out for us. It may even be a great economic opportunity. Even without the jokes.

Larry Beinhart is the author of *Wag the Dog*, which was made into a motion picture of the same name.

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EXXON AND CLIMATE CHANGE DECEPTION

ANDREW SEIFTER

Amid a newly-announced investigation of ExxonMobil by the attorney general of New York and calls from all three Democratic presidential candidates for the U.S. Department of Justice to launch a federal probe of the oil giant, Exxon is feeling heat over evidence that it deceived the public for decades about the science of climate change. So the company is lashing out at the media organizations that compiled that evidence, and recent opinion pieces in *The Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Post* are assisting Exxon's disinformation campaign.

Following an eight-month investigation that included interviews with former Exxon employees and an extensive examination of primary sources, including internal Exxon documents dating back to the 1970's, InsideClimate News published a six-part series in September and October detailing "how Exxon conducted cutting-edge climate research decades ago and then, without revealing all that it had learned, worked at the forefront of climate denial." The *Los Angeles Times* conducted its own investigation with Columbia University's Energy & Environmental Reporting Project and reached a similar conclusion: in the 1980's Exxon "earned a public reputation as a pioneer in climate change research," but by 1990 the company began "pour[ing] millions into a campaign that questioned climate change." The *Times* reported that the documents, along with "the recollections of former employees," indicate that ExxonMobil changed its stance on the issue because it "feared a growing public consensus would lead to financially burdensome policies."

Exxon initially responded by seeking to dismiss the InsideClimate News investigation as the work of "anti-oil and gas activists" (never mind that InsideClimate News is a Pulitzer Prize-winning media organization). But now Exxon has adopted a new strategy: seek to discredit

the *Los Angeles Times*' characterization of a single Exxon document in order to undermine the mountains of evidence that Exxon purposefully deceived the public about climate change.

Exxon put this strategy into action in a November 5 blogpost, in which Exxon Vice President of Public and Government Affairs Ken Cohen claimed that the *Times* was "deliberately hiding" a 1989 Exxon presentation it cited against Exxon because the document supposedly "undercuts the paper's claims that ExxonMobil knew with certainty everything there is to know about global warming back in the 1980s yet failed to sound alarms." The Exxon complaint was quickly picked up by a November 8 *Wall Street Journal* editorial, which claimed that the 1989 document proves that the InsideClimate News and *Times* investigations "selectively quote from internal Exxon documents," and a November 8 column by *The Washington Post*'s Robert Samuelson, who repeated Cohen's claim that the 1989 document shows how the media investigations "'cherry-pick' their evidence."

Exxon is attacking the *Times* for reporting that

But now Exxon has adopted a new strategy: seek to discredit the *Los Angeles Times*' characterization of a single Exxon document in order to undermine the mountains of evidence that Exxon purposefully deceived the public about climate change.

— Andrew Seifter

the 1989 presentation, by Exxon scientist Duane LeVine, showed Exxon recognized that "scientists generally agreed gases released by burning fossil fuels could raise global temperatures significantly by the middle of the 21st century." In particular, Exxon objects to the *Times* not mentioning that LeVine said in the same document, "I do not believe" that "the science has demonstrated the existence of [potential enhanced greenhouse] today," and "enhanced greenhouse is still deeply imbedded in scientific uncertainty." (LeVine defined "potential enhanced greenhouse" as the "enhancement of [the greenhouse effect] due to human activities.")

But the *Times* is correct in pointing out that LeVine acknowledged the scientific consensus that burning fossil fuels was projected to lead to significant warming. From page 20 of LeVine's 1989 presentation

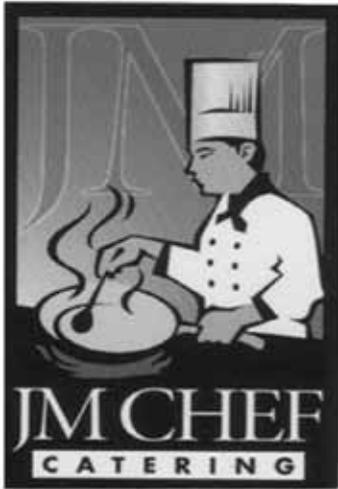
(emphasis added):

"[The Department of Energy's] CO₂ projections are used in current climate models to predict important changes over the next 100 years. This set of results is taken from the National Research Council (NRC) report "Changing Climate."

Consensus predictions call for warming 1.5-4.5 [degrees Celsius] for doubled CO₂ with greater warming at the poles. Note that these numbers reflect the range

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produced by available models. No one knows how to evaluate the absolute uncertainty in the numbers.

The extent and thickness of glaciers are predicted to decrease, leading to sea level rise. The NRC report chose a most likely value of 70 cm sea level rise. Other predictions suggest a broader range from 30-200 cm. The rise occurs both from a larger amount of water in the oceans, and from thermal expansion.

Finally, climate change and higher levels of atmospheric CO2 affect agriculture and ecosystems.”

The *Times* is also correct when it says that LeVine urged Exxon to “[t]ell the public that more science is needed before regulatory action is taken ... and emphasize the ‘costs and economics’ of restricting carbon dioxide emissions.” From page 33 of the presentation (emphasis added, ellipses original):

“To be a responsible participant and part of the solution to [potential enhanced greenhouse], Exxon’s position should recognize and support 2 basic societal needs. **First ... to improve understanding of the problem ... not just the science ... but the costs and economics tempered by the sociopolitical realities. That’s going to take years (probably decades).** But there are measures already underway that will improve our environment in various ways ... and in addition reduce the growth in greenhouse gases. That’s the second need including things like energy conservation, restriction of CFC emissions, and efforts to increase the global ratio of re/de forestation. Of course, we’ll need to develop other response options...implementing measures when they are cost effective in the near term and pursuing new technologies for the future.”

In the presentation, LeVine drew a distinction between historical warming up to that point -- which he claimed is “not enough to confirm enhanced greenhouse” (page 22) -- and projections, which he said “suggest ... significant climate change with a variety of regional impacts” and “sea level rise with generally negative consequences” (page 22). Then, after identifying the “key players” that were likely to increasingly call for action to address climate change (page 23), LeVine claimed there is a “misconception” that “enough research on the basic problem has been done,” and argued that “failure to understand” the need for scientific advances and uncertainty in the climate models could “lead to premature limitations on fossil fuels” (page 31).

So LeVine acknowledged the scientific consensus on climate change while simultaneously arguing that he personally did not believe anthropogenic global warming was fully proven and that more research was necessary before restricting fossil fuel use. In that sense, LeVine’s presentation is indicative of Exxon’s shift towards attempting to “emphasize [the] doubt,” just as the *Times* described it.

The year of LeVine’s presentation also fits with the timeline for Exxon’s shift on climate science that was identified in the InsideClimate News investigation (emphasis added):

“Through much of the 1980s, Exxon researchers worked alongside university and government scientists to generate objective climate models that yielded papers published in peer-reviewed journals. Their work confirmed the emerging scientific consensus on global warming’s risks.”



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Yet starting in 1989, Exxon leaders went down a different road. They repeatedly argued that the uncertainty inherent in computer models makes them useless for important policy decisions. Even as the models grew more powerful and reliable, Exxon publicly derided the type of work its own scientists had done. The company continued its involvement with climate research, but its reputation for objectivity began to erode as it campaigned internationally to cast doubt on the science.”

With this full context, it's clear that the *Times'* characterization of LeVine's presentation is justified and Exxon's response is a deceptive smokescreen.

But it's also important to remember that LeVine's presentation is just one of many primary source documents examined by the *Times* and InsideClimate News. Here is a sampling of other documents showing that Exxon scientists and officials recognized by the early-to-mid-eighties that there was broad scientific consensus continuing to burn fossil fuels would lead to climate change, even if the amount of warming was still unclear:

Exxon Senior Scientist James F. Black (1978): In the first place, there is general scientific agreement that the most likely manner in which mankind is influencing the global climate is through carbon dioxide release from the burning of fossil fuels. A doubling of carbon dioxide is estimated to be capable of increasing the average global temperature by from 1 [degree] to 3 [degrees Celsius], with a 10 [degrees Celsius] rise predicted at the poles. More research is needed, however, to establish the validity and significance of predictions with respect to the Greenhouse Effect. It is currently estimated that mankind has a 5-10 yr. time window to obtain the necessary information.

