

DAVID SWANSON | THE TORTURER'S TALE
TREVOR GRUNDY | BRITAIN'S TORTUROUS IMPERIAL PAST
CHRIS HEDGES | AMERICA'S DISAPPEARED

ColdType

AUGUST 2011

WRITING WORTH READING

ISSUE 58

**DO NOT
SPEAK.
DO NOT
RESIST**





Cover art:
madartists/dreamscape.com

ColdType

(FORMERLY THE COLDTYPE READER)

AUGUST 2011 / ISSUE 58

EDITOR'S NOTE

Cover story is Jonathan Cook's article about Israeli government actions that are stripping away freedoms of expression from its increasingly-polarised citizens. You won't want to miss Trevor Grundy's account of four elderly Kenyans who are causing severe embarrassment to the British government with their allegations of torture, including castration, during the Mau Mau rebellion against British rule in their country during the 1950s. We've also got a couple of essays, by John Pilger and William Rivers Pitt, on the crisis facing Rupert Murdoch's media empire after revelations of phone-tapping at his biggest-selling British newspaper; plus the story of an invasion of jellyfish that is threatening fish stocks – and nuclear power plants, an interview with an eco-warrior; what, we hope, are the final words on Sarah Palin, and much more – **Tony Sutton, editor**
editor@coldtype.net

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| 3. | BUSINESS AS USUAL FOR BRITISH MEDIA | <i>John Pilger</i> |
| 5. | THE SMELL OF MURDOCH IN THE MORNING | <i>William Rivers Pitt</i> |
| 9. | LIGHTS AND TUNNELS | <i>John Kozy</i> |
| 12. | THE TORTURER'S TALE | <i>David Swanson</i> |
| 15. | THE ENEMY WITHIN | <i>John W. Whitehead</i> |
| 19. | THREE LITTLE WORDS | <i>David Edwards</i> |
| 23. | WHY THE NEED FOR REGIME CHANGE? | <i>Ismael Hossein-Zadeh</i> |
| 29. | JELLYFISH RULE | <i>George Monbiot</i> |
| 31. | AMERICA'S DISAPPEARED | <i>Chris Hedges</i> |
| 34. | COVER STORY: DO NOT SPEAK. DO NOT RESIST | <i>Jonathan Cook</i> |
| 36. | GIANT SUCKERS | <i>Joshua Holland</i> |
| 38. | CONVERSATION WITH AN ECO-WARRIOR | <i>Joni Praded</i> |
| 41. | A SEVERE CASE OF PALINOSIS | <i>David Michael Green</i> |
| 46. | TRUTH, LIES AND AMERICA | <i>Stuart Littlewood</i> |
| 51. | VALIANT PRINCE HARRY | <i>Felicity Arbuthnot</i> |
| 53. | BRITAIN FACE TORTUROUS IMPERIAL PAST | <i>Trevor Grundy</i> |
| 59. | UNENDING AMERICAN HOSTILITY | <i>William Blum</i> |
| 62. | THE BLUE EYES OF TERROR | <i>Danny Schechter</i> |

It's business as usual for the British media

Fleet Street hacks and men from Westminster are now scrambling to rewrite the history of the phone-hacking fiasco. But the pact between Britain's press and parliament remains the same, writes **John Pilger**

In *Scoop*, Evelyn Waugh's brilliant satire on the press, there is the moment when Lord Copper, owner of the *Daily Beast*, meets his new special war correspondent, William Boot, in truth an authority on wild flowers and birdsong. A confused Boot is ushered into his lordship's presence by Mr Salter, the *Beast's* foreign editor.

"Is Mr Boot all set for his trip?"

"Up to a point, Lord Copper."

Copper briefs Boot as follows: "A few sharp victories, some conspicuous acts of personal bravery on the Patriot side and a colourful entry into the capital. That is the *Beast* policy for the war . . . We shall expect the first victory about the middle of July."

Rupert Murdoch is a 21st-century Lord Copper. The amusing gentility is missing; the absurdity of his power is the same. The *Daily Beast* wanted victories; it got them. The *Sun* wanted dead Argies; gotcha! Of the bloodbath in Iraq, Murdoch said: "There is going to be collateral damage, and if you really want to be brutal about it, better we get it done now . . ." The *Times*, the *Sunday Times*, Fox got it done.

.....
Corporate monoculture

Long before it was possible to hack phones, Murdoch was waging a war on journalism, truth, humanity, and he succeeded because he knew how to exploit a system that wel-

comed his devotion to the "free market". He may be more extreme in his methods, but he is no different in kind from many of those now lining up to condemn him who have been his beneficiaries, mimics, collaborators, apologists.

As former prime minister Gordon Brown turns on his former master, accusing him of running a "criminal-media nexus", watch the palpable discomfort in the new parliamentary-media consensus. "We must not be backward-looking," said a Labour MP. Those parliamentarians caught two years ago with both hands in the Westminster till, who did nothing to stop the killing of hundreds of thousands of people in Iraq, and stood and cheered the war criminal responsible, are now "united" behind the "calm" figure of Ed Miliband. There is an acrid smell of business as usual.

Certainly, there is no "revolution", as reported in the *Guardian*, which compared the fall of Murdoch with that of the tyrant Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania in 1989. The overexcitement is understandable; Nick Davies's scoop is a great one. Yet the truth is, Britain's system of elite monopoly control of the media rests not on News International alone, but on the *Mail* and the *Guardian* and the BBC, perhaps the most influential of all. All share a corporate monoculture that sets the agenda of the "news", defines acceptable politics by maintaining the fiction of

.....
Britain's system of elite monopoly control of the media rests not on News International alone, but on the *Mail* and the *Guardian* and the BBC, perhaps the most influential of all

.....
Tony Blair, soaked in the blood of an entire society, was once regarded almost mystically at the *Guardian* and *Observer* as the prime minister who, wrote Hugo Young, “wants to create a world none of us have known [where] the mind might range in search of a better Britain . . .”
.....

distinctive parties, normalises unpopular wars and guards the limits of “free speech”. This will be strengthened by the illusion that a “bad apple” has been “rooted out”.

When the *Financial Times* complained last September that the BSkyB takeover would give Murdoch dominance in Britain, the media commentator Roy Greenslade came to his rescue. “Surely,” he wrote, “Britain’s leading business newspaper should be applauding an entrepreneur who has achieved so much from unpromising beginnings?” Murdoch’s political control was a myth spread by “naive commentators”. Noting his own “idealism” about journalism, Greenslade made no mention of his history on the *Sun*, or as Robert Maxwell’s *Daily Mirror* editor responsible for the shameful smear that the miners’ leader Arthur Scargill was corrupt. (To his credit, he apologised in 2002.)

Greenslade is now a professor of journalism at City University, London. In his *Guardian* blog of 17 July, he caught the breeze and proposed that Murdoch explain “the climate you created”.

How many of the political and media chorus now calling for Murdoch’s head remained silent over the years as his papers repeatedly attacked the most vulnerable in society? Impoverished single mothers have been a favourite target of tax-avoiding News International. Who in the so-called media village demanded the sacking of Kelvin MacKenzie as *Sun* editor following his attacks on the dead and dying in the Hillsborough stadium tragedy of 1989?

.....
The kowtowing class

This was an episode as debased as the hacking of Milly Dowler’s phone, yet MacKenzie is frequently feted on the BBC and in the

liberal press as a “witty” tabloid genius who “understands the ordinary punter”. Such vicarious middle-class flirtation with Wapping-life is matched by admiration for the successful Murdoch “marketing model”.

In Andrew Neil’s 470-page book *Full Disclosure*, the former editor of Murdoch’s *Ideas* devotes fewer than 30 words to the scurrilous and destructive smear campaign that he and his Wapping colleagues conducted against the broadcasters who made the 1988 Thames Television programme *Death on the Rock*. This landmark, fully vindicated investigation lifted the veil on the British secret state and exposed its ruthlessness under Margaret Thatcher, a confidante of Murdoch’s. Thereafter, Thames Television was doomed. Yet Neil has his own BBC programme and his views are sought after across the liberal media.

The *Guardian* of 13 July editorialised about “the kowtowing of the political class to the Murdochs”. This is all too true. Kowtowing is an ancient ritual, often performed by those whose pacts with power may not be immediately obvious, but are no less sulphuric. Tony Blair, soaked in the blood of an entire society, was once regarded almost mystically at the *Guardian* and *Observer* as the prime minister who, wrote Hugo Young, “wants to create a world none of us have known [where] the mind might range in search of a better Britain . . .” He was in perfect harmony with the chorus over at Wapping. “Mr Blair,” said the *Sun*, “has vision, he has purpose and he speaks our language on morality and family life.” Plus ça change. **CT**

.....
John Pilger’s latest film, “The War You Don’t See”, is now available on DVD at Amazon.co.uk. His web site is www.johnpilger.com

Read the best of **FRONTLINE MAGAZINE** at
<http://coldtype.net/frontline.html>

I love the smell of Murdoch in the morning

William Rivers Pitt watches Fox TV – just to see the owner squirm

The sun rose on Tuesday, July 19, to shine upon a fascinating spectacle: Rupert Murdoch and his son James, who rule the News Corp. media empire, were slated to sit before a British parliamentary committee to answer questions on the phone-hacking scandal that has blown up like a volcano in recent weeks. Ten arrests, including News Corp executive Rebekah Brooks, top British police resignations, and the sudden, unexplained death of the fellow who first blew the whistle on the whole sordid mess...no, it has not been dull.

The hearings were broadcast by every major news channel in America, but for something like this, only one network would do: Fox.

9:40 a.m. – Great day in the morning! I flip on Fox News for the first time, and here is Himself himself, Mr. Rupert Murdoch, facing questions from British Parliament with a look on his face like he’s sucking on a dead perch. I’m astonished the network is actually showing this public shaming, but there he is, being very politely pressed on payoffs and cover-ups involved in the phone-hacking scandal. Next to him, dressed very natively, is his son and heir, James Murdoch.

9:50 a.m. – Rupert thumps the table a few times, describes this as “the most humble day of my life,” and proceeds to deny any knowledge of the details behind this scan-

dal. Some protesters pop up in the room and are removed, and the questioners are struggling to get answers from Rupert, as James keeps jumping in to take the bullet.

10:04 a.m. – “We felt ashamed at what had happened,” says Rupert, in response to a question about why News of the World was closed down. When asked about other forms of surveillance – computer hacking specifically – he pleads ignorance.

10:10 a.m. – Sonny-boy jumps in again to blame the whole scandal on “the acts of a few reporters.” He is lathering himself and his father with seeming regret, and says the bid to buy BSkyB was dumped deliberately to maintain the level of integrity News Corp. aspires to. “What happened at News of the World was wrong,” he says, “and we have apologized profusely.” He swears up and down that News Corp. is cooperating fully with the police investigation.

10:13 a.m. – “Are you responsible for this?” Rupert is asked. “No,” he replies. “Did you know about the payoffs?” Rupert is asked. “I don’t know anything about that,” he replies. Of course.

10:16 a.m. – Fox has stapled a banner to the bottom of the screen that reads, at turns, “Rupert Murdoch: We Have Cooperated 100% With Police,” “Rupert Murdoch: Company Acted As Swiftly As Possible,” “James Murdoch: Company Acted As Swiftly As Possible,” and “James Murdoch: Our Company’s Priority Is To Restore Trust.”

.....
Here is Himself himself, Mr. Rupert Murdoch, facing questions from British Parliament with a look on his face like he’s sucking on a dead perch

.....
Whether or not
the “war on
terror” buzz
phrase gets official
use, the tacit
assumption of war
without end is now
the old normal,
again renewed
in the wake of
Osama bin Laden’s
death
.....

You know, in case you weren’t sure what they’ve been up to.

10:22 a.m. – James plays off the millions News Corp. has spent to pay off people who have been violated by their nefarious and illegal practices with the line, “It’s less expensive than litigation.”

10:25 a.m. – Fox has shown this hearing for almost a half-hour straight now without breaking away, not even for a commercial. Yes, I’m surprised.

10:26 a.m. – The question: “Will this scandal make you think again about what your headlines say in the future?” Rupert Murdoch: “We were not aware of any transgressions.” James Murdoch: “We need to think more forcefully and thoughtfully about our journalistic ethics.” He’s talking about establishing an independent ethics board. Yeah, right, that’ll happen. I’m giggling like a titmouse right now.

10:33 a.m. – The bottom-screen scroll, because it’s Fox News: “IRAN SAYS IT’S INSTALLING NEW AND EFFICIENT CENTRIFUGES AIMED AT SPEEDING UP ITS NUCLEAR ENRICHMENT . . . IRAN HAS BEEN PRODUCING LOW-ENRICHED URANIUM FOR YEARS AND BEGAN HIGHER ENRICHMENT IN FEB 2010.” Ready for another war, y’all?

10:35 a.m. – Another scroller goes by yelling about A HOMICIDE BOMBER IN A WHEELCHAIR while James Murdoch answers another question about payoffs and settlements with, “I I I I don’t know, don’t remember, but I I we I we can find out.”

10:38 a.m. – James is being pressed on the egregious size of various settlements paid by News Corp. for invasions of privacy, in comparison with the standard amounts found in British law. News Corp. paid out more by orders of magnitude than the standard settlement rate on several occasions. Why? Answer unclear, ask again later.

10:40 a.m. – Question: “Are you familiar with the term ‘Willful blindness’? It is a legal term we heard after Enron.” James Murdoch is doing his frog-on-a-hotplate routine, and

Rupert comes to his rescue with, “We were never guilty of that.”

10:43 a.m. – Rupert is asked how his “hands-off” management style works, how often he speaks to his editors. “Seldom... hardly at all...never...I’m hardly ever in touch,” is the sum and substance of his reply, but to say he’s hands-off is wrong. He “works very hard” running his media empire, does Rupert, while apparently having nothing to do with his media empire. It’s getting pretty thick in here.

10:45 a.m. – “In your conversations with the *News of the World* editor, it never came up that the paper was paying people six hundred thousand or a million pounds?” “No,” says Rupert. “Then what did you discuss?” At this point, Rupert’s accent gets very deep, and his reply sounds something like, “Bluggle farg we never mwumple grrr argle bargle never snuh.” Thanks Rupert, very clear.

10:52 a.m. – Philip Davies is a hound on a scent, and has James tap-dancing all over the hearing room with questions about the payouts, the guilty pleas, and the fact that News International paid the legal fees for an employee who was guilty of gross misconduct. “I have no specific knowledge of this,” replies James. “It is customary to sometimes make contributions to defendants, I have no direct knowledge, but we can follow up with you on that.” I’m holding my breath.

10:55 a.m. – James Murdoch is “very surprised” about the paying of those legal fees, and does not know who signed off on those payments. Management of various News Corp. papers just got thrown under the bus. It’s getting crowded down there.

11:01 a.m. – Davies: “The *News of the World* seems like it was sacrificed to save Rebekah Brooks. Do you now regret that decision?” Rupert: “The two decisions were totally unrelated.” James keeps leaning on the idea that all these terrible things happened “years ago,” and that just about everyone involved with News Corp. and News International are “totally blameless.” That’s

probably why there have been so many arrests, and why so much hush money has been paid.

11:05 a.m. – James is continuing to be “surprised and shocked” that the company has been paying the legal fees for employees who are now convicted felons thanks to this scandal. “I’m not a lawyer,” he says, and blames the paying of those fees on the company’s legal counsel. More people under the bus.

11:15 a.m. – Still no commercial breaks. I think this is a Fox News record.

11:23 a.m. – James has spent the last several minutes displaying an epic talent for misdirection and avoidance. Virtually every question asked of him has been met with “I don’t know...can’t recall...not sure...let me get back to you.” Reagan would be proud.