Exxon Theoretical and Mathematical Sciences Laboratory Director Roger W. Cohen (1982): [O]ver the past several years a clear scientific consensus has emerged regarding the expected climatic effects of increased atmospheric CO2. The consensus is that a doubling of atmospheric CO2 from its pre-industrial revolution value would result in an average global temperature rise of (3.0 [plus-or-minus] 1.5) [degrees Celsius]. The uncertainty in this figure is a result of the inability of even the most elaborate models to simulate climate in a totally realistic manner. ... [T]he results of our research are in accord with the scientific consensus on the effect of increased atmospheric CO2 on climate.

Exxon Environmental Affairs Programs Man-

ager M.B. Glaser (1982): Predictions of the climatological impact of a carbon dioxide induced “greenhouse effect” draw upon various mathematical models to gauge the temperature increase. The scientific community generally discussed the impact in terms of doubling of the current carbon dioxide content in order to get beyond the noise level of the data. We estimate doubling could occur around the year 2090 based upon fossil fuel requirements projected in Exxon's long range energy outlook. The question of which predictions and which models best simulate a carbon dioxide-induced climate change is still being debated by the scientific community. Our best estimate is that doubling of the current concentration could increase average global temperature by about 1.3 [degrees Celsius] to 3.1 [degrees Celsius].

Exxon Climate Modeler Brian Flannery And New York University Professor Martin Hoffert (1985): Consensus CO2 Warming: Transient climate models currently available, when run with standard scenarios of fossil fuel CO2 emissions, indicate a global warming of the order of 1 [degree Celsius] by the year 2000, relative to the year 1850, and an additional 2-5 [degrees Celsius] warming over the next century. However, the sensitivity of such predictions to known uncertainties of the models -- that is, the robustness of CO2 warming predictions -- has not yet been extensively explored.

Andrew Seifter writes for MediaMatters.org. Excerpted with permission.

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HOUSING DISCRIMINATION IN LONG BEACH

NANCY LYNÉE WOO

As the city of Long Beach undergoes rapid economic development, how much of a priority is it to create habitable, equitable housing conditions for residents? Not much of one, according to city statements that decline implementation of a rent escrow account program (REAP). Long Beach has no rent control measures in place, and a large population of low-income renters. In his three years as Director of Organizing with Housing Long Beach, Jorge Rivera said he's met dozens of renters suffering through substandard conditions, such as pest infestations, inadequate plumbing and black mold, which their property managers refused to address—conditions against which renters have inadequate protections.

In June, dozens of grassroots advocates for fair housing showed up in droves to a City Council meeting in support of REAP in Long Beach. This was the latest installment of a three-year campaign led by Housing Long Beach, a non-profit advocacy organization that works to improve, preserve and increase the supply of affordable housing in the city. The organization advocated to include REAP as a consideration in the 2014–2021 Housing Element plan, and this meeting was scheduled to hear the city's recommendations; it was a full house with those advocating both for and against REAP.

REAP is designed to protect all renters, including the most vulnerable populations, from landlords who refuse to make repairs on their property by placing non-compliant landowners (who would have already received warnings and fines) into a rent escrow program managed by the city. This would allow renters to stay in the dwelling while it is being repaired, and continue to pay their rent, or a reduced rent, to the city until these properties are proven to meet basic health codes. The city of Los Angeles began their REAP program in 1998, and other cities throughout the state have adopted REAP, including Sacramento, Oakland, San Francisco, Santa Monica, Los Angeles and Elk Grove.

Ahead of the meeting, the city released an eight-page

memo stating that REAP is unnecessary and too expensive, and the meeting followed suit. Instead, the city codified an ordinance that provided for proactive rental inspections under the already existing Proactive Rental Housing Inspection Program (PRHIP). Under this ordinance, tenants can request a city inspection of a rental unit. For units found in disrepair, landlords will be given a 30-day warning to bring units up to health code standards and then fined \$100. After 60 days, the fine goes up to \$200, and up to \$500 after 90 days. Fines are as far as regulation under PRHIP extends. Housing advocates argue it's not enough.

The problem is, according to Jenifer Wiseman, Staff Attorney for Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles (LAFLA) in Long Beach, that even with an inspection program in place renters are not protected from retaliation, commonly seen as rent increases and eviction. Legally, a tenant is protected from retaliation and discrimination under federal and state law and can file a complaint on the state level with the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing. The other option for recourse is to sue. However, according to Wiseman, who handles the eviction cases for LAFLA, pursuing legal action is a risky, expensive and time-intensive process, one that many people decide not to undergo. Even within organizations like the Legal Aid Foundation, whose mission is to achieve equal justice for poor and low-income people in greater Los Angeles, limited funding restricts the resources allocated for this work.

“If you are poor it is incredibly difficult to enforce your rights,” Wiseman said. For instance, if a retaliation case fails and an eviction is deemed legal, that renter has an eviction on their record for at least ten years, which could make it difficult to find housing in the future. If the case wins, on the other hand, the landlord faces no permanent repercussions on any public record. Without protection from REAP, which would involve the city as a third-party agent to ensure accountability and require landlords to prove

adequate habitability, many renters do not go forward with complaints or legal action, either because they don't realize these as options or because it's not worth the investment of time and money. Instead, they either stay quiet about asking for repairs or move out without a fuss. Rivera says that many renters live under a “blanket of fear” because they are afraid to ask for repairs and then be subject to rent increases or be forced to leave. Housing Long Beach hosts educational community forums on various housing topics to inform people of their rights as renters. “Knowing your rights is important,” Wiseman agrees, “but are there really great rights that ten-

REAP is designed to protect all renters, including the most vulnerable populations, from landlords who refuse to make repairs on their property by placing non-compliant landowners (who would have already received warnings and fines) into a rent escrow program managed by the city.

– Nancy Lynée Woo

ants should know about? Not at the local level where they are most able to be enforced.”

Why is the city against instituting REAP? “We’re not really sure,” says Wiseman. She cites a private memo from the city that calls REAP “not legal and feasible.” Wiseman challenges that it is legal and it would not be a financial burden. The Apartment Association of Southern California Cities, which serves Long Beach and 53 other locales, is also against REAP. Executive Director Johanna Cunningham asserts that REAP is not needed because landowners and managers are already invested in keeping their property up to code.



Photo by John O’Kane

“There’s a misconception about property owners. It’s a business like everything else, but you have to have a heart to want to house people, and such a small percentage of slumlords (for lack of a better term) unfortunately paint a broad stroke on everybody,” Cunningham said. Indeed, REAP would only affect the “bad apples,” leaving good landowners without consequences. Cunningham also asserts that sometimes it’s not the landowner’s fault for continued disrepair. “The more that we can strengthen relationships with tenants, the better, but I don’t think being punitive [by implementing REAP] is the answer,” Cunningham states. The Apartment Association provides training, education and a code of ethics for all members, including how to pass inspections, how to keep a property well maintained, and what to know about fair housing and sexual harassment laws.

But there is no screening process to join the Apartment Association, and no requirement to do so, either. Only about 20,000 units out of approximately 76,000 Long Beach units have membership with the Apartment Association, which begs the question, where are the accountability measures for the rest of the housing units in the city? Long Beach is the 7th largest city in California by population, according to the 2014 Census, and also one of 14 sites statewide chosen as a key location of the California Endowment, a grant pro-

gram that is administered based on assessment of need and potential for widespread change. Officially nicknamed “The International City,” Long Beach is very diverse, but also one of the top ten most segregated cities in America, according to the Census from 2010.

Long Beach has been long known in pop culture as overrun by crime, drugs and poverty—at least in certain parts. Over the last decade or so, this image of the LBC has been gradually shifting, as money has found its way into the downtown area, attracting high-end apartments, shopping centers, restaurants, tech businesses and young, educated professionals. Anyone who has lived in the city for a few years is aware of this creeping transition. Plenty of college graduates and transplants find themselves attracted to the low cost of living and burgeoning culture of the city (writer included)—but what is the unseen cost to current residents as these young money-and culture-makers start changing the landscape?