11:30 a.m. – Rupert appears to be running out of steam. He looked to be asleep for the last few minutes of his son’s testimony, and just summoned enough energy to say Les Hinton’s behavior was unacceptable. He keeps banging on the table, perhaps to wake himself up, while his answers remain a barely-intelligible growling monotone.

11:34 a.m. – “Nobody kept me in the dark,” snarls a suddenly animated Murdoch when asked about the doings of his company. James suddenly flings himself into the conversation to explain that management is delegated in such a large company. This hardly jibes with their earlier testimony about making multiple phone calls to various editors throughout the empire to keep tabs on what’s going on. “Certain things were not known,” says James, and the company acted right when the found out. “Acting right” apparently means millions in payoffs and settlements, along with giving misleading testimony to Parliament.

11:44 a.m. – “We welcome” the upcoming judicial inquiry, says James. “Breaking the law is a very, very serious matter, and lawbreakers should be held to account.” When pressed that News Corp.’s behavior has been totally unacceptable, James re-

plies, “Well, and I think and I think and I think after the, I think after the, uh, particularly in light of the successful prosecutions and convictions of the individuals, ah, involved in 2007, you know, could not be, you know, taken more seriously, and if new evidence emerges, as it has it has in cases, the company acts on it very quickly.” That’s a fair representation of his style of speaking during this entire hearing.

11:53 a.m. – Bedlam. Someone just hit Rupert Murdoch in the face with a pie plate filled with shaving cream, and his wife went Batman and smacked the guy on the head. The hearing is suspended, and the camera is now aimed at a far wall. Fox has cut to coverage by Sky News. They have footage of the pie-chucker covered with shaving cream.

11:57 a.m. – Gad zooks. The pie guy is apparently some British comedian, and a cop is wiping the crap off his face while he’s still cuffed. The Brits crack me up.

12:03 p.m. – The Sky News people are channeling their Fox brethren across the pond, saying it’s obvious Rupert Murdoch had nothing to do with any naughty business in this scandal. Of course. Rupert said it, poor guy, so it must be true. They just announced that when the committee reconvenes, there will be no press or public allowed in the room, and they’re not sure if cameras will be allowed in.

12:08 p.m. – They’re back, committee members are profusely apologizing to Rupert, who now sits jacketless before the committee. The cameras appear to be staying. James resumes his tap-dance around the issue of settlements for violated parties.

12:15 p.m. – Questioner Louise Mensch brings up the allegation by actor Jude Law that his phone was hacked on American soil, and presses the Murdochs on the hacking of 9/11 victims phones. James finds it “appalling” that anyone would do such a thing, and they will “eagerly” cooperate with any investigations...oh, and of course, they know nothing about it. The woman asking these questions, by the way, is mar-

.....
The woman asking these questions, by the way, is married to the manager for Metallica. I’m banging my head as we speak

.....
Fox talking head just admitted that most of their viewers don't know what they're watching, if the messages they're getting in are any clue
.....

ried to the manager for Metallica. I'm banging my head as we speak.

12:20 p.m. – The pie attacker is named Jonnie Marbles, and he Tweeted before the attack, “It is a far better thing I do now than I have ever done before. #splat” Meanwhile, Mensch is trying to let James and Rupert off the hook by blaming the whole scandal on the general ethics of the British tabloid industry. Mensch closes by thanking Rupert for his “immense courage” in facing the bowl of shaving cream. She’s a member of the Conservative party. Try to contain your shock.

12:26 p.m. – Rupert is finally allowed to read his written statement. He’s sorry, so sorry, my company has 52,000 employees and I’ve made mistakes before. He is sickened about the hacking of voicemails of murder victims, angry at compounding their distress, and is grateful for the chance to apologize in person. He’s sorry, so sorry, very sorry, please know the depth of his regret. “Invading people’s privacy is wrong. Paying off police is wrong. Saying sorry is not enough. No excuses.” Right...except for all the excuses my son and I sprayed everywhere today.

12:30 p.m. – The Murdoch portion of the show is now concluded, and we’re back to Fox News. All they can talk about is the pie attack, and how forthcoming James and Rupert were in the hearing. They’re warming up the seat in the hearing room for Rebekah Brooks, who recently resigned from News

Corp. and was then arrested. News Corp. shares went up 5% during the testimony, says the talking head with a very Bushian smirk, and at last, a commercial break.

12:37 p.m. – Fox talking head just admitted that most of their viewers don’t know what they’re watching, if the messages they’re getting in are any clue. Um, the phone-hacking scandal hearings, folks. Gives you a good idea of how much (little) Fox has covered this story before today. But the only story they’re really covering is the pie attack, and how Murdoch’s wife flew through the air to save the day.

Well, that was mind-numbing. Mr. Murdoch has been in hot water before, and has played the same sad-man so-sorry hand to get out from under. He always has, and it remains to be seen whether or not that ploy will work this time. The question of phone-hacking on American soil, particularly involving victims of 9/11, has yet to be resolved, and the FBI is reportedly investigating. In the meantime, today was about half-answers, mumbling, and sidestepping responsibility. In other words, business as usual. The pie attack was a nice change of pace, but on balance, I get the definite sense that cardboard cut-outs of Rupert and James would have would have served just as well to fill those witness chairs.. **CT**

.....
William Rivers Pitt is editor of Truthout.net, where this essay first appeared.



**Find Great
Photojournalism at
ColdType.net**

www.coldtype.net/photo.html

Lights and tunnels

John Kozy discusses the disintegration of America's economy in the wake of the crash of 2008

The word 'recover' always has the connotation of "getting back." But who is going to get back what when the economy "recovers"? Few at most. So what does an economic recovery look like? No one knows. The word 'recovery' can not be applied to objects willy-nilly. A sick person goes into the hospital to recover; a broken automobile is taken to a shop to be repaired. Automobiles do not recover. Neither do economies; they can only get better or worse, and specific information is needed to determine which. Few people realize just how close to the edge of disintegration America is. The Congress meets for one purpose and one purpose alone – to get reelected. The political posturing begins the day after each election, while the nation's problems go unaddressed, and our media aid and abet the posturing. Such is America today. This recession/depression will never "recover." Neither will America.

That successful, inveterate liars consistently use a specific group of practices has been known for ages. They, for instance, give long winded answers to questions to distract and confuse the questioner, make assertions that can't be easily refuted, and keep from saying very much that is specific, making it difficult to confirm or refute details. One prevalent way of doing this is to speak metaphorically.

Those of you old enough to remember

the Vietnamese War may remember that whenever General Westmoreland was asked how the war was going, he usually replied that there was "light at the end of the tunnel"

Of course there was; there is light at both ends of every tunnel. But no one ever knew which end he was talking about or if we were getting any closer to the end that would get us out. We all now know, of course, that we were not. Telling us that there was light at the end of the tunnel told us nothing at all; yet many were led to believe that "there is light at the end of the tunnel" was synonymous with "we were getting closer to victory" even though there is absolutely no logical relationship between these two assertions. Why did Westmorland always answer this way? The only reasonable answer is to avoid telling the truth.

Likewise, President Obama is addicted to vapid metaphors: the US still has a "big hole to fill," "Headwinds" from the first half of 2011 are holding back the recovery," "There are going to be bumps in the road," and "on the right track"

The hole that needs to be filled is the lack of specificity in his speeches, but let's just consider the ubiquitous "on the right track." It's very similar to "light at the end of the tunnel." A train, for instance, can be on the right track but be going nowhere or perhaps even going backwards. When a train is on a

.....
Those of you old enough to remember the Vietnamese War may remember that whenever General Westmorland was asked how the war was going, he usually replied that there was "light at the end of the tunnel"

.....
What if the Dow goes to 50,000 but the average wage is only \$4 and people are starving? Will that be a recovery?
.....

siding, isn't it on the right track? What does this metaphor tell anyone? What kind of evidence could be cited to refute it? It's one of those perfectly safe, empty claims that people trying to hoodwink others make all the time.

But what has all of this to do with "recovery"? Well, just take a look at how the word is ordinarily used.

"My neighbor has recovered from pneumonia" usually means his previously impaired lungs are now working normally. They have gotten their normal functionality back.

"The police have recovered my friend's stolen property" usually means that his property has been returned to him. He has gotten his property back.

"The speculator recovered the money he lost" means that he got the amount of money he lost back.

The word 'recover' always has the connotation of "getting back."

But who is going to get back what when the economy "recovers"? Are the people who lost their homes going to get them back? No. Are the people who lost their jobs going to get them back? Not likely. Are the people who lost their savings for retirement going to get them back? Some may; most will not.

So what does an economic recovery look like? No one knows.

If the employed population rises to 94%, will the economy have recovered? What if the workers' total compensation is only half of what it was before the recession/depression? Will it still be a recovery?

What if GNP exceeds the GNP before the downturn but employment only rises to 85%? Will that be a recovery?

What if the Dow goes to 50,000 but the average wage is only \$4 and people are starving? Will that be a recovery?

You see, the word 'recovery' when used in relation to the economy is just another vapid metaphor. It means nothing. It means whatever anyone wants it to mean. It is not

used to describe anything real or concrete. It is used to pull the wool over people's eyes, to get them to believe what the speaker wants them to believe. If he wanted to tell you the truth, he'd use more specific words, such as, "a few more people are employed today than a month ago." "The Dow is somewhat higher today than it was last quarter." "The average wage is \$5 less today than it was last year." If anyone ignores the last of these, he could say the economy is recovering. But could he say that if he takes the third into consideration?

The word 'recovery' cannot be applied to objects willy-nilly. A sick person goes into the hospital to recover; a broken automobile is taken to a shop to be repaired. Automobiles do not recover. A diseased tree can be treated and recover; a broken stone cannot. An erroneous calculation can be corrected; it cannot recover. Neither can economies; they can only get better or worse, and specific information is needed to determine which.

When people don't want you to know the truth or even what, if anything, they're talking about, they use abstract words and metaphors. Looking carefully at the words people use is a sure way of identifying scoundrels. I am no oracle; I don't have the slightest idea of what the President is up to. But I do know he's not being honest with the American people. Neither are the members of his Cabinet or even the Congress.

Few people seem to realize just how close to the edge of disintegration America is. Engineers have been warning us for decades about our collapsing infrastructure. This year's floods have demonstrated just how fragile our earthen dikes are. We have chosen the inefficient automobile as our basic means of transportation, but we lack the money to maintain our highways.

Mr. Obama has recently spoken of building bullet trains while even our present railway system is slow and unsafe as two fatal accidents in a recent week alone show.

The war on drugs has been a monumen-

tal failure; yet we persist on fighting it. Even Congressmen admit that our government does not work.

The President last year initiated a “race to the top” in our public schools; today teachers are being laid off for lack of funding. Up until 2008, many people had lost confidence in all of our institutions except the financial system, but even that confidence has now evaporated.

Given the number of people Americans have incarcerated, this nation must be either the most crime ridden the world has ever seen or the most repressed. Homeland Security has done little but annoy people; yet it refuses to change its policies.

Two years ago, the Democrats enacted a comprehensive health care bill; today the talk is about reducing its benefits. Our once mighty manufacturing base has been dismantled; yet the government wants more free trade agreements to increase exports. State governments are too impoverished to continue providing even basic services.

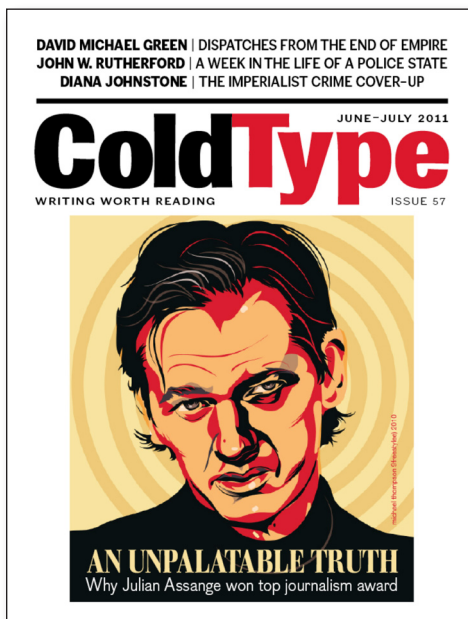
The number of homeless, impoverished, and hungry Americans is increasing. The number of employed along with their wages is declining. Our superbly equipped and trained military forces have not won a major war since World War II; yet we continually engage them.

I suspect the greatest contributor to GNP is political contributions, sanctioned by the Supreme Court, made to buy off our representatives. The Congress meets for one purpose and one purpose alone – to get re-elected.

The political posturing begins the day after each election, while the nation’s problems go unaddressed, and our media aid and abet the posturing. Such is America today. This recession/depression will never “recover.” Neither will America. **CT**

John Kozy is a retired professor of philosophy and logic who writes on social, political, and economic issues. His on-line pieces can be found at www.jkozy.com

Given the number of people Americans have incarcerated, this nation must be either the most crime ridden the world has ever seen or the most repressed



SUBSCRIBE TO ColdType

It's free!

E-mail: subs@coldtype.net

The torturer's tale

If you want to hear excuses for evil behaviour, a new book by Glenn L. Carle is for you, writes **David Swanson**

.....
Carle is like a veteran soldier joining in demonstrations against the war he was part of but still talking about how he "served" his country
.....

On September 18, 2009, seven former heads of the CIA publicly told President Barack Obama not to prosecute CIA torturers. On April 16, 2009, Obama had already publicly told Attorney General Eric Holder not to prosecute CIA torturers. On September 18th, Holder publicly reassured the CIA.

The coast was clear. The books started flowing. George W. Bush and John Yoo put their books out in 2010, Donald Rumsfeld in 2011, and Dick Cheney's also later this summer.

Just as the torture techniques drifted down the chain of command from these dealers in death to the rank and file, so too the book contracts. The cogs in the machine are now documenting their bit parts in the past decade's torture epidemic with pride and publishing deals.

Witness *The Interrogator: An Education*, by Glenn L. Carle. This is the story of how a none-too-bright, self-centered, insecure, careerist bureaucrat with weak principles, a fragile ego, a troubled marriage, and no interrogation experience, but the ability to actually speak Arabic, was chosen to lead the interrogating (or "interviewing") of an innocent man the CIA boneheadedly believed to be a "top al Qaeda terrorist" when they kidnapped him off a street and flew him to an undisclosed location outside any rule of law.

As to who got an education in the process of living, writing, or reading this book, your guess is as good as mine.

You may have spotted the author in the media recently, since he managed to get James Risen at the *New York Times* to print his revelation that the Bush White House had asked the CIA to investigate American blogger Juan Cole. That story is not in the book, but was apparently timed to boost the book's sales. Who knows what other nasty anecdotes Carle is sitting on in hopes of productively producing them when and if he writes a sequel. Even with that prospect, let's hope fervently that he does not.

What an awful book! What an awful example of how to live!

Yes, Carle asserts what all of the experts agree on: torture and abuse are not useful interrogation techniques. The most effective tools for eliciting useful information are the legal ones. But Carle simply asserts this. He provides no new evidence to back it up – not that there was a shortage.

Carle is like a veteran soldier joining in demonstrations against the war he was part of but still talking about how he "served" his country. "I made it possible for American children to sleep safe at night," he brags. How exactly did he do this? Why, by participating in criminal operations that enraged billions of people against the United States of America. Good going, Glenn!

Carle discusses, by way of background, the “victims of the Iran-Contra scandal,” by which he means not the men, women, and children illegally killed, but the criminals prosecuted or otherwise inconvenienced. When Carle was yanked out of his cubicle to employ his linguistic skills in interrogating a kidnapping victim, he was not long in coming to view himself as the victim of most concern to the reader. He had concerns about what he was being sent into, but he “was not about to question the apparent basis for my involvement in a very important case.”