Gentrification is a hot topic of debate all over Los Angeles and housing laws contribute significantly to this conversation. “Some would say that gentrification is a form of segregation and discrimination,” Rivera opines. The idea of gentrification is simple: When the poor can’t afford their homes anymore because of rising property values, they are pushed out to even poorer, more resource-deprived areas. But is gentrification a natural economic phenomenon or an institutionally directed objective? If you take a quick glance at a map of Long Beach examining demographics, it’s easy to see that the west side (Central and North Long Beach) is primarily non-white and low income, while the east side (Belmont

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LONG BEACH HOUSING

Shore and Los Alamitos) is primarily white and middle class or wealthy—it looks like almost two different cities.

Is this racial and class divide an accident? Activists and educators in the city propose that it is not. Discriminatory housing and lending practices dating at least back to the 1960s and 1970s could shed light on the city's two distinct faces. Cities all across the nation still suffer from historical practices of redlining, racial steering and race restrictive covenants. Redlining refers to the practice of literally taking a red pen to a map and drawing lines to define areas in which cities, banks and lenders agree to disinvest—historically funneling resources away from poor, African-American, Latino and other minority areas. As a result, these areas lack access to resources such as non-predatory loans for homes or businesses, quality public schools and quality grocery stores, creating conditions rife for crime, poverty and economic stagnation. Similarly, race restrictive covenants refer to language historically used within property titles and deeds to disallow the sale or rental of property to minorities in certain areas. Racial steering is a practice by which real estate agents selectively show property to clients based on race or other discriminatory factors, a method that, though not institutional, could still be called common.

Even after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 federally prohibited housing discrimination based on race, religion, national origin and sex, one newspaper headline from 1975 reads “Loan-starved L.A. cities redlined,” indicating that federal laws do not necessarily guarantee enforcement or behavioral changes. Deeply ingrained prejudices do not disappear easily, and Long Beach continues to face structural issues of racial and class inequality. As downtown Long Beach is beginning to reap the benefits of city-funded development and introduction of high-end businesses, what happens to residents who have lived on the west side of Long Beach for decades?

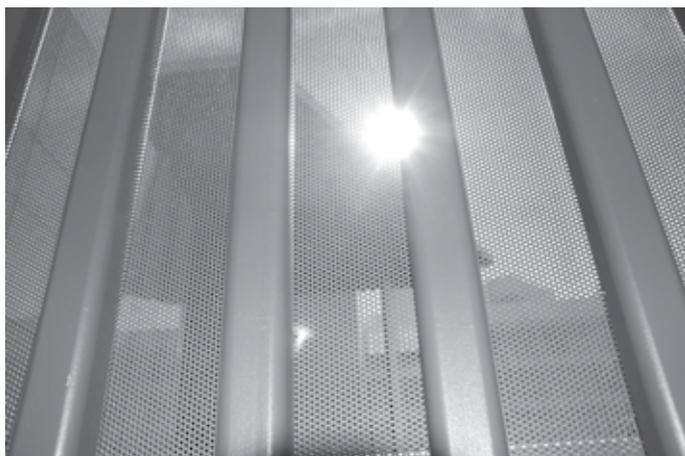


Photo by John O’Kane

With no rent control measures in place, a property owner legally does not need to provide a reason to raise rent or evict a tenant. While easily problematic considering the economic changes happening in the city, these conditions also invite questions of what subtler forms of discrimination might be at play. In addition to eviction and retaliation, discrimination can occur in more insidious ways, such as denying a rental unit, denying rental accommodations or creating



Photo by John O’Kane

“rules” for rentals based on race, class, age, family status, gender, sex or disability. For instance, while it is illegal to prohibit a service animal or restrict playtime for children in a rental unit, these instances may still occur, and yet they are often hard to prove.

“Discrimination is much more difficult to detect nowadays,” Rivera says. It’s easy for a landowner to conduct a background check, but these are not easily traceable except through investigation or subpoena. Landlords may also sometimes charge different amounts to different people for a standard credit check. Wiseman reports that she’ll often see Section 8 tenants consistently denied housing. (Section 8 allows for individuals in need to receive subsidized housing.) For example, she says one client with a housing voucher was turned down by 25–30 different units in one month, which is the time frame this person was given under Section 8 to secure a unit. Denying Section 8 tenants rental access, due to what Rivera might call “preconceptions that landowners have that certain people take advantage of the system and won’t take care of the unit,” is a form of income discrimination.

One of the biggest challenges to affordable housing, in addition to eviction, is the lack of transparency in the housing application process, says Rivera. “There is a huge divide between what is illegal and what is actually happening.” The best way to gather hard evidence would be to conduct large-scale research studies throughout Long Beach, he proposes. “There is no solution if a problem isn’t being seen. If you think you’re being discriminated against or feel you are, you have to bring it into the light. To believe there is no problem means there will never be a solution.”

Where, when and how often do instances of housing discrimination occur, and to whom? In researching this article, I recalled a small incident that I perhaps overlooked because I am lucky to say that I have not experienced much outright, blatant discrimination in my life. I have lived in Long Beach for five years, and one day a year or so ago, I was standing outside the three-bedroom apartment I was

(and still am) renting in Central Long Beach when the landlord from the house across the street sauntered over. A middle-aged white man, this property owner was looking



Photo by John O’Kane

for renters. He initiated conversation with my roommate, an extroverted Caucasian woman with bright red hair and, though I was standing right beside her, he did not look at me or acknowledge me in any way. Later, after he invited her (not me) to take a tour of his property, she reported that he had told her he didn’t want to rent to Asians because they smell funny and have weird habits. Did I mention I am half-

Chinese? This one instance did not directly affect my life; it was only a small annoyance. But it is exactly this sort of seemingly-innocuous micro-moment that, when viewed on a citywide level, can have far-reaching, sometimes livelihood-threatening repercussions.

In 1943, Abraham Maslow coined the theory of a hierarchy of needs. In this theory of human motivation, people naturally need to fulfill basic physiological desires—like food, water and shelter—before we are capable of seeking “higher” motivations like friendship, love, community and achievement. All over the country, American citizens are slogging through the struggles of poverty, stuck on the bottom rungs of Maslow’s pyramid, facing a seemingly insurmountable climb upward. Shelter is a basic human need, and unfortunately, the social system often tends to disadvantage those on the bottom rungs when it comes to affordable, safe, habitable housing. Rivera calls it a “failed system;” Wiseman uses the term “skewed.”

Clearly, with the energy of housing advocates like Housing Long Beach and the Legal Aid Foundation, housing discrimination and habitability are issues that won’t conveniently disappear from the limelight. Housing Long Beach offers free seminars for community members on topics such as renter’s rights and legal action, and is continuing to work on policy initiatives such as REAP, mixed-income housing development projects and code enforcement. You can visit housinglb.org to learn more about getting involved in the movement for affordable housing for all.

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FUMES

JOHN O'KANE

He rushes out the side door of the Viper Room clasp his head, driven by a backdraft of AC/DC decibels, wondering why she never showed. He can't wait another minute here. She sounded positive earlier, but maybe he misread her tone and she didn't want to be the bearer of bad news. He hadn't known her long. His Marine buddy he'd served with turned him onto her, claiming she helped him transition back to civvy life by giving him a soul.

"A soul! What do you...you mean you got more spiritual, closer to god?" "Well, not exactly...I get this peaceful warm feeling and...it's like there's someone guiding me...taking care of me, making sure I do the right things."

"Like a voice in your head?"

"Usually more like a...blurry picture that whispers...can't always make out the words but the way she says them and...the tone and..."

He respected his opinions since they went through similar military experiences and he always seemed to know what's what. So far he hasn't found a soul. After her treatments he does feel like he has a guardian angel protecting him from bad thoughts and making him immune to bad decisions. But it's time for another session.

He settles for a beer from the partial six-pack on the front seat as he creeps down 4th Street, dialing her on his cell as he chugs it. The edgy expectation of a response disperses in the low clouds seeping through the open sunroof and spreads through the space like a humid elixir he can virtually taste. He turns on the radio to a raucous decibel level and scrambles the dial, the signal locking on a station that's babbling away about the nicknames women have for their boobs, the cackle of call-ins nearly too much for him to bear. Perplexing thoughts mix with the low clouds and blur his vision. He slows down and pulls over to the curb ten feet or so from where a gaggle of street waifs are gathered and chanting something. The sound soothes for the moment.

He chugs another beer and creeps back into the flow of traffic, redialing her with the same result. The alcohol has no effect. The radio babbles on, selling some panacea for mysterious maladies. He scrambles the dial again

and the electronic gods deliver the local news. Before he can re-scramble it a report comes on about some local atrocity and he pulls over to the curb near Cherry across the street from a mini-mall. Inhaling his final beer, he turns up the volume after a few minutes and cringes at the morbid details, doubling over in pain. He opens the window to retch.

When he raises his head, he sees the familiar yellow tape billowing against the perfunctory movements of two police officers before they get into their car and enter a side street. The remaining retinue of crisis players soon follows, scattering the crowd and sending it off to pursue other phantasms. His cell lights up and the scene vanishes.

"Hey, where you been?" he starts in. "Been calling and calling!" His eyes are glued to the scene as if he might still spot flashes.

"Had a client who was losing it and had to do some scrambling with remedies...left the cell in my car." The tone of her voice is casual but commiserating.

"I...was down at the bar and...you said..." He puts the phone down on the seat while observing a young, Middle Eastern male emerge from the liquor store in the middle of the mall and peer at the dwindling looky-loos.

"You there...still there?" Her voice, which he can hear clearly in the car's relative quiet, seems to vibrate the stranded phone and expand its volume, turning it into an alien object from which he recoils. The Middle Eastern male, who's now wearing a military uniform and armed with an assault rifle, pans the street like he's expecting someone and crouches, fixing his gaze in the direction of his car. He ducks down, his right shoulder grazing the floor on the passenger's side, then peeks above the dash while touching the cell to his ear.

"Hello...hello!"

"Yeah, I'm here," he says. "Pulled over to the curb for a few minutes to..."

"...to what...why did you pull over? Where are you?"

"Not sure. Thought I recognized...someone might be after me!"

"Who? Where are you?"

"Near Cherry I think...at 4th...not sure."

"Near Cherry I think...at 4th...not sure."

"What do you see around there?"

"It's pretty dark and...just a minute." He lays his hand on the seat, loosely cradling the cell while observing the Middle Eastern male cautiously backstepping into the store. He opens the car door and springs out, nearly getting clipped by a passing pickup. Unfazed, he vaults across the street between two cars going in the opposite direction and

**Her words now
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from her body.**

— John O'Kane

comes to rest on the sidewalk behind the recycle bin for cover, wiping the sweat from his brow. He peers out cautiously at the store's façade. A wayward cluster of motorcyclists revs around the corner from Cherry, throttling his nerves but also curiously re-energizing him. He leaves his perch and leopard-crawls to the front door...

He exits the elevator of the Gotham Building and heads toward the penthouse condo, eager for this week's session. He always leaves her place feeling that he's gotten the inspiration and energy to cope with his nightmares in the following days, and even master them. Plus, this week she promised to have a surprise for him, some new therapy she feels will finally get rid of them once and for all and allow him to rejoin the world of normal citizens--he can't really remember what that means. As he tries to imagine having to make it on his own without her help he sees a dark tunnel with light streaming through it, which is what the hallway looks like that he now finds himself in. It doesn't seem the same as before. Perhaps not all the ceiling lights are working. He notices a narrow strip of light streaming across the floor and approaches it, realizing now that it's coming from her slightly ajar door. Since he usually has to ring her buzzer, he's apprehensive as he widens the gap between the door and the frame and peeks inside. Seeing no one, he crosses the threshold and taps the wall with his knuckles as she touches his shoulder from behind.

"Breaking into my place, huh! Come on in...had

to slip a note under a neighbor's door. Everything's ready. Have a seat by the window."

"Not putting me on the couch this time?" he asks as she guides him to the soft leather recliner. He notices that the furniture has been rearranged and the pictures removed from the far wall.

"We've done enough of the talking couch cure... you need to sit up erect and alert. We need to find a way for you to access memories you haven't been aware of that are causing you pain...then we can get rid of them once and for all and you can begin to build a series of new ones, along with more positive thoughts and feelings."

"Sure," he says, "whatever you say. I still have nightmares but...sometimes in the day I get these urges that I can't get rid of."

"When you're awake? What happens?"

"If I have a disagreement with someone...and I seem to be having more and more of them these days... something forces me to make it an argument, a vocal one where I have to finish it and win absolutely and it doesn't matter how. I'm afraid that..."

"...that you'll get violent and..."

"...do something I don't want to...I don't really have any enemies so I...I've been staying away from people, especially crowds."

"We touched on this a bit last time. Someone like you who came out of a war experience and saw action... this is common. Now we need to do something about it.

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Have you ever been hypnotized?"

"No...not that I..."

"...not even overseas?...before you left duty or while you were recuperating from the incidents? It wasn't part of your therapy?"

"Not that I..."

"...do you remember talking to any doctors then about how hypnosis could help you recover?"

"No, don't remember any conversations about it."

"There are several types and...the military sometimes does it without telling you. I've even seen cases where returning vets have been accidentally hypnotized by their war experiences."

"I was told that you can't be if you don't want to be."

"Some aren't aware that they want to be. They don't have complete rational control over their desires under the best of circumstances. They secretly desire the euphoria of giving up to the demands of forces outside themselves. The ideal is to learn how to successfully hypnotize yourself when you want to. Some say that all hypnosis is self-hypnosis, but I wouldn't..."

"...I'm...I don't want to be...maybe later. Just need a little support now to make more progress."

"We'll see how this works." She steps to the bar that separates the kitchen from the living room and retrieves a glass containing a pale green liquid. "Here's some nourishment."

"The usual?" he asks, giving it a taste. His expression suggests it isn't.

"Yes...more or less. It's herb tea."

He looks at the liquid, not recognizing the color, stares at her for a few moments and then at the ceiling before taking another sip. He tries to match her upbeat tone, but this new routine upsets his rhythm. He also tries to absorb her words but they seem out of sequence and he can't put them into one that makes sense.

"What you see and say is important. We have to activate your ability to take charge and master your situation."

He's looking at her now from a different angle, seeing a different person. She's scrapped the shrink's uni for an olive drab camouflage blouse and faded Levis. Her hair is matronly chic, pulled back and piled on top. She's wearing no makeup. Her eyes are hidden in the dimness of the room, but a nervous stream of light from the nearest window provides a fleeting glimpse of them, suggesting a deeper mystery. The tone of her voice lacks its earlier dry matter-of-factness; it now evokes a sense of untold promise.

His face begins to feel prickly and he takes another sip. "I can't see very...much."

"You will. Relax!"

Music begins to filter through the room as pictures flash on the newly blank far wall. The accompanying soundtrack is a mash-up of various military marches, faint and soothing at first but growing louder as the pictures change more rapidly. At first they keep repeating: parents smiling while their children frolic in front of a middle class home in the burbs with the American flag prominently displayed; a school playground where teenage kids of diverse backgrounds and ethnicities interact in harmony; an indus-

trial workplace with employees and managers amiably cooperating to complete a project; a ranch with modern-day farmer-cowboys plowing the fields in communal bliss...

Eyes glued to the screen, his lips trace a pout that morphs into a faint smile and then a grin.

"What are you doing? What is all this...nice pictures? I remember that one song from training camp...it all makes me think about back home and..." He swoons a look of inscrutable gaiety that she's closely monitoring to make sure the pictures change at the right time so the desired effect won't be lost. She figures she has about seven more minutes to make the shift.

"That's what they're supposed to do. Finish your drink. I can get you another one...want you to be as relaxed as possible."

"I've never tasted anything like this." He takes a big swallow and lays his head back in pained ecstasy, ignoring the pictures now and leering at the portrait of R.D. Laing on the side wall, wondering who it might be. She squints and urges his concentration back to the pictures with her body language, fearful that once they no longer hold his attention the experiment will go awry and produce unexpected results, even regress him to unknown regions. He recovers from his respite and turns again toward the far wall.

"It's a concoction I thought you'd like...I recall the last time you were here."

Her words now come to him like infrared amoebae strung out on a cloudy sky. He takes another sip and smells a delectable, tangy-sweet substance that seems to emanate from her body. He presses his hands firmly against the sides of the chair as if to verify his existence and leans back.

"The last time I felt embarrassed...now I..." He places his hands on his cheeks but can barely feel them, then looks at his hands as if they're the source of the problem.