“Suppose our partners do something to CAPTUS [the kidnapped man] that I consider unacceptable?” he asked a superior.

“Well, then, you just walk out of the room, if you feel you should. Then you won’t have to see anything, will you? You will not have been party to anything.”

Wow, with that defense, get-away drivers aren’t guilty of robberies anymore. And that defense was plenty good enough for Carle. He was largely interested in venting his own emotions, he tells us, just as he must have been when composing the book:

“Every American – and perhaps we in the CIA more than anyone – was outraged and determined to destroy the jihadists who had killed our countrymen [on 9-11] and had been attacking our countrymen for years. I was being sent to the front lines, as it were. I was going to be part of the avenging and protective hidden hand of the CIA, striking al Qaeda for us all. I WANTED to interrogate the S.O.B. and play a key role in our counter-terrorism operations.”

I for one would prefer he had settled for tweeting a photo of his penis.

Carle presented himself with the important moral dilemma of whether to screw up this immoral operation or do it right:

“This conversation – this case – was clearly one of the key moments in my career; I needed to GET IT RIGHT, to exercise refined judgment, to see and act clearly where values and goals conflicted, in the murky areas

where there might be no right choice, but one had to choose and act nonetheless.”

Why did one? Why was resigning and going public at any moment not always an available option?

Carle read one of John Yoo’s torture memos, thought it was illegal, and went along anyway:

“I recall thinking when I read it (a view shared by many colleagues at the time [not a one of whom said a damn word to the American people about it]) that it was tententious and intellectually shoddy, an obvious bit of hack work, a bit of legal sophistry to justify what the administration wanted done, not a guideline and interpretation of the spirit and intention of the laws and statutes that had guided the Agency for decades [except for all the times they didn’t]. . . . Challenging a finding, though, was, as the expression goes, way beyond my pay grade, and in any event, would be viewed as presumptuous and out of place at the moment.”

God forbid!

“We were talking about what some, what I, might consider the torture of a helpless man,” Carle recalls.

“What about the Geneva Convention?” he asked his superior.

“Which flag do you serve?” was the reply.

“I flew out of Dulles two days later,” Carle recounts, having chosen knowingly and inexcusably to become a cog in a machine of kidnapping, torture, and death.

Was it really rage over 9-11 that drove Carle onward? He tells us that when the planes hit the towers, he was too busy being petty and self-centered on the telephone to be bothered to watch. He then tried to go shopping and couldn’t get clerks in stores to stop obsessing over 9-11 long enough to help him.

Carle’s wife inexplicably became an alcoholic, resulting in this touching scene:

Was it really rage over 9-11 that drove Carle onward? He tells us that when the planes hit the towers, he was too busy being petty and self-centered on the telephone to be bothered to watch

The interrogation was helped by Carle's preference for humane tactics, even while threatening others, as well as by his openness to recognizing the man's innocence

"One evening I was working on the computer in the bedroom, not wanting to think about work, or home; I just wanted to turn off my brain [how would one tell?]. Sally was cooking in the kitchen. I heard a plate crash. I paid no attention and was barely aware of it. Ten minutes later I wandered into the kitchen to get a soda from the refrigerator. Sally lay unconscious on the floor. I was angry, disdainful. I decided to leave her there to sleep it off. I stepped over her into a huge and growing pool of blood. It covered half the kitchen floor. 'Oh no! Sally! What have you done?'"

Carle describes his interrogation of "CAPTUS," whom he knew to have been kidnapped and who he knew was being held outside of any legal system. Carle repeatedly threatened him with harsh treatment by others.

The interrogation was helped by Carle's preference for humane tactics, even while threatening others, as well as by his openness to recognizing the man's innocence. But it was hampered by the CIA's incredibly incompetent failure to get Carle access to the documents that had been seized along with his victim, and by the CIA's refusal to consider the possibility that CAPTUS was not who they thought he was.

Carle took a don't ask / don't tell approach to the question of whether CAPTUS was being tortured in between periods of in-

terrogation at the first location where Carle interrogated him. Carle did ask, but the CIA blacked out in the book whatever he tried to tell us, about what was done to CAPTUS upon relocating him to a different lawless prison.

When Bush gave a speech pretending to oppose torture, Carle "found this speech infuriating. I knew what we were doing; our actions soiled what it meant to be an American, perverted our oath, and betrayed our flag. Lawyers could argue our actions were legal. But I had lived what we were doing. I knew otherwise."

Did Carle quit and go public? Of course not.

Did any of his colleagues? Of course not.

Carle sat in on meetings discussing blatantly false propaganda aimed at launching the 2003 invasion of Iraq. He saw through the lies.

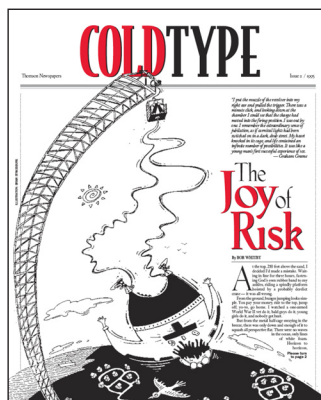
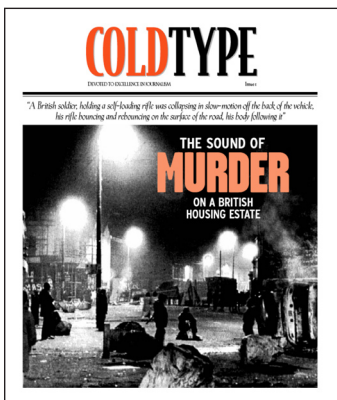
Did he then, in that moment when a million lives could be spared, quit and go public? Of course not.

Carle concludes his book by opposing prosecuting anyone involved in the crimes he was involved in. "Punishment metes out no justice," he claims.

Justice, these days, is presumably measured in book sales.

CT

David Swanson is the author of "War Is A Lie", available at warisalie.org



Read the original editions of ColdType

www.coldtype.net/old.html

The enemy within

John W. Whitehead on the curse of the military-industrial complex

“Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes ... known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few.... No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.” – James Madison

“When a nation becomes obsessed with the guns of war, social programs must inevitably suffer. We can talk about guns and butter all we want to, but when the guns are there with all of its emphasis you don’t even get good oleo. These are facts of life.” – Martin Luther King Jr.

If there is any absolute maxim by which the federal government seems to operate, it is that the American taxpayer always gets ripped off, and Americans would do well to keep that in mind as Congress and the White House debate whether or not to raise the debt ceiling from its current high of \$14.3 trillion. For one thing, the grandstanding by both parties over health care costs and Social Security is nothing more than a convenient distraction from the glaring economic truth that at the end of the day, it’s not the sick, the elderly or the poor who are stealing us blind and pushing America towards bankruptcy. It’s the mili-

tary industrial complex (the illicit merger of the armaments industry and the Pentagon) that President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned us against more than 50 years ago and which has come to represent perhaps the greatest threat to the nation’s fragile infrastructure today.

Having been co-opted by greedy defense contractors, corrupt politicians and incompetent government officials, America’s expanding military empire is bleeding the country dry at a rate of more than \$15 billion a month (or \$20 million an hour) – and that’s just what the government spends on foreign wars. That does not include the cost of maintaining and staffing the 1000-plus US military bases spread around the globe. Incredibly, although the US constitutes only 5% of the world’s population, America boasts almost 50% of the world’s total military expenditure, spending more on the military than the next 19 biggest spending nations combined. In fact, the Pentagon spends more on war than all 50 states combined spend on health, education, welfare, and safety.

War is not cheap. Although the federal government obscures so much about its defense spending that accurate figures are difficult to procure, we do know that since 2001, the US government has spent more than \$1.2 trillion in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. That number, however, is prob-

.....
Although the federal government obscures so much about its defense spending that accurate figures are difficult to procure, we do know that since 2001, the US government has spent more than \$1.2 trillion in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq

.....
War – or the art of killing – has unfortunately become a huge money-making venture, and America, with its vast military empire, is one of its best buyers and sellers
.....

ably closer to \$2.7 trillion when you add in the war in Pakistan and other hidden costs, and will likely climb to \$4.4 trillion before it's all over. Additionally, the American military industrial complex is spending roughly \$4 million per day on the unconstitutional war in Libya.

Yet what most Americans fail to recognize is that these ongoing wars have little to do with keeping the country safe and everything to do with enriching the military industrial complex at taxpayer expense. Just consider the fact that the annual cost to support one US servicemember in Afghanistan alone is over \$1 million, with fuel costs making up the bulk of the expenses. Of course, one of the reasons for the high cost of maintaining each soldier can be attributed to the lack of governmental oversight of private contractor billings, which are rampant with fraud, waste and fat.

War – or the art of killing – has unfortunately become a huge money-making venture, and America, with its vast military empire, is one of its best buyers and sellers. Not only does the US have the largest defense budget, it also ranks highest as the world's largest arms exporter. According to a report from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which tracks military expenditures worldwide, the arms industry is thriving despite the ongoing global economic recession. In fact, 45 of the top 100 of the world's largest arms-producing companies are based in the US. These US corporations generated just under \$247 billion in 2009, which constituted 61% of total arms sales internationally.

.....
Unsurpassed empire

The American military-industrial complex has erected an empire unsurpassed in history in its breadth and scope, one dedicated to conducting perpetual warfare throughout the earth. For example, while erecting a security surveillance state in the US, the military-industrial complex has perpetuat-

ed a worldwide military empire with American troops stationed in 177 countries (over 70% of the countries worldwide).

In the process, billions have been spent erecting luxury military installations throughout the world. For example, the US Embassy built in Iraq, dubbed "Fortress Baghdad," covers 104 acres and boasts a "city within a city" that includes six apartment buildings, a Marine barracks, swimming pool, shops and 15-foot-thick walls. Camp Anaconda in Iraq, like many US military bases scattered across the globe, was structured to resemble a mini-city with pools, fast food restaurants, miniature golf courses and movie theaters. In economic terms, the money invested in building these bases amounts to what American University professor Gordon Adams describes as "sunk" costs. "We're seeing this in Iraq," said Adams. "We're turning over to the Iraqis – mostly either for a small penny or for free – the infrastructure that we built in Iraq. But we won't see back any money from that infrastructure."

Unfortunately, Americans have been inculcated with a false, misplaced sense of patriotism about the military that equates devotion to one's country with supporting the war machine so that any mention of cutting back on the massive defense budget is immediately met with outrage. Yet they might be surprised to learn that little of the money being spent on so-called defense is actually being used for national defense. According to the Task Force on a Unified Security Budget, the FY2012 budget approved by the House of Representatives allocates 87 percent of security money for "offense" (military forces), only 7 percent for "defense" (homeland security), and only 6 percent for "prevention" (all non-military tools, such as diplomacy, foreign aid, and non-proliferation).

Sadly, those in uniform are being used as convenient fronts for a military industrial complex that is bilking taxpayers out of billions of dollars in questionable defense

spending. There's a good reason why "bloated," "corrupt" and "inefficient" are among the words most commonly applied to the government, especially the Department of Defense and its contractors. For instance, a study by the Government Accountability Office found that \$70 billion worth of cost overruns by the Pentagon were caused by management failures. To put that in perspective, that equates to one and a half times the State Department's entire \$47 billion annual budget.

Fraud is rampant. A government audit, for example, found that defense contractor Boeing has been massively overcharging taxpayers for mundane parts, resulting in tens of millions of dollars in overspending. As the report noted, the American taxpayer paid: "\$71 for a metal pin that should cost just 4 cents; \$644.75 for a small gear smaller than a dime that sells for \$12.51; more than a 5,100 percent increase in price. \$1,678.61 for another tiny part, also smaller than a dime, that could have been bought within DoD for \$7.71: a 21,000 percent increase. \$71.01 for a straight, thin metal pin that DoD had on hand, unused by the tens of thousands, for 4 cents: an increase of over 177,000 percent."

Of course, this kind of rampant abuse is ludicrous, and never more so than at a time when unemployment is topping 9.2%. When most Americans can scarcely afford the cost of cooling their own homes, taxpayers should be up in arms over having to pay through the nose to the tune of \$20 billion – more than NASA's entire annual budget – to air condition the troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. "In essence, what we're doing is we're air conditioning the desert over there in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other places," noted retired brigadier general Steven Anderson, a former chief logistician for Gen. David Petraeus in Iraq. And if you think gas prices at home are high, just consider what the American taxpayer is being forced to shell out overseas: once all the expenses of delivering gas to troops in the field are factored in, we're paying between \$18-30 per gallon

for gas in Iraq and Afghanistan. Incredibly, despite reports of corruption, abuse and waste, the mega-corporations behind much of this ineptitude and corruption continue to be awarded military contracts worth billions of dollars.

The rationale may keep changing for why American military forces are in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, but the one that remains constant is that those who run the government are feeding the appetite of the military industrial complex. And what began in 2001 as part of an alleged effort to root out al Qaeda has turned into a goldmine for the military industrial complex. Even the lip service that is paid to drawing down the troops doesn't amount to much of a savings in the end when you factor in the cost of replacing those troops with civilian contractors. For example, while the Obama administration was touting the withdrawal of troops from Iraq earlier this year, plans were being made to triple the size of the private security contractors and support staff to between 7,000 and 8,000.

The five-second thought

Just consider: the Pentagon in 2008 spent more money every five seconds in Iraq than the average American earned in a year. And yet Congress and the White House want taxpayers to accept that the only way to reduce the nation's ballooning deficit and avoid raising the debt ceiling is by cutting "entitlement" programs such as Social Security and Medicare. As Martin Luther King Jr. recognized, under a military empire, war and its profiteering will always take precedence over the people's basic human needs.

Incredibly, if the government would just take the amount spent on the war in Afghanistan this year alone (\$122 billion in FY2011) and reallocate it where it's needed here at home, it would entirely wipe out the projected budget shortfalls for fiscal year 2012 for 41 states and the District of

Just consider: the Pentagon in 2008 spent more money every five seconds in Iraq than the average American earned in a year

.....
The military does not view the Constitution in the same way as someone engaged in ensuring that the Bill of Rights and its freedoms are kept intact
.....

Columbia, totaling \$103 billion. Or to put it another way: in roughly 80% of the states projecting deficits this year, if the money spent by each state on the war were used for domestic purposes, it would wipe out that state's shortfall.

Simply put, we cannot afford to maintain our over-extended military empire. As a senior administration official involved in Afghanistan remarked to the Washington Post: "Money is the new 800-pound gorilla. It shifts the debate from 'Is the strategy working?' to 'Can we afford this?' And when you view it that way, the scope of the mission that we have now is far, far less defensible." Or as one commentator noted, "Foreclosing the future of our country should not be confused with defending it."

Finally, and inevitably, military empires collapse. The war bell is tolling, and it tolls for us. As Cullen Murphy, author of *Are We Rome?* and editor-at-large of *Vanity Fair* writes: "A millennium hence America will be hard to recognize. It may not exist as a nation-state in the form it does now – or even exist at all. Will the transitions ahead be gradual and peaceful or abrupt and catastrophic? Will our descendants be living productive lives in a society better than the one we inhabit now? Whatever happens, will valuable aspects of America's legacy weave through the fabric of civilizations to come? Will historians someday have reason to ask, Did America really fall?"

The problem we wrestle with is none other than a distorted American empire, complete with mega-corporations, security-industrial complexes and a burgeoning military. And it has its sights set on absolute domination. Yet at the height of its power, even the mighty Roman Empire could not stare down a collapsing economy and a burgeoning military. Prolonged periods of war and false economic prosperity largely led to its demise, and it is feared that America, by repeating Rome's mistakes, is headed toward a similar collapse. As historian Chalmers Johnson predicts, "the United States

will within a very short time face financial or even political collapse at home and a significantly diminished ability to project force abroad."