"We're going beyond that here...you want to feel that any thoughts or feelings can be expressed and this is good...when they're out you'll feel better, like they've been cleansed of all their toxic tendencies, and then you'll start to remember better and cultivate and preserve positive associations that will pile up and give you the armor to protect yourself from violent urges. It's similar to self-hypnosis...you can learn to do this yourself when threats come." She channels his incredulous, phasing orbs and pulls away from him, swiveling toward the wall while gesturing with her hands for him to follow suit. "These pictures and sounds make you feel good, right?" Both are still looping.

"I feel them...my hands are softer. What's that smell? Good...yes, it's good." He looks at her and squints like he's trying to remember something and suddenly finds himself vibrating with confidence. "I see piles and piles of something I want to touch but they're in the distance. I feel at peace. What did you do to yourself? Your face is glowing."

"Hold onto that. Keep looking at the wall and listening to the sounds. You're starting to see better...differently." She steps into the kitchen and returns holding a shot glass filled with a reddish liquid. "Here, drink this. It will get you in the mood for the rest of the show." As he sips around the edges of the glass and uneasily sniffs its con-

tents, she turns off the music and changes the picture show, taking a seat near the bar to observe him from the side. Finally, he throws back the shot, wondering why she has abandoned him as the wall recaptures his attention.

We see several soldiers in a jungle clearing from above beginning to disperse as the camera zooms in to capture their smeared, battle-ready faces, then pulls up to reveal a panoramic view of the area as they fan out into the brush. Next it zooms into a small village on the edge of this space where people are performing everyday activities. Cut to a monk in lotus position set ablaze in a public square that almost instantaneously changes to a large swatch of jungle being napalmed. This is quickly replaced with WWII newsreel battle footage of unspecified origin, followed by media images of the My Lai massacre.

His face is peaked and he appears to be gagging. Eyes bulging, he turns away from the horror. "Keep focused on the wall," she commands. "It's important." He forces himself to stay fixated on the images. His nausea and mental strain seem to exchange signals in a reciprocal messaging of pain as the footage reveals helpless civilians being shot from a helicopter. She pivots to the bar and grabs the remote, flooding the room with music from Megadeth's *Killing Is My Business...and Business Is Good!* as the flood of images cuts to a beheading in progress, performed in a dark room by hooded figures. The shot continues for a couple minutes with no climax while the music continues. Suddenly, it's replaced by a poster for the band's latest CD that syncs with a mash-up of thrash metal instrumental riffs. The latter continues but the poster disappears and the images return to the beginning and start all

over. She strides across the room and settles behind him, massaging his shoulders while making sure his eyes are focused on the wall...

He looks inside but sees no one, only a space that's unevenly lit as if the swarming lumens have randomly exposed certain sections of garish junk food and drab jug wine while retreating from others, leaving black holes of refusal. Magazines are strewn along the floor near chalk sketches: *American Hunter*; *Time*, *the National Enquirer*; and others whose titles are obscured. He searches the ceiling for evidence of damaged lights but can't make it out clearly and blinks his eyes, wondering if he's only experiencing the effects of coming in from the dark.

He steps a few feet inside the door and takes cover at the end of the counter behind a large yellow Buddha, a pile of lotto tickets, and a stack of Bible digests. Where are the people? Where's the guy with the rifle? He suddenly flashes on the moment a short while ago when he came into the store for a six-pack followed by some sort of argument and lots of shouting. He struggles to remember more but his concentration is interrupted by the sound of what seems like marching in the distance. Crouching, he back-steps through the door and looks around when he's outside on the sidewalk but sees only a single vehicle parked in the corner of the mall's lot and slips back into the building.

He reaches up to stroke the Buddha but feels a gaseous film and steps back. It looks exactly like it did before. His throat suddenly becomes very dry and he wants to grab a soda from the cooler but dares not move. He tries to relax, suppress his urges, but the prolonged silence morphs into

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a jingly static and then a cacophony of voices that speak to each other in a variety of accents.

The door to the storeroom opens and a shadow enters as the lights become dimmer. Seeing it's the clerk through the narrow slit between the Buddha and the Bible digests he freezes, then manages to belly-crawl away from the counter and down the aisle toward a black hole near the door, taking cover behind the cat litter. He gags as the smell of incense wafts through the room and stares bug-eyed at the ceiling.

"Don't shoot! You're making a mistake. We don't have to do this again!"

A volley of shots barely misses his head, pulverizing the bags of nacho cheese chips and spraying him with shards of smoking plastic and corn.

"I had nothing against you that day...we coulda been friends!" Drenched in a nausea that prevents him from raising his head, he notices smashed pork rinds also scattered on the floor and flashes on the sight of squealing pigs lolling near a shack outside a remote village in the foothills.

A rustling sound disrupts his vision. The clerk is apparently maneuvering to find a more favorable angle. He readies himself for the next volley, unable to move.

"They're the ones behind it all...forcing us to become enemies. We're victims. What we're doing is wrong...we have to stop!" He slowly lifts his head, as if his ability to get these ethical snippets out has pumped energy through his body and neutralized the nausea and strain as he tries to get a fix on where the clerk is by peeking through the slits between the powdered donuts and the few surviving bags of nachos.

He can't see anyone from his limited vantage. Should he stand up for a better view? As he ponders this there's another volley of shots. They miss him by several feet, hitting the adjacent row of merchandise and exploding several large aerosol cans of roach spray whose odor oozes around him. The cocooning brings the nausea back, forcing him to creep down the aisle and secure better cover. As he moves, he glimpses the top of the clerk's head above the counter.

"Let's talk this..."

More cans of insecticide explode before he can get his message out and their toxic contents fall on him like a misty anal shower, forcing him to blink and sleeve his face. Was there another shot? He careens off the base of the shelving toward the back of the store on his haunches to escape the chemical storm and pivots into the black hole. If he concentrates hard enough maybe he can blend into the darkness--what a relief it would be to disappear.

The mist is finer now but still moistens his face. He notices it's becoming harder to breathe and begins to feel that others are sharing this dark space with him. He can't make out what the products are on the shelves, only their vague outlines which trace unfamiliar objects that now begin to flicker and move as the space brightens and then fills with spirits of no particular ethnic identity. They float out of the space and spread throughout the store, a stream with no apparent end, making eye contact with him as they pass. Each has at least one identifiable wound and they all look familiar to him. He joins the stream, oblivious now to the need for cover, and faces the clerk directly for the first time, staring down the barrel of an assault rifle. Instinctively, he raises his hands in a gesture of surrender.



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“Here’s our chance to be absolved of our sins...to be saved.” He opens his arms and looks around the store, wishing he could introduce the clerk to the spirits. The man’s steely, battle-tested eyes show that he can’t believe that this idiot expects a response from him. The pressure of his finger increases against the trigger.

A siren can be heard, growing louder. “Please, brother!” He rushes toward the counter, grabs a Bible digest, and waves it at the clerk. “Jesus loves you, brother! There’s no need for violence.”

The siren stops. Two policemen approach the building, guns drawn. One of them checks the door while the other looks through the window and sees the clerk from behind and a man at the counter waving something in his face. The officer steps to the side, his back against the wall, and shouts, “Drop your weapon and come out with your hands up.”

As the cops calculate their next move, they hear a female voice from several yards away. “Please, go easy on him, officers! As I mentioned when I called, he’s not a violent person. He’s working through some personal traumas and needs understanding. I gave him some medication. A few...”

Before she can finish the officers burst through the door, leaving her to the horror of exploding gunfire.

The paramedics roll the gurney out the door into the parking lot as one of the officers questions the clerk and the other wraps the scene in crime tape. She approaches him.

“What happened?”

“We’re getting the facts now.”

“Is he okay? Can I talk to him?”

“Okay...but be brief. He’s apparently not in very good shape.”

She runs over to the ambulance as they’re preparing to put him on board. “You okay? What happened? You stopped talking but you didn’t hang up your phone. How did you end up in this store?”

He looks up at her as if he doesn’t quite understand what she said. She repeats the questions and his face glows like he’s in a state of rapture. She waves her hand in front of his face.

“Say something! What happened in there?”

His rapturous expression seems to hollow out like his face is being invaded by some toxic virus that’s causing it to implode.

“I’m cured all right, Doc!” he whispers before losing consciousness. His face becomes a mask void of expression.

“Is he going to be okay?” she asks the paramedic, who quickly reexamines him before whisking him into the ambulance. “He’s still got a strong pulse. Should know more in a few hours.”

Relieved, she steps toward the officer and the clerk, a young, clean-cut male dressed in jeans and a black tee shirt, and listens.

“This guy brought a six-pack up to the counter and was mumbling something and...I asked him what he said and he seemed disrespectful and wouldn’t say and...I told him to leave the beer and get out or I’d call the cops. He kept repeating the same things but I didn’t understand what he was saying and he started acting nervous and put his hand in his pocket and I grabbed a handgun from under the counter. It wasn’t even loaded. Glad you guys came when you did.”

She forces herself between them and faces the officer. With a gesture, she indicates the ambulance pulling away. “Did you find a weapon?”

He just looks at her, expressionless.

“I didn’t think so.”

Edited by Dan Marcus.

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ECONOMY ECONOMIC MYTHS ARE A BIPARTISAN AFFAIR

DEAN BAKER

Many observers have been amused by the boasting war going on between the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination with their tax cut plans. Former Florida Governor Jeb Bush led the way with a multi-trillion dollar tax cut plan that is supposed to lead to 4 percent annual growth over the next decade.

Not to be outdone, real estate developer Donald Trump came out with an even bigger plan that would get us to 6 percent annual growth, he promised. Most of the other contenders have now produced similar plans, even if their growth targets are not quite as ambitious.

There is nothing wrong with thinking big, but the problem with the Republican tax cut proposals is that they are not serious. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projects a baseline growth rate for the decade after the next president takes office of less than 2.2 percent. There is a legitimate story in which, other things equal, lower tax rates can increase incentives. Lower tax rates mean people have more incentive to work and firms have more incentive to invest.

But these effects are relatively small and largely offset by other factors. For example, if higher income people pay less money in taxes in their working years, then they may be able to save more money and retire a year or two earlier than if they had been paying higher taxes. In this case the net effect of a tax cut on people's willingness to work could even be negative.

This is why when CBO and other neutral analysts have tried to project the growth impact of even large tax cuts, they find them to be relatively small. If Bush or Trump promised us 2.4 or 2.5 percent annual growth, this would be optimistic, but at least serious. Four percent annual growth doesn't pass the laugh test and 6.0 percent, well, is Trump sized.

Of course the growth story could easily go the other way. If the tax cuts are matched by cuts in spend-

damage, since the children of families getting these benefits will do worse in school and their subsequent careers if they are cut.

Not only do tax cuts fail as a growth strategy in theory, we actually did test the tax cut route: twice. Even with the Reagan tax cuts, we had marginally slower growth in the 1980s than in high-tax 1970s. And the George W. Bush tax cuts were associated with the worst growth performance since the Great Depression.

In short, producing a tax cut plan may be akin to a fraternity ritual that Republican presidential candidates must go through, but it is not a serious policy for promoting economic growth.

Suppose the Republicans agree to stop touting tax cuts as a way to send growth soaring and the Democrats agree to stop saying that Clinton's balanced budgets gave us the economic boom of the late 1990s.

Unfortunately the Republicans are not the only party with silly growth myths. The Democrats have their own growth myth around the magical qualities of balanced budgets.

In this myth, President Bill Clinton made the hard choices back in the 1990s. He cut spending and raised taxes to bring the budget into balance. This led to a surge in growth and the lowest unemployment rate in almost three decades. We also saw wage growth up and down the income ladder. Then George W. Bush pissed it all away with his tax cuts and expensive wars. The defi-

cits came back and the economy went to hell.

It's a moving story and we may hear it frequently if former Secretary of State and first spouse Hillary Clinton gets the Democratic nomination. But, like the story that Republican tax cuts spur growth, it's not true.

The first problem is that Clinton's tax increases and spending cuts

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— Dean Baker

ing on infrastructure, education or other areas of public investment — cuts that Congressional Republicans have been pushing — then we could end up with less growth. In fact, recent research suggests that even cuts in programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program may result in lasting economic

actually did not balance the budget. In 1996, after all the tax increases and spending cuts were already passed into law, CBO still projected a deficit of 2.5 percent of GDP (or approximately \$450 billion in today's economy) for 2000. The reason that we instead had a surplus of roughly the same amount is that the economy grew much more rapidly than expected.

And the reason the economy grew more rapidly than expected was that we had a stock bubble that drove consumption through the wealth effect. People spent more than they would have otherwise because they thought they had lots of wealth in the stock market. The bubble also drove investment, as anyone with an idea about selling on the Web could raise hundreds of millions on Wall Street.

This was all lots of fun, until the bubble started to deflate in March of 2000. At its trough in the summer of 2002 the S&P had lost almost half its value and the NASDAQ almost 80 percent. When the bubble burst, the economy went into recession and surpluses turned into deficits.

While the Bush tax cuts and wars increased the deficit further, they also helped get us out of recession. Other forms of stimulus would have been more effective in boosting the economy and less deadly than the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, but the tax cuts and war did help boost the economy. If the choice was the Bush tax cuts or nothing, in the context of the recession, the tax cuts were almost certainly better for the economy than doing nothing.

Since we can identify a monster myth for both parties, we should have the basis for a deal. Suppose the Republicans agree to stop touting tax cuts as a way to send growth soaring and the Democrats agree to stop saying that Clinton's balanced budgets gave us the economic boom of the late 1990s. This deal might mean throwing out a lot of tired old campaign slogans, but it will lead to a much more honest debate on economic policy.

Dean Baker is co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research and author, most recently, of *The End of Loser Liberalism: Making Markets Progressive*.

WHAT COMES BETWEEN

The fingerprint ridges have crimson ink. They press hard into the undulating landscape of wet dreams may come, grazing the surface of a shaggy hope while catching the curious fire of an animated skyline leaping inside the kaleidoscope's oscillating iris, the images raging twice the acceptable speed necessary to map that further hill.

My heart never was my own; I won it guessing the atomic weight of music while singing happy birthday into the wind at a vagrant carnival for the hard of laughing run by fairytale giants barking somewhere out there where the numbers had me at hello.

I never stop yearning for the cold burn that comes with the breathless altitude achieved when all the cylinders click in spontaneous glee and the words come pouring out with the untouchable muscle of a cubist pen bleeding expressionist kisses.

I drew carbon-dated pictures of Mohammed with disbelieving ink on the inside of my cartoon eyes and then blinded myself with the news.

I took pictures of lonely Jesus at the prizefight and called God a liar for fixing the game.

I woke Buddha and killed him in my dream of flight along the road less traveled at the foot of a very large family tree where he called me cousin and thanked me for my kindness.

It is impossible to be alone surfing the long-playing seconds held together by boundless shivering moments compulsively etching their groove into the dark roast stardust of your every pregnant thought sounding the strawberry alarm,

as all our crippled histories come marching home in a never-ending forgiveness parade playing love is a gun on their blind guitars made of velvet hallelujah.

— S.A. Griffin, author of *Dreams Gone Mad With Hope*, and editor of *The Outlaw Bible of American Poetry*.

NEW PAYROLL JOBS NUMBER

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Bureau of Labor Statistics announced recently that the U.S. economy created 271,000 jobs in October, a number substantially in excess of the expected 175,000 to 190,000 jobs. The unexpected job gain has dropped the unemployment rate to 5 percent. These two numbers will be the focus of the financial media pressstitutes.

What is wrong with these numbers? Just about everything. First of all, 145,000 of the jobs, or 54%, are jobs arbitrarily added to the number by the birth-death model. The birth-death model provides an estimate of the net amount of unreported jobs lost to business closings and the unreported jobs created by new business openings. The model is based on a normally functioning economy unlike the one of the past seven years and thus overestimates the number of jobs from new business and underestimates the losses from closures. If we eliminate the birth-death model's contribution, new jobs were 126,000.

Next, consider who got the 271,000 reported jobs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, all of the new jobs plus some—378,000—went to those 55 years of age and older. However, males in the prime working age, 25 to 54 years of age, lost 119,000 jobs. What seems to have happened is that full time jobs were replaced with part time jobs for retirees. Multiple job holders increased by 109,000 in October, an indication that people who lost full time jobs had to take two or more part time jobs in order to make ends meet.

Now assume the 271,000 reported jobs in October is the real number, and not 126,000 or less. Where

are those jobs? According to the BLS not a single one is in manufacturing. The jobs are in personal services, mainly lowly paid jobs such as retail clerks, ambulatory health care service jobs, temporary help, and waitresses and bartenders.