Moreover, the so-called American empire faces a violent contradiction between its long republican tradition and its more recent imperial ambitions. As Chalmers Johnson writes: "The fate of previous democratic empires suggests that such a conflict is unsustainable and will be resolved in one of two ways. Rome attempted to keep its empire and lost its democracy. Britain chose to remain democratic and in the process let go its empire. Intentionally or not, the people of the United States already are well embarked upon the course of non-democratic empire."

I would suggest that what we have is a confluence of factors and influences that go beyond mere comparisons to Rome. It is a union of Orwell's 1984 with its shadowy, totalitarian government – i.e., fascism, the union of government and corporate powers – and a total surveillance state with a military empire extended throughout the world. And as we have seen with the militarizing of the police, the growth of and reliance on militarism as the solution for our problems both domestically and abroad affects the basic principles upon which American society should operate. The military does not view the Constitution in the same way as someone engaged in ensuring that the Bill of Rights and its freedoms are kept intact. Those in the military are primarily trained to conduct warfare, not preserve the peace. We must keep in mind that a military empire will be ruled not by lofty ideals of equality and justice but by the power of the sword. **CT**

.....
John W. Whitehead is a constitutional attorney and founder and president of The Rutherford Institute. His new book "The Freedom Wars" (TRI Press) is available online at www.amazon.com. He can be contacted at johnw@rutherford.org

Three little words: WikiLeaks. Libya. Oil.

David Edwards does a search of media databases to find out the real reasons for the war on Libya and finds some interesting omissions

Libya has some of the biggest and most proven oil reserves – 43.6 billion barrels – outside Saudi Arabia, and some of the best drilling prospects.’ So reported the *I* on June 11, in a rare mainstream article which, as we will see, revealed how WikiLeaks exposed the real motives behind the war on Libya.

So what happens when you search UK newspaper archives for the words ‘WikiLeaks’, ‘Libya’ and ‘oil’? We decided to take a look.

From the time prior to the start of Libya’s civil war on February 17, and of Nato’s war on Libya on March 19, we found a couple of comments of this kind in the *Sunday Times*:

‘Gadaffi’s children plunder the country’s oil revenues, run a kleptocracy and operate a reign of terror that has created simmering hatred and resentment among the people, according to the cables released by WikiLeaks.’ (Michael Sheridan, ‘Libya froths at plundering by junior Gadaffis,’ February 6, 2011, *Sunday Times*)

The *Telegraph* described political wrangling over the alleged Lockerbie bomber, Abdelbaset al-Megrahi:

‘The documents, obtained by the WikiLeaks website and passed to this newspaper, provide the first comprehensive picture of the often desperate steps taken by Western governments to court the Libyan regime in the competition for valuable trade and oil contracts.’ (Christopher Hope and Robert

Winnett, ‘Ministers gave Libya legal advice on how to free Lockerbie bomber,’ *The Daily Telegraph*, February 1, 2011)

From the time since Nato launched its war, we found this warning from Jackie Ashley in the *I*:

‘...cast aside international law, and there is nothing but might is right, arms, oil and profits.

‘Well, you might say, but isn’t that where we are already? Not quite. Many of us may feel great cynicism about some of the west’s war-making and the strange coincidence of military intervention and oil and gas reserves. I do.’ (Ashley, ‘Few would weep for Gaddafi, but targeting him is wrong: In war, international law is all we have. If we cast it aside there’ll be nothing left but might is right, arms, oil and profits,’ *The Guardian* May 2, 2011)

This hinted in the right direction, but no facts were cited in support of the argument, certainly none from the WikiLeaks diplomatic cables.

The *Guardian*’s Alexander Chancellor managed to discover a leaked cable revealing that Libya ‘sometimes demands billion-dollar “signing bonuses” for contracts with western oil companies’. (Chancellor, ‘The bonanza of kickbacks and corrupt deals between Libya and the west have helped Gaddafi cling on to power,’ *The Guardian*, March 25, 2011)

Other cables offer more significant insights, but Chancellor made no mention of them.

.....
So what happens when you search UK newspaper archives for the words ‘WikiLeaks’, ‘Libya’ and ‘oil’?
.....

.....
The stakes for the West were, and are, high: companies such as ConocoPhillips and Marathon have each invested about \$700 million over the past six years
.....

George Monbiot's March 15 I article contained all three search terms – his sole mention of Libya in the past 12 months – but he was writing about Saudi Arabia: 'We won't trouble Saudi's tyrants with calls to reform while we crave their oil.' The article had nothing to say about the looming assault on Libya, just four days away. Monbiot has had nothing to say since.

Johann Hari wrote about the Libyan war in his sole article on the subject in the Ion April 8, commenting:

'Bill Richardson, the former US energy secretary who served as US ambassador to the UN, is probably right when he says: "There's another interest, and that's energy... Libya is among the 10 top oil producers in the world. You can almost say that the gas prices in the US going up have probably happened because of a stoppage of Libyan oil production... So this is not an insignificant country, and I think our involvement is justified"'

This was a rare affirmation of the role of oil as a motive, albeit one that emphasised the specious claim that the US concern is simply to keep the oil flowing (Hari did mention, vaguely, that results were intended to be 'in our favour'). And again, Hari appeared to be innocent of any relevant information released by WikiLeaks. A lack of awareness which perhaps explains why he had 'wrestled with' the alleged moral case for intervention before rejecting it.

.....
Soured Relations – Gaddafi And Big Oil

Remarkably, then, we found nothing in any article in any national UK newspaper reporting the freely-available facts revealed by WikiLeaks on Western oil interests in Libya. And nothing linking these facts to the current war.

By contrast, in his June 11 article for the *Washington Post*, Steven Mufson focused intensely on WikiLeaks exposés in regard to Libyan oil. In November 2007, a leaked State Department cable reported 'growing evidence of Libyan resource nationalism'. In his 2006

speech marking the founding of his regime, Gaddafi had said:

'Oil companies are controlled by foreigners who have made millions from them. Now, Libyans must take their place to profit from this money.'

Gaddafi's son made similar comments in 2007. As (honest) students of history will know, these are exactly the kind of words that make US generals sit up and listen. The stakes for the West were, and are, high: companies such as ConocoPhillips and Marathon have each invested about \$700 million over the past six years.

Even more seriously, in late February 2008, a US State Department cable described how Gaddafi had 'threatened to dramatically reduce Libya's oil production and/or expel... US oil and gas companies'. The I explained how, in early 2008, US Senator Frank R. Lautenberg had enraged the Libyan leader by adding an amendment to a bill that made it easier for families of the victims of the Lockerbie bombing to 'go after Libya's commercial assets'.

The Libyan equivalent of the deputy foreign minister told US officials that the Lautenberg amendment was 'destroying everything the two sides have built since 2003,' according to a State Department cable. In 2008, Libyan oil minister Shokri Ghanem warned an Exxon Mobil executive that Libya might 'significantly curtail' its oil production to 'penalize the US,' according to another cable.

The *Post* concluded: 'even before armed conflict drove the US companies out of Libya this year, their relations with Gaddafi had soured. The Libyan leader demanded tough contract terms. He sought big bonus payments up front. Moreover, upset that he was not getting more US government respect and recognition for his earlier concessions, he pressured the oil companies to influence US policies'.

Similarly, compare the chasm in rational analysis separating the mainstream UK media and the dissident Real News Network, hosted by Paul Jay. Last month, Jay inter-

viewed Kevin G. Hall, the national economics correspondent for McClatchy Newspapers. Jay concluded with a summary of their conversation discussing oil shenanigans in Libya:

‘So you’ve got the Italian oil companies already at odds with the US over Iran. The Italian oil company is going to, through its deals with Gazprom, allow the Russians to take a big stake in Libyan oil. And then you have the French. As we head towards the Libyan war, the French Total have a small piece of the Libyan oil game, but I suppose they would like a bigger piece of it. And then you wind up having a French-American push to overthrow Gaddafi and essentially shove Gazprom out. I mean, I guess we’re not saying one and one necessarily equals two, but it sure – it makes one think about it.’

Hall responded:

‘Yeah, it’s not necessarily causation, but there’s – you might suggest there’s correlation. And clearly this shows the degree to which oil is kind of the back story to so much that happens. As a matter of fact, we went through 251,000 [leaked] documents – or we have 250,000 documents that we’ve been pouring through. Of those, a full 10 percent of them, a full 10 percent of those documents, reference in some way, shape, or form oil. And I think that tells you how much part of, you know, the global security question, stability, prosperity – you know, take your choice, oil is fundamental.’ (Our emphasis)

Jay replied with a wry smile:

‘And we’ll do more of this. But those who had said it’s not all about oil, they ain’t reading WikiLeaks.’

Hall replied: ‘It is all about oil.’

In March, we drew attention to a cable released by WikiLeaks sent from the US embassy in Tripoli in November 2007. The cable communicated US concerns about the direction being taken by Libya’s leadership:

‘Libya needs to exploit its hydrocarbon resources to provide for its rapidly-growing, relatively young population. To do so, it requires extensive foreign investment and participation by credible IOCs [international oil

companies]. Reformist elements in the Libyan government and the small but growing private sector recognize this reality. But those who dominate Libya’s political and economic leadership are pursuing increasingly nationalistic policies in the energy sector that could jeopardize efficient exploitation of Libya’s extensive oil and gas reserves. Effective US engagement on this issue should take the form of demonstrating the clear downsides to the GOL [government of Libya] of pursuing this approach, particularly with respect to attracting participation by credible international oil companies in the oil/gas sector and foreign direct investment.’

The US government has certainly been ‘demonstrating the clear downsides’ since March 19.

US analyst Glenn Greenwald, asks:

‘Is there anyone – anywhere – who actually believes that these aren’t the driving considerations in why we’re waging this war in Libya? After almost three months of fighting and bombing – when we’re so far from the original justifications and commitments that they’re barely a distant memory – is there anyone who still believes that humanitarian concerns are what brought us and other Western powers to the war in Libya? Is there anything more obvious – as the world’s oil supplies rapidly diminish – than the fact that our prime objective is to remove Gaddafi and install a regime that is a far more reliable servant to Western oil interests, and that protecting civilians was the justifying pretext for this war, not the purpose?’

‘The Urge To Help’

It does seem extraordinary that anyone could doubt that this is the case. But the fact is that the WikiLeaks cables cited above, the Washington Post’s facts, and Greenwald’s conclusions, have been almost completely blanked by the UK media system. Notice that they have been readily accessible to us, a tiny website supported by public donations.

As though reporting from a different plan-

The WikiLeaks cables cited above, the Washington Post’s facts, and Greenwald’s conclusions, have been almost completely blanked by the UK media system

.....
It is a trademark of Guardian liberalism that Britain and its allies are forever Teflon-coated, forever untainted by the evident brutality of 'our' actions
.....

et, the BBC reported:

'Nato is enforcing a UN resolution to protect civilians in Libya.'

Is this Absolute Truth? Holy writ? In fact, no. But it does reflect the mainstream political consensus and so the BBC feels content to offer it – by way of a service to democracy – as the only view in town. And yet, we need only reflect on three obvious facts: while UN Resolution 1973 did authorise a no-fly zone to protect Libyan civilians, Nato is now openly seeking regime change and rejecting all peace overtures out of hand. The UN did not authorise regime change.

An *Observer* leader entitled, 'The west can't let Gaddafi destroy his people,' told the same tale in March:

'the only response that matters now is a common position which brooks no more argument... to pledge, with the honest passion we affect to feel that, whether repulsed in time or not, this particular tyranny will not be allowed to stand'. (Leading article, 'Libya: The west can't let Gaddafi destroy his people,' *The Observer*, March 13, 2011)

Like a cut and paste from Orwell, the paper insisted: 'This is a regional uprising of young people seeking freedom, remember? Do you recall all the power of the tweet, as lauded only a fortnight ago?

'The millions who began this revolution won't be much impressed by a democracy defined only by inertia. They won't thank the west – or China, India, Russia, the African Union – for letting this Arab spring die in a field of flowery promises.'

The *Guardian* also focused on the 'ethical' motivation. In a February 24 leading article entitled, 'Libya: The urge to help,' the editors simultaneously mocked and reversed the truth:

'It is hard to escape the conclusion that European leaders are advocating these moves in part because they want to be seen by their electorates at home to be doing something, and in part because they want to be seen by people in the Middle East as being on the right side in the Arab democratic revolution.

They may hope that a dramatic line on Libya will go some way toward effacing the memory of the dithering and equivocation with which they greeted its earlier manifestations in Tunisia and Egypt, France being particularly guilty in this regard.'

Compared to the analysis discussed above this reads like a bed-time story for children. The deceptive words 'dithering and equivocation' refer to the West's iron-willed resolve to protect tyrannical clients and to thwart democratic revolution in the region while appearing (the key word) to be 'on the right side'.

The conclusion: 'a no-fly zone should become an option. Lord Owen was therefore right to say that military preparations should be made and the necessary diplomatic approaches, above all to the Russians and the Chinese, set in train to secure UN authority for such action'.

The *Guardian's* argument was shorn of the political, economic and historical facts that make a nonsense of the idea that Western military action 'should become an option'. There may indeed have been a moral case for action by someone. But not by Western states with a bitter history of subjugating and killing people in Libya, and elsewhere in the region, for the sake of oil. But then it is a trademark of *Guardian* liberalism that Britain and its allies are forever Teflon-coated, forever untainted by the evident brutality of 'our' actions. This is the perennial, vital service the paper performs for the establishment.

We are asked to believe that the facts sampled in this alert are somehow unknown to the hard-headed corporate executives who write of 'The urge to help' and the 'common position which brooks no more argument'. And yet, the *Guardian* was one of WikiLeaks' major 'media partners' at the time the cables were published – it is well aware that 'a full 10 percent of those documents, reference in some way, shape, or form oil'.

Like the rest of the corporate media, Britain's leading liberal newspaper knows but is not telling. **CT**

.....
David Edwards
is the co-editor of *Medialens*, the London press watchdog –
www.medialens.org

Why the need for regime change?

Gaddafi is guilty of insubordination to US imperialism, the godfather of the world, writes **Ismael Hossein-Zadeh**

In light of the brutal death and destruction wrought on Libya by the relentless US/NATO bombardment, the professed claims of “humanitarian concerns” as grounds for intervention can readily be dismissed as a blatantly specious imperialist ploy in pursuit of “regime change” in that country.

There is undeniable evidence that contrary to the spontaneous, unarmed and peaceful protest demonstrations in Egypt, Tunisia and Bahrain, the rebellion in Libya has been nurtured, armed and orchestrated—largely from abroad, in collaboration with expat opposition groups and their local allies at home. Indeed, evidence shows that plans of “regime change” in Libya were drawn long before the insurgency actually started in Benghazi; it has all the hallmarks of a well-orchestrated civil war [1].

It is very tempting to seek the answer to the question “why regime change in Libya?” in oil/energy. While oil is undoubtedly a concern, it falls short of a satisfactory explanation because major Western oil companies were already extensively involved in the Libyan oil industry. Indeed, since Gaddafi relented to the US-UK pressure in 1993 and established “normal” economic and diplomatic relations with these and other Western countries, major US and European oil companies struck quite lucrative deals with the National Oil Corporation of Libya.