For example, the BLS reports 44,000 new retail trade jobs, a questionable number in light of sluggish real retail sales. Possibly what is

exportable goods and services to help to bring down the large U.S. trade deficit resulting from jobs offshoring. The problem with the 5% unemployment rate is that it does not include any discouraged workers. When discouraged workers—those who have ceased looking for a job because there are no jobs to be found—are included the unemployment rate is about 23%. Another problem with the 5% number

is that it suggests full employment. Yet the labor force participation rate remains at a low point. Normally during a real economic recovery, people enter the labor force and the participation rate rises.

The bullion banks acting as agents of the Federal Reserve used the phony jobs number to launch another attack on gold and silver bullion, dumping uncovered shorts into the futures market. The strong jobs number provides cover for the naked shorts, because it implies an interest rate hike and movement out of bullion into interest bearing assets.

If the U.S. economy were actually in economic recovery, would half of the 25-year-old population be living with parents? The real job situa-

tion is so poor that young people are unable to form households.

Dr. Paul Craig Roberts was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy in the Reagan administration. His latest books are *The Neoconservative Threat To International Order*; and *Washington's Perilous War For Hegemony*.

The problem with the 5% unemployment rate is that it does not include any discouraged workers.

— Paul Craig Roberts

happening is that stores are turning a smaller number of full time jobs into a larger number of part time jobs in order to avoid benefit costs associated with full time workers.

The new reported jobs are essentially Third World type of jobs that do not produce sufficient income to form a household and do not produce

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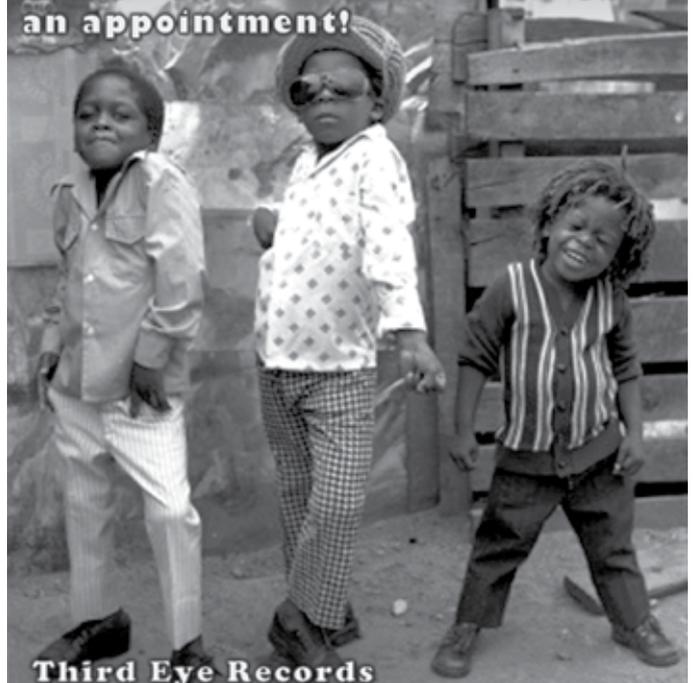
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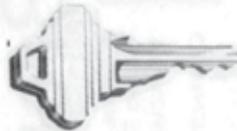
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SUGAR INDUSTRY THREATENS TO SCOPPER WHO

SARAH BOSELEY

The sugar industry in the US is threatening to bring the World Health Organization to its knees by demanding that Congress end its funding unless the WHO scraps guidelines on healthy eating published a few weeks ago. The threat is being described by WHO insiders as tantamount to blackmail, and worse than any pressure exerted by the tobacco lobby.

In a letter to Gro Harlem Brundtland, the WHO's director general, the Sugar Association says it will "exercise every avenue available to expose the dubious nature" of the WHO's report on diet and nutrition, including challenging its \$406m funding from the US.

The industry is furious at the guidelines, which say that sugar should account for no more than 10% of a healthy diet. It claims that the review by international experts which decided on the 10% limit is scientifically flawed, insisting that other evidence indicates that a quarter of our food and drink intake can safely consist of sugar.

"Taxpayers' dollars should not be used to support misguided, non-science-based reports which do not add to the health and well-being of Americans, much less the rest of the world," says the letter. "If necessary we will promote and encourage new laws which require future WHO funding to be provided only if the organization accepts that all reports must be supported by the preponderance of science."

The association, together with six other big food industry groups, has also written to the US

health secretary, Tommy Thompson, asking him to use his influence to get the WHO report withdrawn. The coalition includes the US Council for International Business, comprising more than 300 companies, including Coca-Cola and Pepsico.

The sugar lobby's strong-arm tactics are nothing new, according to Professor Phillip James, the British chairman of the International Obesity Taskforce who wrote the WHO's previous report on diet and nutrition in 1990. The day after his expert committee had decided on a 10% limit,

The sugar lobby's strong-arm tactics are nothing new, according to Professor Phillip James, the British chairman of the International Obesity Taskforce who wrote the WHO's previous report on diet and nutrition in 1990.

— Sarah Boseley

the World Sugar Organization "went into overdrive", he said. "Forty ambassadors wrote to the WHO insisting our report should be removed, on the grounds that it would do irreparable damage to countries in the developing world."

Prof James was called in by the American embassy in Geneva "to explain to them why they were suddenly getting an enormous amount of

pressure from the state department to have our report retracted." The sugar industry, he discovered, had hired one of Washington's top lobbying companies.

The sugar lobby was unsuccessful that time, but now, he says, "we are getting a replay, but much more powerfully based, because the food industry seems to have a much greater influence on the Bush government."

Since his 1990 report, the International Life Sciences Institute, founded by Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, General Foods, Kraft and Procter and Gamble, has also gained accreditation to the WHO and the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization.

At one point, says Prof James, "I was asked not to send any more emails about any of the dietary aspects of health that related to sugar. I was told that within 24 hours of my sending a note, the food industry would be telephoning and arranging dinners."

Aubrey Sheiham, professor of dental public health at University College, London, Medical School, said he also encountered the strength of the sugar lobby when he was one of the experts involved in putting together an EC guideline called Eurodiet.

"I wrote the sugar part of that," he said. "When we met in Crete [in June 2000], the sugar people said if the 10% [limit] was in, the whole report would be blocked. I remember we went into a huddle with various people and some of the diplomats, and we were meeting in people's bedrooms and saying, how can we work around this?"

In the end, he said, they worked out that a recommendation that nobody should eat sugar more than four times a day was equivalent to a 10% limit. But he considered the committee had been bullied.

The Sugar Association objects to the new report having been

published in draft on the WHO's website for consultation purposes, without what it considers "a broad external peer-review process." It wants a full economic analysis of the impact of the recommendations on all 192 member countries. In the letter to Dr Brundtland, it demands that this recent joint launch with the Food and Agriculture Organization be cancelled.

The report, Diet, Nutrition and the Prevention of Chronic Diseases, has already been heavily criticized by the soft drinks industry, whose members sell virtually everywhere in the world, including devel-

oping countries where malnutrition is beginning to coexist with the obesity common in affluent countries.

The industry does not accept the WHO report's conclusion that sweetened soft drinks contribute to the obesity pandemic. The Washington-based National Soft Drink Association said the report's "recommendation on added sugars is too restrictive." The association backs a 25% limit.

The WHO strongly rejects the sugar lobby's criticisms. An official said a team of 30 independent experts had considered the scientific evidence and its conclusions were in

line with the findings of 23 national reports which have, on average, set targets of 10% for added sugars.

In the letter to Mr. Thompson, the sugar lobby relies heavily on a recent report from the Institute of Medicine for its claim that a 25% sugar intake is acceptable. But last week, Harvey Fineberg, president of the institute, wrote to Mr. Thompson to warn that the report was being misinterpreted. He says it does not make a recommendation on sugar intake.

Sarah Boseley writes for the *Guardian* and other publications.

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CALIFORNIA RULES BARRING ROUTINE USE OF ANTIBIOTICS IN HEALTHY LIVESTOCK

MARISSA TAYLOR

California has adopted the toughest regulations in the country regarding the use of antibiotics in healthy livestock, giving new urgency to scientists and farmers searching for alternatives.

Gov. Jerry Brown signed a bill recently that bars livestock producers, starting in 2018, from feeding antibiotics to animals to prevent illness or promote growth — a move that is expected to have a national impact.

The state is the third largest source of livestock in the U.S., behind Texas and Iowa, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The practice of giving low doses of the drugs to animals when they aren't sick has raised concerns about spreading antibiotic-resistant infections into the nation's food supply.

With fast-food restaurants such as McDonald's and Chipotle responding to consumers' concerns and pledging to cut antibiotics from most of their chicken, it seems all but inevitable that the practice is on its way out.

But what are the alternatives? For starters, scientists and farmers have been studying the use of prebiotics and probiotics as ways to fend off animal diseases.

Probiotics — beneficial micro-organisms, sometimes called good bacteria — help stabilize animals' gut bacteria and make them less susceptible to illnesses, explained Irene Hanning, a professor of genome sciences and technology at the University of Tennessee whose research focuses on food safety.

But the problem, she said, is that pre- and probiotics don't always work. What may work beautifully for one animal won't be effective for a different kind of animal, and effectiveness can vary even among the same species. "There's not a one-size-fits-all," she said.

Scientists say that many organic livestock producers use herbs and plant extracts such as oregano, thyme and eugenol, which have been shown to have antimicrobial properties, especially when used in combination with probiotics. "They swear by things like oregano," Hanning said.

But others are suspicious of

With fast-food restaurants such as McDonald's and Chipotle responding to consumers' concerns and pledging to cut antibiotics from most of their chicken, it seems all but inevitable that the practice is on its way out.

— Marissa Taylor

such herbal remedies. "Those are still considered witchcraft" by larger producers, she said.

A successful alternative to antibiotics, Hanning said, would have to be cheap and easy to feed to many animals efficiently — the primary advantages of antibiotics. Probiotics, by contrast, are often put in animals' water supply. Since the organisms can't survive there indefinitely, animals that arrive late to the watering hole may not get a very good dose.

Other scientists are tinkering with genetic innovations that boost animals' immunity, eliminating the need for such medicines.

Animal scientist Mark Cook and his team at the University of Wisconsin, Madison discovered a way to disable an off switch in chickens' immune systems and have replicated the results in cattle.

"It works in all of them," said Jordan Sand, an associate scientist with the University of Wisconsin team and the chief technical officer of Ab E Discovery, the spinoff company the team founded to continue its research and take it to market. "This was kind of a serendipity."

Sand studied cancer research while earning his doctoral degree and knew that the protein interleukin-10 (IL-10) had an important signaling function in the immune system. It tells the immune system when to stop working, he said.

Starting in 2011, the team began by vaccinating egg-laying hens to create antibodies for IL-10 and mixed those eggs into animal feed eaten by 150,000 chickens infected with coccidia, which cause coccidiosis, a common intestinal disease.

By eating the antibody-producing eggs, the animals were able to resist IL-10's signal for their immune systems to shut off. Very few of the chickens ended up falling sick with coccidiosis, Sand said. "In some cases, we outperformed the drugs," he said.

When the researchers approached livestock farmers to try their creation and to eliminate antibiotics from their animal feed supply, "they looked at me like I'm nuts," he said. But now Ab E Discovery is working with two large livestock producers, though he declined to name them because he had not yet cleared it with the companies.

If getting rid of antibiotics can't be made feasible, that poses a conundrum if animals get sick, Sand said. "Do you just let them die?" he asked. "Instead of worrying about that, we are trying to come up with a reasonable alternative, and we think we've got it."

Marissa Taylor writes on food and the environment for various publications.

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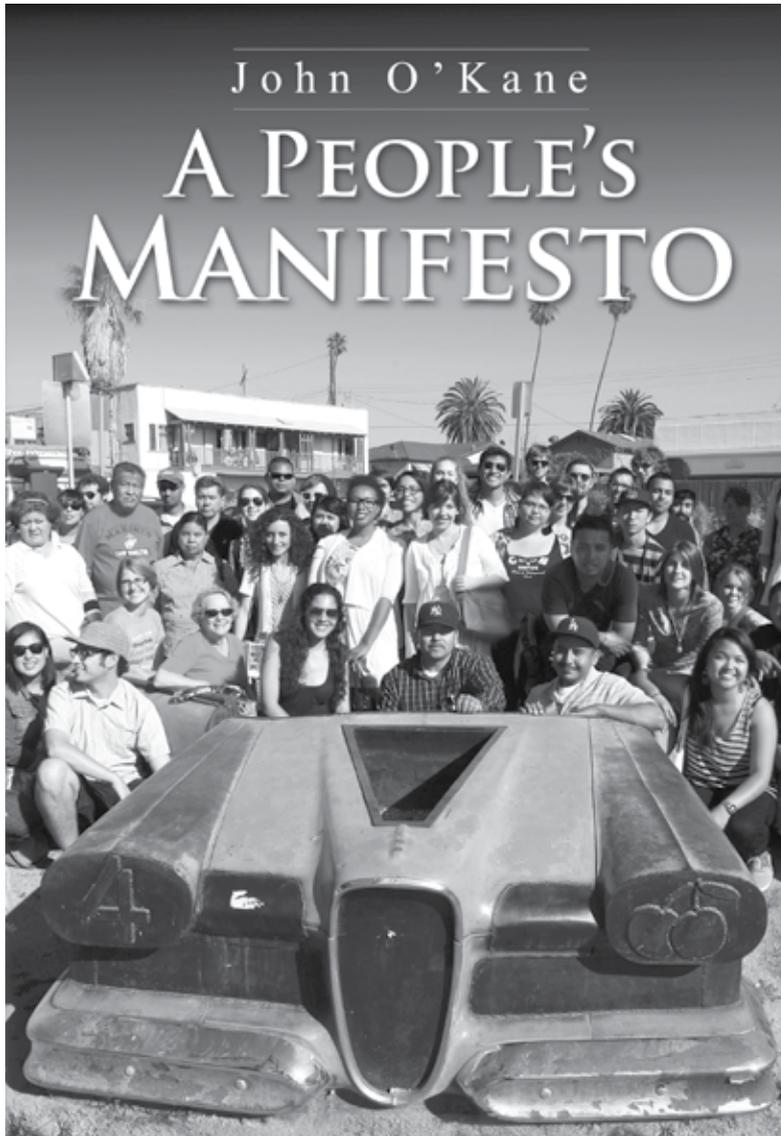


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Publisher of *AMASS* Magazine Releases *A People's Manifesto*

2015-05-13 www.everythinglongbeach.com/publisher-of-amass-magazine-releases-a-peoples-manifesto/



A People's Manifesto, by John O'Kane, editor and publisher of *AMASS* Magazine, is a new book just published by SPD Books. It focuses on the opinions and perspectives of the people, ordinary citizens, non-experts, outsiders, those without influence, about the state of American society over the past several years, especially since the Great Recession of 2008. More specifically, the author engages in a series of conversations with a diverse number of people from varying backgrounds on the issues: the economy and jobs, political polarization, campaign reform, the elite domination of political life, the Tea Party phenomenon, inequality, immigration, austerity and the ongoing budget crises, and foreclosures, among others.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part compiles these conversations in an easy-to-grasp journalistic style, at times reading like a novel. All of the conversations are with enlightened Long Beach citizens from differing lifestyles and political orientations. A significant part of these conversations includes a focus on Occupy Long Beach and its efforts to raise awareness about these issues above, as well as its relation to other activists in the area from a wide spectrum of age groups. The cover is a photo taken at Cherry and 4th streets of a group of local activists ranged around the remains of an Edsel (taken by long-time Long Beach photographer Slobodan Dimitrov). The second is a sampling of op-ed pieces from

Huffingtonpost and other publications over the course of the past six years or so about the issues that the citizens in part one discuss and react to. These are in chronological order and in response to the post-recession crisis as it evolved, and mostly left in their original form.

The book's tone and substance are shaped by a striking irony. Populism is all the rage these days. Bloggers and journalists from across the political spectrum are obsessed with speaking for the people, citizens who have become victims of the Great Recession of 2008. But these very-same citizens can rarely speak for themselves. One of the quite remarkable insights to come from all this is that citizens without access to insider "facts" can make sense of these times and pass along knowledge—not mere information—that motivate others to learn and act. And they can express their opinions through a variety of venues, especially op-ed writing.

The book is 200 pages long, and priced at \$24.95. It can be purchased at all fine bookstores, as well as online at Amazon and other sites.

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