So, the answer to the question “why the imperialist powers want to do away with Gaddafi” has to go beyond oil, or the laughable “humanitarian concerns.” Perhaps the question can be answered best in the light of the following questions: why do these imperialist powers also want to overthrow Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, Fidel Castro (and/or his successors) of Cuba, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran, Rafael Correa Delgado of Ecuador, Kim Jong-il of North Korea, Bashar Al-Assad of Syria and Evo Morales of Bolivia? Or, why did they overthrow Mohammad Mossadeq of Iran, Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala, Kusno Sukarno of Indonesia, Salvador Allende of Chile, Sandinistas in Nicaragua, Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti and Manuel Zelaya in Honduras?

What does Gaddafi have in common with these nationalist/populist leaders? The question is of course rhetorical and the answer is obvious: like them Gaddafi is guilty of insubordination to the proverbial godfather of the world: US imperialism, and its allies. Like them, he has committed the cardinal sin of challenging the unbridled reign of global capital, of not following the economic “guidelines” of the captains of global finance, that is, of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and World Trade Organization; as well as of refusing to join US military alliances in the region. Also like other nationalist/populist leaders, he

.....
Gaddafi is guilty of insubordination to the proverbial godfather of the world: US imperialism, and its allies

.....
Indeed, guardians of the worldwide market mechanism have always been intolerant of any “undue” government intervention in the economic affairs of any country in the world
.....

advocates social safety net (or welfare state) programs – not for giant corporations, as is the case in imperialist countries, but for the people in need.

This means that the criminal agenda of Messrs Obama, Cameron, Sarkozy, and their complicit allies to overthrow or kill Mr. Gaddafi and other “insubordinate” proponents of welfare state programs abroad is essentially part of the same evil agenda of dismantling such programs at home. While the form, the context and the means of destruction may be different, the thrust of the relentless attacks on the living standards of the Libyan, Iranian, Venezuelan or Cuban peoples are essentially the same as the equally brutal attacks on the living conditions of the poor and working people in the US, UK, France and other degenerate capitalist countries. In a subtle (but unmistakable) way they are all part of an ongoing unilateral class warfare on a global scale – whether they are carried out by military means and bombardments, or through the apparently “non-violent” processes of judicial or legislative means does not make a substantial difference as far as the nature or the thrust of the attack on people’s lives or livelihoods are concerned.

In their efforts to consolidate the reign of big capital worldwide, captains of global finance use a variety of methods. The preferred method is usually non-military, that is, the neoliberal strategies of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), carried out by representatives of big business disguised as elected officials, or by the multilateral institutions such as the IMF and the WTO. This is what is currently happening in the debt- and deficit-ridden economies of the United States and Europe. But if a country like Libya (or Venezuela or Iran or Cuba) does not go along with the neoliberal agenda of “structural adjustments,” of outsourcing and privatization, and of allowing their financial system to be tied to the network of global banking cartel, then the military option is embarked upon to carry out the neoliberal agenda.

The powerful interests of global capitalism do not seem to feel comfortable to dismantle New Deal economics, Social Democratic reforms and welfare state programs in the core capitalist countries while people in smaller, less-developed countries such as Libya, Venezuela or Cuba enjoy strong, state-sponsored social safety net programs such as free or heavily-subsidized education and health care benefits. Indeed, guardians of the worldwide market mechanism have always been intolerant of any “undue” government intervention in the economic affairs of any country in the world. “Regimented economies,” declared President Harry Truman in a speech at Baylor University (1947), were the enemy of free enterprise, and “unless we act, and act decisively,” he claimed, those regimented economies would become “the pattern of the next century.” To fend off that danger, Truman urged that “the whole world should adopt the American system.” The system of free enterprise, he went on, “can survive in America only if it becomes a world system” [2].

Before it was devastated by the imperialist-orchestrated civil war and destruction, Libya had the highest living standard in Africa. Using the United Nations statistics, Jean-Paul Pougala of Dissident Voice reports,

“The country now ranks 53rd on the HDI [Human Development Index] index, better than all other African countries and also better than the richer and the Western-backed Saudi Arabia. . . . Although the media often refers to youth unemployment of 15 to 30 percent, it does not mention that in Libya, in contrast to other countries, all have their subsistence guaranteed. . . . The government provides all citizens with free health care and [has] achieved high coverage in the most basic health areas. . . . The life expectancy rose to 74.5 years and is now the highest in Africa. . . . The infant mortality rate declined to 17 deaths per 1,000 births and is not nearly as high as in Algeria (41) and also lower than in Saudi Arabia (21).

“The UNDP [United Nations Development Program] certified that Libya has also made ‘a significant progress in gender equality,’ particularly in the fields of education and health, while there is still much to do regarding representation in politics and the economy. With a relative low ‘index of gender inequality’ the UNDP places the country in the Human Development Report 2010 concerning gender equality at rank 52 and thus also well ahead of Egypt (ranked 108), Algeria (70), Tunisia (56), Saudi Arabia (ranked 128) and Qatar (94)” [3].

It is true that after resisting the self-centered demands and onerous pressures from Western powers for more than thirty years, Gaddafi relented in 1993 and opened the Libyan economy to Western capital, carried out a number of neoliberal economic reforms, and granted lucrative business/investment deals to major oil companies of the West.

But, again, like the proverbial godfather, US/European imperialism requires total, unconditional subordination; half-hearted, grudging compliance with the global agenda of imperialism is not enough. To be considered a real “ally,” or a true “client state,” a country has to grant the US the right to “guide” its economic, geopolitical and foreign policies, that is, to essentially forgo its national sovereignty. Despite some economic concessions since the early 1990s, Gaddafi failed this critical test of “full compliance” with the imperialist designs in the region.

For example, he resisted joining a US/NATO-sponsored military alliance in the region. Libya (along with Syria) are the only two Mediterranean nations and the sole remaining Arab states that are not subordinated to US and NATO designs for control of the Mediterranean Sea Basin and the Middle East. Nor has Libya (or Syria) participated in NATO’s almost ten-year-old Operation Active Endeavor naval patrols and exercises in the Mediterranean Sea and neither is a member of NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue military partnership which includes most regional countries: Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Tu-

nisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania [4].

To the chagrin of US imperialism, Libya’s Gaddafi also refused to join the US Africa Command (AFRICOM), designed to control valuable resources in Africa, safeguard trade and investment markets in the region, and contain or evict China from North Africa. “When the US formed AFRICOM in 2007, some 49 countries signed on to the US military charter for Africa but one country refused: Libya. Such a treacherous act by Libya’s leader Moummar Qaddafi would only sow the seeds for a future conflict down the road in 2011” [5].

Furthermore, by promoting trade, development and industrialization projects on a local, national, regional or African level, Gaddafi was viewed as an obstacle to the Western powers’ strategies of unhindered trade and development projects on a global level. For example, Gaddafi’s Libya played a leading role in “connecting the entire [African] continent by telephone, television, radio broadcasting and several other technological applications such as telemedicine and distance teaching. And thanks to the WMAX radio bridge, a low cost connection was made available across the continent, including in rural areas” [3].

The idea of launching a pan-African system of technologically advanced network of telecommunication began in the early 1990s, “when 45 African nations established RASCOM (Regional African Satellite Communication Organization) so that Africa would have its own satellite and slash communication costs in the continent. This was a time when phone calls to and from Africa were the most expensive in the world because of the annual \$500 million fee pocketed by Europe for the use of its satellites like Intelsat for phone conversations, including those within the same country. . . . An African satellite only cost a onetime payment of \$400 million and the continent no longer had to pay a \$500 million annual lease” [3].

In pursuit of financing this project, the African nations frequently pleaded with the

.....
To be considered a real “ally,” or a true “client state,” a country has to grant the US the right to “guide” its economic, geopolitical and foreign policies, that is, to essentially forgo its national sovereignty.

.....
Western powers also viewed Gaddafi as an obstacle to their imperial strategies for yet another reason: standing in the way of their age-old policies of “divide and rule”
.....

IMF and the World Bank for assistance. As the empty promises of these financial giants dragged on for 14 years,

“Gaddafi put an end to [the] futile pleas to the western ‘benefactors’ with their exorbitant interest rates. The Libyan guide put \$300 million on the table; the African Development Bank added \$50 million more and the West African Development Bank a further \$27 million – and that’s how Africa got its first communications satellite on 26 December 2007.

“China and Russia followed suit and shared their technology and helped launch satellites for South Africa, Nigeria, Angola, Algeria and a second African satellite was launched in July 2010. The first totally indigenously built satellite and manufactured on African soil, in Algeria, is set for 2020. This satellite is aimed at competing with the best in the world, but at ten times less the cost, a real challenge.

“This is how a symbolic gesture of a mere \$300 million changed the life of an entire continent. Gaddafi’s Libya cost the West, not just depriving it of \$500 million per year but the billions of dollars in debt and interest that the initial loan would generate for years to come and in an exponential manner, thereby helping maintain an occult system in order to plunder the continent”[3].

Architects of global finance, represented by the imperialist governments of the West, also viewed Gaddafi as a spoiler in the area of international or global money and banking. The forces of global capital tend to prefer a uniform, contiguous, or borderless global market to multiple sovereign markets at the local, national, regional or continental levels. Not only Gaddafi’s Libya maintained public ownership of its own central bank, and the authority to create its own national money, but it also worked assiduously to establish an African Monetary Fund, an African Central Bank, and an African Investment Bank.

The \$30 billion of the Libyan money frozen by the Obama administration belong to

the Central Bank of Libya, which

“had been earmarked as the Libyan contribution to three key projects which would add the finishing touches to the African Federation – the African Investment Bank in Syrte (Libya), the establishment in 2011 of the African Monetary Fund to be based in Yaoundé (Cameroon) . . . , and the Abuja-based African Central Bank in Nigeria, which when it starts printing African money will ring the death knell for the CFA franc [the French currency] through which Paris has been able to maintain its hold on some African countries for the last fifty years. It is easy to understand the French wrath against Gaddafi.

“The African Monetary Fund is expected to totally supplant the African activities of the International Monetary Fund which, with only \$25 billion, was able to bring an entire continent to its knees and make it swallow questionable privatization like forcing African countries to move from public to private monopolies. No surprise then that on 16-17 December 2010, the Africans unanimously rejected attempts by Western countries to join the African Monetary Fund, saying it was open only to African nations” [3].

Western powers also viewed Gaddafi as an obstacle to their imperial strategies for yet another reason: standing in the way of their age-old policies of “divide and rule.” To counter Gaddafi’s relentless efforts to establish a United States of Africa, the European Union tried to create the Union for the Mediterranean (UPM) region. “North Africa somehow had to be cut off from the rest of Africa, using the old tired racist clichés of the 18th and 19th centuries, which claimed that Africans of Arab origin were more evolved and civilized than the rest of the continent. This failed because Gaddafi refused to buy into it. He soon understood what game was being played when only a handful of African countries were invited to join the Mediterranean grouping without informing the African Union but inviting all

27 members of the European Union.” Gaddafi also refused to buy into other imperialist-inspired/driven groupings in Africa such as ECOWAS, COMESA, UDEAC, SADC and the Great Maghreb, “which never saw the light of day thanks to Gaddafi who understood what was happening” [3].

Gaddafi further earned the wrath of Western powers for striking extensive trade and investment deals with BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), especially with China. According to Beijing’s Ministry of Commerce, China’s contracts in Libya (prior to imperialism’s controlled demolition of that country) numbered no less than 50 large projects, involving contracts in excess of \$18 billion. Even a cursory reading of US Africa Command (AFRICOM) strategic briefings shows that a major thrust of its mission is containment of China. “In effect, what we are witnessing here,” points out Patrick Henningsten, “is the dawn of a New Cold War between the US-EURO powers and China. This new cold war will feature many of the same elements of the long and protracted US-USSR face-off we saw in the second half of the 20th century. It will take place off shore, in places like Africa, South America, Central Asia and through old flashpoints like Korea and the Middle East” [5].

It is obvious (from this brief discussion) that Gaddafi’s sin for being placed on imperialism’s death row consists largely of the challenges he posed to the free reign of Western capital in the region, of his refusal to relinquish Libya’s national sovereignty to become another unconditional “client state” of Western powers. His removal from power is therefore designed to eliminate all “barriers” to the unhindered mobility of the US/European capital in the region by installing a more pliant regime in Libya.

Gaddafi’s removal from power would serve yet another objective of US/European powers: to shorten or spoil the Arab Spring by derailing their peaceful protests,

containing their non-violent revolutions and sabotaging their aspirations for self-determination. Soon after being caught by surprise by the glorious uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, the imperialist powers (including the mini Zionist imperialism in Palestine) embarked on “damage control.” In pursuit of this objective, they adopted three simultaneous strategies. The first strategy was to half-heartedly “support” the uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia (of course, once they became unstoppable) in order to control them – hence, the military rule in those countries following the departure of Mubarak from Cairo and Ben Ali from Tunis. The second strategy of containment has been support and encouragement for the brutal crackdown of other spontaneous and peaceful uprisings in countries ruled by “client regimes,” for example, in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. And the third policy of sabotaging the Arab Spring has been to promote civil war and orchestrate chaos in countries such as Libya, Syria and Iran.

In its early stages of development, capitalism promoted nation-state and/or national sovereignty in order to free itself from the constraints of the church and feudalism. Now that the imperatives of the highly advanced but degenerate global finance capital require unhindered mobility in a uniform or borderless world, national sovereignty is considered problematic – especially in places like Libya, Iran, Syria, Venezuela, Bolivia and other countries that are not ruled by imperialism’s “client states.” Why? Because unhindered global mobility of capital requires doing away with social safety net or welfare state programs; it means doing away with public domain properties or public sector enterprises and bringing them under the private ownership of the footloose-and-fancy-free global capital.

This explains why the corporate media, political pundits and other mouthpieces of imperialism are increasing talking about Western powers’ “responsibility to protect,” by which they mean that these powers have

.....
The second strategy of containment has been support and encouragement for the brutal crackdown of other spontaneous and peaceful uprisings in countries ruled by “client regimes,” for example, in Bahrain and Saudi Arabiaw

CAUSE OF WAR

.....
This also means that the imperialist war against peoples and states such as Libya and Venezuela is essentially part of the same class war against peoples and states in the belly of the beast, that is, in the United States and Europe
.....

a responsibility to protect the Libyan (or Iranian or Venezuelan or Syrian or Cuban or ...)citizens from their “dictatorial” rulers by instigating regime change and promoting “democracy” there. It further means that, in pursuit of this objective,the imperialist powers should not be bound by “constraints” of national sovereignty because, they argue, “universal democratic rights take primacy over national sovereignty considerations.”In anotoriously selective fashion, this utilitarian use of the “responsibility to protect” does not apply to nations or peoples ruled by imperialism’s client states such as Saudi Arabia or Bahrain. [6].

This also means that the imperialist war against peoples and states such as Libya and Venezuela is essentially part of the same class war against peoples and states in the belly of the beast, that is, in the United States and Europe. In every instance or place, whether at home or abroad, whether in Libya or California or Wisconsin or Greece, the thrust of the relentless global class war is the same: to do away with subsistence-level guarantees, or social safety net programs, and redistribute the national or global resources in favor of the rich and powerful, especially the powerful interests vested in the finance capital and the military capital.

There is no question that global capitalism has thus woven together the fates and fortunes of the overwhelming majority of the world population in an increasingly intensifying struggle for subsistence and survival.No one can tell when this majority of world population (the middle, lower-middle, poor and working classes) would come to the realization that their seemingly separate struggles for economic survival are essentially part and parcel of the same struggle against the same class enemies, the guardians of world capitalism.

One thing is clear, however: only when they come to such a liberating realization, join forces together in a cross-border, global uprising against the forces of world capitalism, and seek to manage their economies

independent of profitability imperatives of capitalist production – only then can they break free from the shackles of capitalism and control their future in a coordinated, people-centered mode of production, distribution and consumption. **CT**
.....

Ismael Hossein-zadeh, author of The Political Economy of US Militarism (Palgrave-Macmillan 2007), teaches economics at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

NOTES

1. Michel Chossudovsky, “When War Games Go Live: Staging a ‘Humanitarian War’ against ‘SOUTHLAND’ Under an Imaginary UN Security Council Resolution 3003,” Global Research <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=24351>
2. D. F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins* (New York: Double Day, 1961), p. 436.
3. Jean-Paul Pougat, “Why the West Wants the Fall of Gaddafi?” *Dissident Voice*: <http://dissidentvoice.org/2011/04/why-is-gaddafi-being-demonized/>
4. Rick Rozoff, “Libyan Scenario for Syria: Towards A US-NATO ‘Humanitarian Intervention’ directed against Syria?” *Global Research*: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=24562>
5. Patrick Henningsten, “WEST vs. CHINA: A NEW COLD WAR BEGINS ON LIBYAN SOIL,” *21st Century Wire*: <http://21stcenturywire.com/2011/04/12/2577/>
6. For an insightful and informative discussion of this issue see (1) F. William Engdahl, “Humanitarian Neo-colonialism: Framing Libya and Reframing War – Creative Destruction Part III,” *Global Research*: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=24617>; (b) Marjorie Cohn, “The Responsibility to Protect – The Cases of Libya and Ivory Coast,” *Counter Punch*: <http://www.counterpunch.org/cohn05162011.html>

Jellyfish rule

Have I just witnessed the beginning of the end of vertebrate ecology? asks **George Monbiot**

Last year I began to wonder, this year doubt is seeping away, to be replaced with a rising fear. Could they really have done it? Could the fishing industry have achieved the remarkable feat of destroying the last great stock?

Until 2010, mackerel were the one reliable catch in Cardigan Bay in west Wales. Though I took to the water dozens of times, there wasn't a day in 2008 or 2009 when I failed to take ten or more. Once every three or four trips I would hit a major shoal, and bring in 100 or 200 fish: enough, across the season, to fill the freezer and supply much of our protein for the year. Those were thrilling moments: pulling up strings of fish amidst whirling flocks of shearwaters, gannets pluming into the water beside my kayak, dolphins breaching and blowing. It was, or so it seemed, the most sustainable of all the easy means of harvesting animal protein.

Even those days were nothing by comparison to what the older residents remembered: weeks on end when the sea was so thick with fish that you could fill a bucket with mackerel just by picking them off the sand, as they flung themselves through and beyond the breaking waves while pursuing their prey.

Last year it all changed. From the end of May to the end of October I scoured the bay, on one occasion paddling six or seven miles

from land – the furthest I've ever been – to try to find the fish. With the exception of a day on which I caught 20, I brought them back in ones or twos, if at all. There were many days on which I caught nothing at all.

There were as many explanations as there were fishermen: the dolphins had driven them away, the north-westerlies had broken up the shoals, a monstrous fishmeal ship was stationed in the Irish Sea, hoovering up 500 tonnes a day with a fiendish new vacuum device. (Despite a wealth of detail on this story I soon discovered that no such ship existed. But that's fishermen for you). I spoke to a number of fisheries officials and scientists, and was shocked to discover that not only did they have no explanation, they had no data either.

So I hoped for the best – that the dearth could be explained by a fluctuation of weather or ecology. When the fish failed to arrive at the end of May I told myself they must be on their way. They had, after all, been showing off the south-west of England – it could be only a matter of time. I held off until last weekend.

The conditions were perfect. There was no wind, no swell, and the best water visibility I've ever seen here. I looked at the sea and thought “today's the day when it all comes right.”

I pushed my kayak off the beach and felt

The conditions were perfect. There was no wind, no swell, and the best water visibility I've ever seen here. I looked at the sea and thought “today's the day when it all comes right.”

FISHED OUT

.....
In a perfect conjunction of two of my recent interests, last week a monstrous swarm of jellyfish succeeded where Greenpeace has failed, and shut down both reactors at the Torness nuclear power station in Scotland
.....

that delightful sensation of gliding away from land almost effortlessly – I’m so used to fighting the westerlies and the waves they whip up in these shallow seas that on this occasion I seemed almost to be drifting towards the horizon. Far below me I could see the luminous feathers I used as bait tripping over the seabed.

But I could also see something else. Jellyfish. Unimaginable numbers of them. Not the transparent cocktail umbrellas I was used to, but solid white rubbery creatures the size of footballs. They roiled in the surface or loomed, vast and pale, in the depths. There was scarcely a cubic metre of water without one.

Apart from that – nothing. It wasn’t until I reached a buoy three miles from the shore that I felt the urgent tap of a fish, and brought up a single, juvenile mackerel. Otherwise, though I paddled to all the likely spots, I detected nothing but the jellyfish rubbing against the line. As I returned to shore I hooked a greater weever – which thrashed around the boat, trying to impale me on its poisonous spines. But that was all.

Is this the moment? Have I just witnessed the beginning of the end of vertebrate ecology here? If so, the shift might not be confined to Cardigan Bay. In a perfect conjunction of two of my recent interests, last week a monstrous swarm of jellyfish succeeded where Greenpeace has failed, and shut down both reactors at the Torness nuclear power station in Scotland.

The Israeli branch of Jellyfish Action pulled off a similar feat at the nuclear power station in Hadera this week.

A combination of overfishing and ocean

acidification (caused by rising concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere) has created the perfect conditions for this shift from a system dominated by fish to a system dominated by jellyfish.

If this is indeed what we’re seeing, the end of vertebrate ecology is a direct result of the end of vertebrate politics: the utter spinelessness of the people charged with protecting the life of the seas. In 2009 the Spanish fleet, for example, vastly exceeded its quota, netting twice the allowable catch of mackerel in the Cantabrian Sea, and no one stopped them until it was too late.

Last month, the European Commission again failed to take action against the unilateral decision by Iceland and the Faroes to award themselves a mackerel quota several times larger than the one they agreed to, under their trilateral agreement with the EU and Norway. Iceland and the Faroes have given two fingers to the other nations, and we appear to be incapable of responding.

The mackerel haven’t yet disappeared from everywhere, but my guess is that the shoals which, since time immemorial, came into Cardigan Bay, were a spillover from the mass movements up the Irish Sea. As the population falls, there’s less competitive pressure pushing them towards the margins. Without data, guesswork is all we’ve got.

I desperately hope it’s not the case, but it could be that the fish that travelled to this coast in such numbers that it seemed they could never collapse have gone. **CT**

.....
George Monbiot’s latest book is “Bring On The Apocalypse”. This piece first appeared in London’s Guardian newspaper.

**READ THE BEST OF
FRONTLINE MAGAZINE**

<http://coldtype.net/frontline.html>

America's disappeared

It took 40 years to catch the leaders of Argentine's death squads; how long before ours are brought to justice? writes **Chris Hedges**

Dr. Silvia Quintela was “disappeared” by the death squads in Argentina in 1977 when she was four months pregnant with her first child. She reportedly was kept alive at a military base until she gave birth to her son and then, like other victims of the military junta, most probably was drugged, stripped naked, chained to other unconscious victims and piled onto a cargo plane that was part of the “death flights” that disposed of the estimated 20,000 disappeared. The military planes with their inert human cargo would fly over the Atlantic at night and the chained bodies would be pushed out the door into the ocean. Quintela, who had worked as a doctor in the city's slums, was 28 when she was murdered.

A military doctor, Maj. Norberto Atilio Bianco, recently extradited from Paraguay to Argentina for baby trafficking, is alleged to have seized Quintela's infant son along with dozens, perhaps hundreds, of other babies. The children were handed to military families for adoption. Bianco, who was the head of the clandestine maternity unit that functioned during the Dirty War in the military hospital of Campo de Mayo, was reported by eyewitnesses to have personally carried the babies out of the military hospital. He also kept one of the infants.

Last month, Argentina convicted retired Gen. Hector Gamen and former Col. Hugo

Pascarelli of committing crimes against humanity at the “El Vesubio” prison, where 2,500 people were tortured in 1976-1978. They were sentenced to life in prison. Since revoking an amnesty law in 2005 designed to protect the military, Argentina has prosecuted 807 for crimes against humanity, although only 212 people have been sentenced. It has been, for those of us who lived in Argentina during the military dictatorship, a painfully slow march toward justice.

Most of the disappeared in Argentina were not armed radicals but labor leaders, community organizers, leftist intellectuals, student activists and those who happened to be in the wrong spot at the wrong time. Few had any connection with armed campaigns of resistance. Indeed, by the time of the 1976 Argentine coup, the armed guerrilla groups, such as the Montoneros, had largely been wiped out. These radical groups, like al-Qaida in its campaign against the United States, never posed an existential threat to the regime, but the national drive against terror in both Argentina and the United States became an excuse to subvert the legal system, instill fear and passivity in the populace, and form a vast underground prison system populated with torturers and interrogators, as well as government officials and lawyers who operated beyond the rule of law. Torture, prolonged detention without trial, sexual humiliation,

.....

The national drive against terror in both Argentina and the United States became an excuse to subvert the legal system, instill fear and passivity in the populace, and form a vast underground prison system populated with torturers and interrogators, as well as government officials and lawyers who operated beyond the rule of law

.....

.....
Militarized police units break down the doors of some 40,000 Americans a year and haul them away in the dead of night as if they were enemy combatants
.....

rape, disappearance, extortion, looting, random murder and abuse have become, as in Argentina during the Dirty War, part of our own subterranean world of detention sites and torture centers.

We Americans have rewritten our laws, as the Argentines did, to make criminal behavior legal. John Rizzo, the former acting general counsel for the CIA, approved drone attacks that have killed hundreds of people, many of them civilians in Pakistan, although we are not at war with Pakistan. Rizzo has admitted that he signed off on so-called enhanced interrogation techniques. He told *Newsweek* that the CIA operated “a hit list.” He asked in the interview: “How many law professors have signed off on a death warrant?” Rizzo, in moral terms, is no different from the deported Argentine doctor Bianco, and this is why lawyers in Britain and Pakistan are calling for his extradition to Pakistan to face charges of murder. Let us hope they succeed.

We know of at least 100 detainees who died during interrogations at our “black sites,” many of them succumbing to the blows and mistreatment of our interrogators. There are probably many, many more whose fate has never been made public. Tens of thousands of Muslim men have passed through our clandestine detention centers without due process. “We tortured people unmercifully,” admitted retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey. “We probably murdered dozens of them ..., both the armed forces and the C.I.A.”

.....
Jailed in silence

Tens of thousands of Americans are being held in super-maximum-security prisons where they are deprived of contact and psychologically destroyed. Undocumented workers are rounded up and vanish from their families for weeks or months. Militarized police units break down the doors of some 40,000 Americans a year and haul them away in the dead of night as if they

were enemy combatants. Habeas corpus no longer exists. American citizens can “legally” be assassinated. Illegal abductions, known euphemistically as “extraordinary rendition,” are a staple of the war on terror. Secret evidence makes it impossible for the accused and their lawyers to see the charges against them. All this was experienced by the Argentines. Domestic violence, whether in the form of social unrest, riots or another catastrophic terrorist attack on American soil, would, I fear, see the brutal tools of empire cemented into place in the homeland. At that point we would embark on our own version of the Dirty War.

Marguerite Feitlowitz writes in “The Lexicon of Terror” of the experiences of one Argentine prisoner, a physicist named Mario Villani. The collapse of the moral universe of the torturers is displayed when, between torture sessions, the guards take Villani and a few pregnant women prisoners to an amusement park. They make them ride the kiddie train and then take them to a cafe for a beer. A guard, whose nom de guerre is Blood, brings his 6- or 7-year-old daughter into the detention facility to meet Villani and other prisoners. A few years later, Villani runs into one of his principal torturers, a sadist known in the camps as Julian the Turk. Julian recommends that Villani go see another of his former prisoners to ask for a job. The way torture became routine, part of daily work, numbed the torturers to their own crimes. They saw it as a job. Years later they expected their victims to view it with the same twisted logic.

Human Rights Watch, in a new report, “Getting Away With Torture: The Bush Administration and Mistreatment of Detainees,” declared there is “overwhelming evidence of torture by the Bush administration.” President Barack Obama, the report went on, is obliged “to order a criminal investigation into allegations of detainee abuse authorized by former President George W. Bush and other senior officials.”

But Obama has no intention of restor-

ing the rule of law. He not only refuses to prosecute flagrant war crimes, but has immunized those who orchestrated, led and carried out the torture. At the same time he has dramatically increased war crimes, including drone strikes in Pakistan. He continues to preside over hundreds of the offshore penal colonies, where abuse and torture remain common. He is complicit with the killers and the torturers.

Facing trial

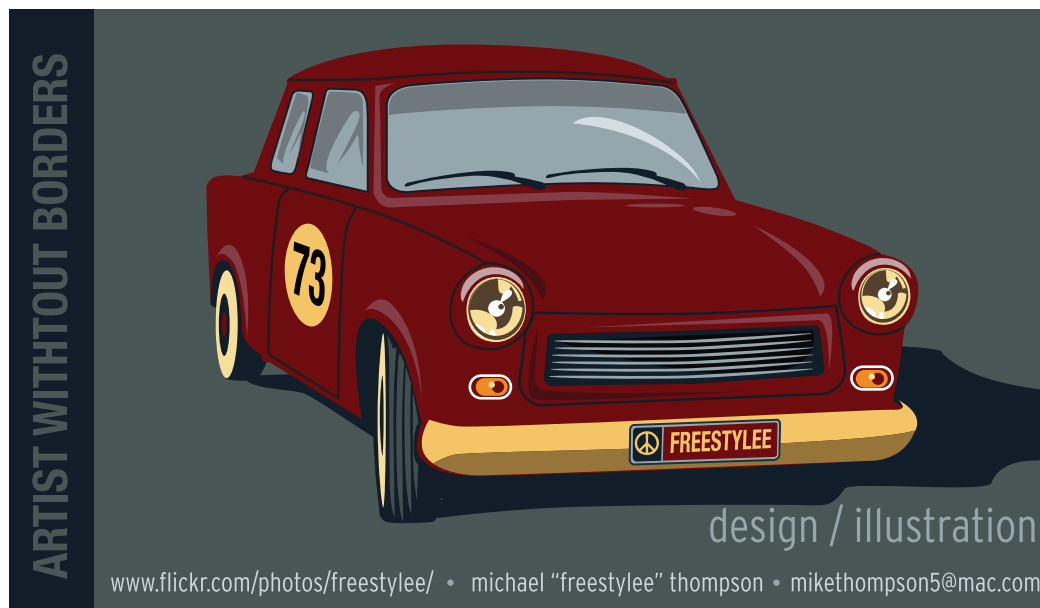
The only way the rule of law will be restored, if it is restored, is piece by piece, extradition by extradition, trial by trial. Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, former CIA Director George Tenet, Condoleezza Rice and John Ashcroft will, if we return to the rule of law, face trial. The lawyers who made legal what under international and domestic law is illegal, including not only Rizzo but Alberto Gonzales, Jay Bybee, David Addington, William J. Haynes and John Yoo, will, if we are to dig our way out of this morass, be disbarred and prosecuted. Our senior military leaders, including Gen. David Petraeus, who oversaw death squads in Iraq and widespread torture in clandestine

prisons, will be lined up in a courtroom, as were the generals in Argentina, and made to answer for these crimes. This is the only route back. If it happens it will happen because a few courageous souls such as the attorney and president of the Center for Constitutional Rights, Michael Ratner, are trying to make it happen. It will take time – a lot of time; the crimes committed by Bianco and the two former officers sent to prison this month are nearly four decades old. If it does not happen, then we will continue to descend into a terrifying, dystopian police state where our guards will, on a whim, haul us out of our cells to an amusement park and make us ride, numb and bewildered, on the kiddie train, before the next round of torture.

CT

Chris Hedges spent nearly two decades as a foreign correspondent in Central America, the Middle East, Africa and the Balkans. He has reported from more than 50 countries and has worked for The Christian Science Monitor, National Public Radio, The Dallas Morning News and The New York Times, for which he was a foreign correspondent for 15 years. This essay first appeared at Truthdig.com

.....
Senior military leaders, including Gen. David Petraeus, who oversaw death squads in Iraq and widespread torture in clandestine prisons, will be lined up in a courtroom, as were the generals in Argentina, and made to answer for these crimes



ARTIST WITHOUT BORDERS

design / illustration

www.flickr.com/photos/freestylee/ • michael "freestylee" thompson • mikethompson5@mac.com

Do not speak. Do not resist

With its new law on dissent, Israel rules out non-violence,
writes **Jonathan Cook**

.....
**Anyone backing
a boycott can
be sued for
compensation
by the settlers
themselves, who
– again uniquely
– need not prove
they suffered
actual harm**
.....

It was an Arab legislator who made the most telling comment to the Israeli parliament as it passed the boycott law, which outlaws calls to boycott Israel or its settlements in the occupied territories. Ahmed Tibi asked: “What is a peace activist or Palestinian allowed to do to oppose the occupation? Is there anything you agree to?”

The boycott law is the latest in a series of ever-more draconian laws being introduced by the far-right. The legislation’s goal is to intimidate those Israelis who have yet to bow down before the majority-rule mob.

Look out in coming days for a bill to block the work of Israeli organisations trying to protect Palestinian rights; and another draft law investing a parliamentary committee, headed by the far-right, with the power to appoint supreme court judges. The court is the only, and already enfeebled, bulwark against the right’s ascendancy.

The boycott law, backed by Benjamin Netanyahu’s government, marks a watershed in this legislative assault in two respects.

First, it knocks out the keystone of any democratic system: the right to free speech. The new law makes it illegal for Israelis and Palestinians to advocate a non-violent political programme – boycott – to counter the ever-growing power of the half a million Jewish settlers living on stolen Palestinian land.

As the Israeli commentator Gideon Levy observed, the floodgates are now open: “Tomorrow it will be forbidden to call for an end to the occupation [or] brotherhood between Jews and Arabs.”

Equally of concern is that the law creates a new type of civil, rather than criminal, offence. The state will not be initiating prosecutions. Instead, the job of enforcing the boycott law is being outsourced to the settlers and their lawyers. Anyone backing a boycott can be sued for compensation by the settlers themselves, who – again uniquely – need not prove they suffered actual harm.

Under this law, opponents of the occupation will not even be dignified with jail sentences and the chance to become prisoners of conscience. Rather, they will be quietly bankrupted in private actions, their assets seized either to cover legal costs or as punitive damages.

Human rights lawyers point out that there is no law like this anywhere in the democratic world. But more than half of Israelis back it, with only 31 per cent opposed.

The delusional, self-pitying worldview that spawned the boycott law was neatly illustrated this month in a short video “ad” that is supported, and possibly financed, by Israel’s hasbara, or propaganda, ministry. Fittingly, it is set in a psychiatrist’s office.

A young woman, clearly traumatised,

deciphers the images concealed in the famous Rorschach test. As she is shown the ink-splodges, her panic and anger grow. Gradually, we come to realise, she represents vulnerable modern Israel, abandoned by friends and still in profound shock at the attack on her navy's commandos by the "terrorist" passengers aboard last year's aid flotilla to Gaza.

Immune to reality – that the ships were trying to break Israel's punitive siege of Gaza, that the commandos illegally boarded the ships in international waters, and that they shot dead nine activists execution-style – Miss Israel tearfully recounts that the world is "forever trying to torment and harm [us] for no reason". Finally she storms out, saying: "What do you want – for [Israel] to disappear off the map?"

The video – released under the banner "Stop the provocation against Israel" – was part of a campaign to discredit the recent follow-up flotilla from Greece. The aid mission was abandoned after Greek authorities, under Israeli pressure, refused to let them sail.

Israel's siege mentality asserted itself again days later as international activists staged another show of solidarity – this one nicknamed the "flytilla". Hundreds tried to fly to Israel on the same day, declaring their intention to travel to the West Bank.

Israel threatened airlines with retaliation if they carried the activists and it massed hundreds of soldiers at Ben Gurion Airport to greet arrivals. About 150 peaceful protesters who reached Israel were arrested moments after landing.

Echoing the hysterical sentiments of the woman in the video, Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, denounced the various flotillas as "denying Israel's right to exist" and a threat to its security.

Although Mr Netanyahu's comments sound delusional, there may be a method to the madness of measures like the boycott law and the massive overreaction to the flotillas.

These initiatives, as Mr Tibi points out, leave no room for non-violent opposition to the occupation. Arundhati Roy, the award-winning Indian writer, has noted that non-violence is essentially "a piece of theatre. [It] needs an audience. What can you do when you have no audience?"

Mr Netanyahu and the Israeli right appear to understand this point. They are carefully dismantling every platform on which dissident Israelis, Palestinians and solidarity activists hope to stage their protests. They are making it impossible to organise joint peaceful and non-violent resistance, whether in the form of boycotts or solidarity visits. The only way being left open is violence.

Is this what the Israeli right wants, believing it offers a justification for entrenching the occupation? By generating the very terror he claims to be trying to defeat, does Mr Netanyahu hope he can safeguard the legitimacy of the Jewish state and destroy hopes for a Palestinian state? **CT**

Jonathan Cook is The National's correspondent in Nazareth, Israel. He won this year's Martha Gellhorn Special Prize for Journalism

.....
Echoing the hysterical sentiments of the woman in the video, Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, denounced the various flotillas as "denying Israel's right to exist" and a threat to its security

Subscribe to ColdType

It's free! – E-mail: subs@coldtype.net

Giant suckers

While the US blows money on the military, Europe spends dough on social security. **Joshua Holland** knows who's getting the best deal

.....
Whatever one thinks about the intervention in Libya, for example, one can't argue that we're actually defending ourselves
.....

During his final European visit before retiring, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates blasted our NATO allies for spending too little on their militaries. "The blunt reality," he told an audience in Brussels, "is that there will be dwindling appetite" in the US "to expend increasingly precious funds on behalf of nations that are apparently unwilling to devote the necessary resources ... to be serious and capable partners in their own defense."

It's not uncommon for American hawks to whine about those soft Europeans not shelling out enough dough on weapons systems. But let's take a look at what "defense" actually means in this context.

On average, wealthy countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development spend 2.5 percent of their economic output on their militaries. That's not peanuts with very large economies. Europe is shielded by nuclear arms in the hands of the UK and France (not counting the nukes we "lend" to Germany, Italy, Turkey, Belgium and the Netherlands under a NATO agreement). There are no nation-states likely to attack the continent anytime soon.

So Gates isn't talking about being "capable partners in their own defense" at all – not as long as the word "defense" maintains its meaning. Whatever one thinks about the intervention in Libya, for example, one can't argue that we're actually defending our-

selves. What he's saying is that they're not ponying up enough to engage in far-flung conflicts in service of Western hegemony. In this, he is accurate – they enjoy the fruits of an international system dominated by the West without paying through the nose for it.

We do. The US devotes 5.1 percent of its economic activity to "defense," but that only counts the Pentagon's annual budget. It doesn't include military and homeland security spending tucked into other areas of the federal budget. Just a few examples: the costs of maintaining our nuclear arsenal are part of the Department of Energy budget; caring for veterans is in the Department of Veterans' Affairs budget; foreign military assistance falls under the State Department's budget. It also doesn't include the costs of maintaining troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those conflicts will run us \$170 billion this year – enough to offer insurance to 35 million low-income people or provide renewable energy to 100 million households, according to the national priorities project.

American hawks accuse Europe of essentially using the United States' enthusiasm for spending a fortune on its military to subsidize Europe's more generous social safety net. And it is true that in 2008, the EU accounted for 26 percent of the world's military spending, while the US, with an economy that's around 7 percent smaller,

accounted for 46 percent of global military spending. And in 2007, we forked over 16.2 percent of our economy to finance our social safety net, which was 3.1 percentage points below the OECD average.

For their tax dollars –or euros – they get universal health care, deeply subsidized education (including free university tuition in many countries), modern infrastructure, good mass transit and far less poverty than we have here at home. That may help explain why we have Tea Partiers screaming for cuts while Europe is ablaze with riots against its own “austerity” measures.

And while we outspend everyone on our military, among the 20 most developed countries in the world, the United States is now dead last in life expectancy at birth but leads the pack in infant mortality – 40 percent higher than the runner-up. We also lead in the percentage of the population who will die before reaching age 60. Half of our kids need food stamps at some point during their childhoods. There’s certainly a modest difference in priorities dividing the Atlantic, but common sense suggests that we’re the ones who have it all wrong.

But, interestingly, conservatives simultaneously argue that lavish US military spending subsidizes Europe’s social welfare programs, and that we’re the smarter party in this deal. Our kids get the wonderful opportunity to die in distant lands, while theirs are burdened with the horrors of decent retirement security and free health care.

Max Boot, a prominent and utterly pathological neoconservative, went so far as to lament that we, too, are spending too little on the military these days, writing, “It’s hard to remember now, but there was a time when the federal government spent most of its money on the armed forces. In 1962, the total federal budget was \$106 billion of which \$52 billion – almost half – went for defense. It wasn’t until 1976 that entitlement spending exceeded defense spending.”

For Boot, however, the really frightening prospect is that we’ll go the way of Europe.

“Last year government spending in the 27 European Union nations hit 52% of GDP,” he wrote. “But most of them struggle to devote even 2% of GDP to defense... When Europeans after World War II chose to skimp on defense and spend lavishly on social welfare, they abdicated their claims to great power status.”

On that last point, it’s worth noting that in a 2010 poll of citizens in 27 countries, 53 percent of respondents said the EU had a positive influence on the world, while 46 percent felt the same about the United States. Europe is unquestionably a global power.

Boot asked, “What happens if the US switches spending from defense to social welfare? Who will protect what used to be known as the ‘Free World’? Who will police the sea lanes, stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, combat terrorism, respond to genocide and other unconscionable human rights violations, and deter rogue states from aggression?”

What he doesn’t say is that the American Right has long opposed the kind of international security cooperation that might shift some of the cost of policing the world to other states. If we didn’t insist on doing it ourselves, perhaps we wouldn’t have to.

But I suppose that when Americans are waiting in line for food stamps – or waiting to pay their respects to a soldier who died in some godforsaken country thousands of miles away – they can take an abstract pride in being the world’s only superpower. The argument has always seemed to me like the biggest loser in Las Vegas saying that the house is a sucker. So remember to take pride in American power, and remember that it comes at a very high price. **CT**

*Joshua Holland is an editor and senior writer at AlterNet. He is the author of *The 15 Biggest Lies About the Economy: And Everything else the Right Doesn't Want You to Know About Taxes, Jobs and Corporate America.**

.....
Half of our kids need food stamps at some point during their childhoods. There’s certainly a modest difference in priorities dividing the Atlantic, but common sense suggests that we’re the ones who have it all wrong

Conversation with an eco-outlaw

Joni Praded discovers the forces that drive activist Diana Wilson

.....
I had been told
zero discharge
was impossible,
but I found that
by risking all, the
impossible was
possible
.....

Renegade activist and Texas shrimp-er Diane Wilson was arrested in London on April 14, 2011, while protesting outside BP's annual meeting. Wilson, who successfully fought Formosa Plastics to keep them from dumping toxins in the bay near her home and chained herself to an oxide tower to protest Dow Chemical's refusal to take responsibility for Bhopal, was attempting to enter the meeting and present BP directors with a Black Planet Award (begun in 2006 by a grassroots group in Germany to call attention to the world's worst polluters) when she was taken into custody. Wilson is the author of "An Unreasonable Woman" and "Holy Roller." Her latest book, "Diary of an Eco-Outlaw: An Unreasonable Woman Breaks the Law for Mother Earth," is available now from Chelsea Green.

Wilson recently spoke with Chelsea Green's editorial director, Joni Praded, about her latest book.

Praded: What moved you from a quiet life shrimping on your Texas bay to the life of an activist?

Wilson: I read an Associated Press story about my county being number one toxic polluter in the nation in 1989. That information was too horrendous for me to ignore, so I simply called a meeting, and it snowballed for the next 20 years.

Your new book, "Diary of an Eco-Outlaw," picks up where your first book, "An Unreasonable Woman," left off. Back then, you were fighting Formosa Plastics, trying to keep them from discharging waste into your bay, and you had stripped the engine out of your boat, painted it white, and sunk it over their plant's discharge pipe. How did that become a turning point for you?

Che Guevara said, "Boldness has magic." And what happened after that boat sinking can only be termed "magical," because, even though I wasn't expecting anything, I not only got the support of the apathetic fishermen - they hadn't yet joined me in trying to keep polluters from discharging waste into the bay and thought I was crazy for trying - but I also got zero discharge agreements from two giant multinational corporations, Formosa Plastics and [aluminum producer] Alcoa. I had been told zero discharge was impossible, but I found that by risking all, the impossible was possible.

You've since taken on Union Carbide and even tried to make a citizen's arrest of Warren Anderson, the company's CEO. Can you tell us what motivated that?

I was struck by the fact that there were many, many people in jail for insignificant reasons - traffic tickets, forged checks, library fines, etcetera - yet Warren Anderson,

who was responsible for over 20,000 deaths from the Bhopal disaster and had a warrant for his arrest in India, was seemingly untouchable. No one was doing anything about that outstanding warrant because he was part of the wealthy corporate Union Carbide/Dow empire. And for no other reason. And it was wrong. And it seemed especially wrong after I went to India and saw the results of the tragedy firsthand.

When you tried to track down Warren Anderson, you were actually on the lam. What gives you the courage to do what you feel is right even when more cautious voices advise otherwise?

I am inner directed, and having integrity on how I live my life is critical. I knew tracking down Anderson was the right thing to do, so I had to do it. Warren evaded my citizen's arrest, but that didn't mean it wasn't the right action to do. I know there are many activists out there who only want to do an action if they can get a guarantee that it will succeed, but not me. To me, it's important that I try. The only thing that can stop me from what I believe to be my true path is if I have flat-zero energy. And I have a lot of energy.

It seems like your activism started with environmentalism, moved on to human rights as you began to try to help sick workers at various chemical plants and victims of the Bhopal disaster, and now includes, as a co-founder of CodePink, world peace. That's quite a progression. Do you see the world differently now that you're trying to battle injustice on so many different levels?

I have always seen life as the big picture, but when I was younger, I thought the whole story was Seadrift, Texas, where I lived. I literally did not believe anything existed outside Seadrift's city limits. I thought the world ended there. I still see the big picture, but now the big picture has no boundaries, no borders and stretches out into the cos-

mos. And I don't think this, I feel it intuitively. And I wouldn't say how I've acted is a progression; I'd say it's water flowing down a hill. There's no way to stop it.

You've been moved to conduct several hunger strikes, and you've been jailed for civil disobedience more than 50 times. Your book is surprisingly humorous and extremely upbeat for all the very serious territory it covers. What keeps you so positively focused even when you've seen the worst?

I'm cursed with enthusiasm. And spontaneity. So, when I see something bad, I see that as an invitation to make it better. For example, being jailed all those times and for such lengths of time in some of the worst jails in the country, didn't depress me – it gave me ideas on how to fight it and change the way things are done. That's how Texas Jail Project got started. It wouldn't have happened unless I had been jailed. For instance, now, instead of just listening to horrendous stories of women in jail going into labor while shackled and tied to their beds, we try to do something about it. During the last Texas legislative session, Texas Jail Project helped make shackling of all pregnant women inmates, whether in prison or county jail, illegal. So, I believe things happen for a reason.

You mention that you follow your gut when you plan an action – and sometimes even surprise yourself. What's the most surprising action you've taken so far?

Taking over a TV station in Baghdad. Hey, we weren't even supposed to be in Baghdad. It was illegal for US citizens to be in Iraq before the invasion in 2002. But there we were. I was with an early, early version of CodePink, and we were there to give support for United Nations inspections, none for invasion – and also to let the people of Iraq know that all American citizens didn't support an armed invasion into their country. There were a million news sources in Baghdad –

.....
Being jailed all those times and for such lengths of time in some of the worst jails in the country, didn't depress me – it gave me ideas on how to fight it and change the way things are done

INTERVIEW

.....
There were lots of folks out there telling me I was pretty stupid. I only got praised when I got out of Texas
.....

foreign, local and American – and we were really getting tired of a particular American TV station broadcasting cheerful words for invasion. So, we decided to take over the TV station. And we did. I was amazed that we did the action, and even more amazed that we succeeded.

Another surprising action was going nude in front of BP's corporate headquarters in Houston over the oil spill in the Gulf. I'm extremely shy, and as a child, I would hide under the table if I heard words like "pregnant" (in those days, they called it "PG") or "bra." A guy asked me out for a date once – and I hid under the bed. I refused to come out. Yet, here I was in the middle of Houston heat and traffic, in the nude. Well, I had a sandwich sign – front and back – but in between ... I amazed myself.

You're a hero to so many prominent environmentalists and peace advocates, but you're humble to the core.

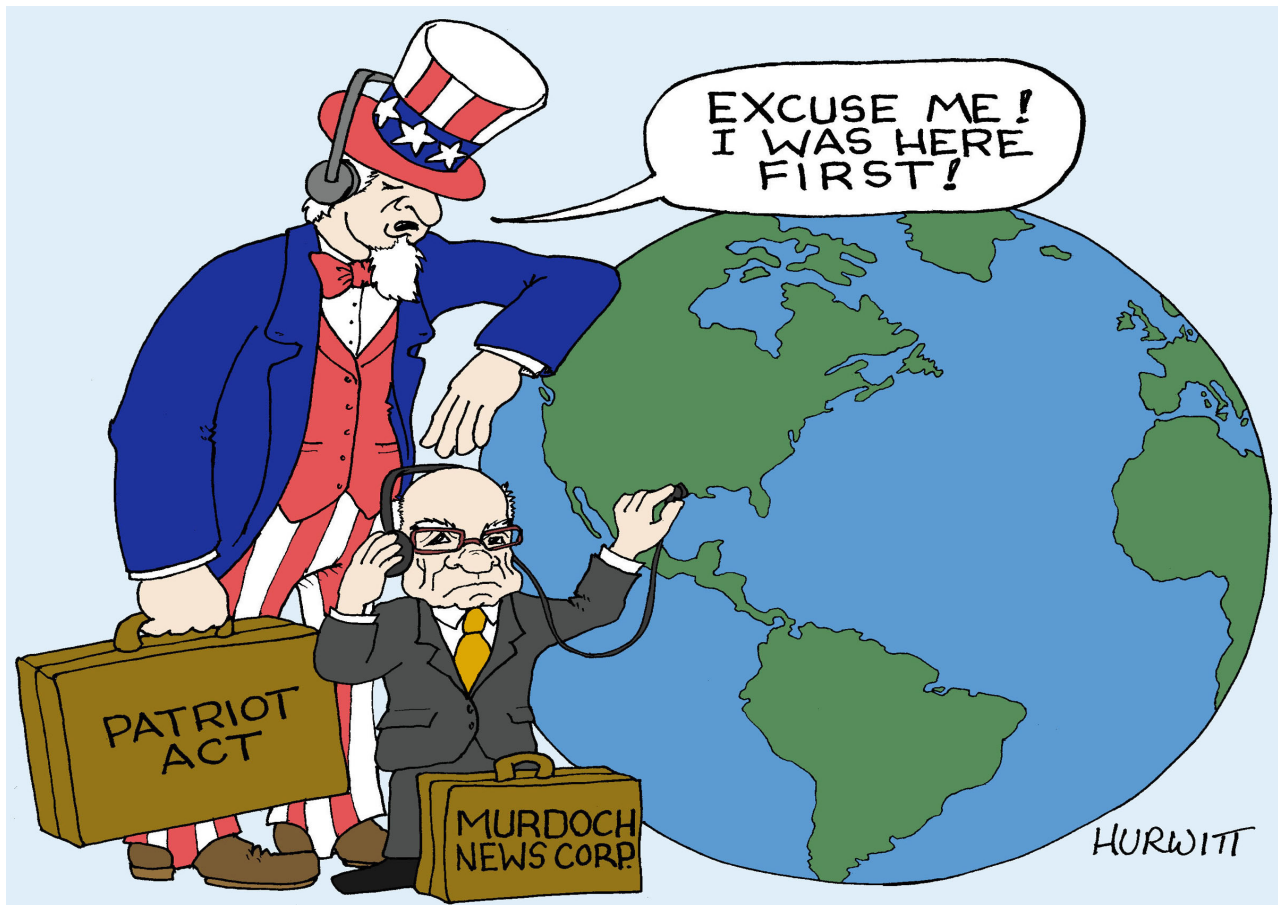
Why, thank you very much ... but, my daddy always, always said, "Do not blow your own horn." Also, I was very, very shy and lacked confidence in my early years of activism, so I really didn't think I was doing anything that great. And besides, there were lots of folks out there telling me I was pretty stupid. I only got praised when I got out of Texas.

And I'm always totally blown away by it. For example, my mother still does not believe that people like what I do. She thinks I'm making it all up. **CT**

.....
Joni Praded is editor-in-chief at Chelsea Green Publishing.

HURWITT'S EYE

Mark Hurwitt



A severe case of Palinosis

David Michael Green on the last days (he hopes) of the Paris Hilton of politics

I hope I never write another piece on Sarah Palin again.

The woman is a disease, and I choose my words carefully there. She is everything that is wrong with America, and indeed, that is the only reason I'm writing this at all. This essay is altogether far more a commentary on Governor Quit's America than it is on the woman herself. Our national problem is Palinosis far more than it is Palin.

There have always been people like Sarah Palin, and presumably there always will be. The two real questions are why anyone cares about them and, most astonishingly, why anyone would seriously contemplate putting them in charge of a country of 300 million people.

Palin the person is back in the news again right now (and notice that she makes sure never to really be absent) for two reasons. First, because she's launched this wild bus tour which reminds one of those nested Russian dolls where you open each one up and there's another inside. This tour is a 'family vacation', inside of which is Palin's public service mission of educating the rest of us about American history, inside of which is a faux flirtation with presidential politics, inside of which is a relentless, endless series of publicity stunts masquerading as a human being, inside of which is an utterly shameless money-grubbing cash

cow, inside of which is a frightened little girl whose insecurities could make George W. Bush look like a paragon of self-confidence in comparison. At the end of the day, she has become essentially the Paris Hilton of politics. She is famous for being famous, and she's masterful at that one thing and that one thing only.

"I'm publicizing Americana and our foundation and how important it is that we learn about our past and our challenges and victories throughout American history, so that we can successfully proceed forward", Palin informed the ridiculously obsessed press following her everywhere on her national wild goose chase. "It's not a campaign tour." Right. That's why it's in a big, painted bus, and she has the media scurrying after her. Every family vacation's that way, isn't it? And, by the way, even if by some bizarre random quirk of stochastic physics she was actually being honest about her motivations, isn't more ill-informed self-reverential adoration of our national wonderfulness just what America needs right now, as the country is imploding in every way imaginable? And who is more perfectly poised to provide that lesson than the esteemed Professor Palin, so erudite and multifarious in her skills that she can simultaneously use mangled syntax, by which to display her emotional neediness, in the form of distorted history lessons? How many of us can

.....
At the end of the day, she has become essentially the Paris Hilton of politics. She is famous for being famous, and she's masterful at that one thing and that one thing only
.....

GOODBYE (PLEASE!)

.....
I think Palin is probably secretly still in drop-jaw astonishment herself that she ever got any of the attention she's managed to garner so far. So she is milking every remaining drop of it that she can grab before she's sent to the remainders bin
.....

claim such abilities?

The half-term governor knew that if she loaded up a busload of family members and painted the bus with patriotic pictures and slogans a few microns deep, and that if she ran around at the same time (and even the same place) that other Republicans were announcing their campaigns, she could generate a boatload of media attention to come in her direction. This is a good time for it, too. Since she will not actually be running for president herself (the money's no good, and it seems like an awful lot of work!), she no doubt realizes that her celebrity shelf-life is about to go south in a hurry. Once Republicans pick a nominee (likely Romney, and likely quickly), she will be of a lot less interest than she is now. Peripheral Palin's remaining cards to play at that moment will essentially include criticizing the GOP nominee and criticizing the Democratic nominee. The former will not be welcome by regressives during a presidential campaign for obvious reasons, and the latter will actually not either, because Palin only cheapens any Republican candidate's message to independents with her idiotic comments about Obama. She is the best thing that could happen to the president, even if she isn't on the ticket.

I think she well understands that her relevancy meter is fast running down, and she is about to become some tawdry, laughable Dan Quayle-type thing, a creature that even (or especially) regressives wish in retrospect they could forget about. Indeed, I think Palin is probably secretly still in drop-jaw astonishment herself that she ever got any of the attention she's managed to garner so far. So she is milking every remaining drop of it that she can grab before she's sent to the remainders bin. When asked if she was leaning toward or against running, she replied as only she can, "Still right there in the middle". Oh, god. I need to hurl. I don't know who is worse, Palin uttering such dribble or the media for sucking it up like it remotely matters. Nor could she

help turning the knife she had miraculously been able to slip into Mitt Romney – despite there being nothing there of substance to stab – by stomping all over his presidential candidacy announcement extravaganza. She then added a bit of her own special brand of catty mockery to the mix: "I apologize if I stepped on any, any of that PR that Mitt Romney needed or wanted that day. I do sincerely apologize. I didn't mean to step on anybody's toes."

All of this would be truly ugly, except that it's both entertaining and cosmically righteous to see regressives clobbering each other. Couldn't happen to a nicer lot. And the other good news is that it seems many Americans have finally figured out most of what needs to be understood about this abomination in a skirt.

Which also explains another way in which Palin made the recent headlines last, this time by making clear, yet again, how utterly and astonishingly vacuous she is. She proved it again by flunking American History 101, laughably flubbing a question most second-graders could readily handle. Knowing who Paul Revere was is like knowing who Santa is. Not for Savvy Sarah, though, who responded thusly: "He who warned the British that they weren't gonna be takin' away our arms by ringin' those bells, and makin' sure as he's riding his horse through town to send those warning shots and bells that we were going to be sure and we were going to be free, and we were going to be armed."

Okay, leave aside the rambling incoherence of her remarks. Sometimes spontaneous, on-the-spot answers to press questions can legitimately have that quality (which – hello, regressives! – might explain why Barack Obama (and lots of other politicians) use a teleprompter when they speak. She obviously wasn't expecting the question, though she can just as obviously be seen in the above passage to be scrambling to think of an answer, and doing her 'thinking' out loud. And leave aside, as well, the mysteri-

ous “He who...” construction I’ve heard her use before. There’s definitely some twisted pathology loaded up in that phrasing, but I’m not psycho-linguistically astute enough to take it apart. All that aside, what remains is the breathtaking absence of basic historical knowledge on the part of this frequent public scold on matters of American patriotism (as she defines them).

So egregious was Palin’s boner that even Pox Snooze, which happens to be a relentless promoter of both Palin and Palinism, not to mention her employer, was forced to come to grips with it. “Anchor” Chris Wallace asked her, “You realize that you messed up about Paul Revere, don’t you?” Well, no, actually, she doesn’t: “I didn’t mess up about Paul Revere. Part of his ride was to warn the British that were already there. That, hey, you’re not going to succeed. You’re not going to take American arms. You are not going to beat our own well-armed persons, individual, private militia that we have. He did warn the British. I know my American history.”

Maybe she does, and maybe I’m the Queen of England. But it seems more likely that she doesn’t (and I’m definitely not). In the same way she didn’t quite seem to know what journals she reads, when the question was innocuously asked by Katie Couric. Or that she seemed to think that she was an experienced hand at foreign policy because the state she governed (until she quit, to accept the much better paying Paris Hilton gig) was sorta close to Vladimir Putin’s Russia. And you know how threatening those Ruskiies are, always rattling their sabers in our direction... Well, back in the Fifties, anyhow.... You know, when the Founders were fighting the Revolutionary War... Against the French... Hence, the need to warn the British... Er, sumptin’ like that.

Like I said, there will always be Sarah Palins in this world. The real questions are why they gather the attention they do, and why we would ever dream of making them our national leaders. There is a related flip-side

to that question, as well, which goes to why Barack Obama – who is the personal, but definitely not political, antithesis of a Sarah Palin – is so reviled in these same quarters, and why so much effort is made to diminish him, by questioning his citizenship authenticity, his college grades, his religion, his intelligence and his use of teleprompters in making speeches.

As it happens, I loathe Barack Obama as well. But differently, and definitely for different reasons. I despise him because he in fact actually has nearly the same politics of the folks on the right who hate him so viscerally. You could never possibly convince them of that, of course, but it is a simple fact. If you just look dispassionately at his policies – ranging from wars with Muslim countries, to global warming, to taxes, to civil liberties, and even to civil rights and health care – the real truth is that there’s hardly any difference between Obama and, say, Bush/Cheney. Indeed, in many respects – Afghanistan, civil liberties, immigration roundups, Guantánamo – Obama is even worse than Bush/Cheney.

Which makes it so remarkable that folks on the right hate him so. They’re far too scared-stupid to realize it, of course, but this guy is not even a liberal, let alone a socialist. His politics are largely their politics. So what gives? Why the hatred toward Obama by the same people who adore Palin?

Fundamentally, I suspect it has to do with the implicit condemnation his character puts on their recklessness and greed. When the Bush/Cheney Cowboy Show was in town, all your worst tendencies could be expressed and not only was it not frowned upon, hell, it was national policy. Gimme, gimme, gimme. Oil, money, food, money, war, money, booze, money, tax cuts, money, debt, money, environmental destruction, money, Humvees, money, bigotry, money, Wall Street, money, civil liberties slashing, money, Abu Ghraib, money, and so on. Did I mention money? The funny thing (hah-freakin’-hah) is that Obama’s policies are

.....
When the Bush/ Cheney Cowboy Show was in town, all your worst tendencies could be expressed and not only was it not frowned upon, hell, it was national policy. Gimme, gimme, gimme

GOODBYE (PLEASE!)

.....
The problem is that while many see the logic of an illogical system, so intricately sabotaged from within, it is set up to make it almost impossible to stop the train wreck
.....

nearly identical in all these respects, however, he doesn't say so (in order to keep his stupid base on his side), and he carries himself in a much more adult, rational, responsible and confident manner. And that really flames people who are none of those things.

I think they especially hate Obama not so much because he's black or he's a Northerner or a Democrat or young. It's all those things, to be sure. But I think what really drives the Palinista right crazy when it comes to Obama is ultimately the air of responsibility he projects. And unlike Bush or Palin, Obama is not afraid of getting caught being intelligent in public. I think that alone incenses people on the right, but mostly it's that they want to live recklessly and greedily, and therefore they despise anyone, or anything, or any action or words, that remotely remind them of their recklessness and greed. Say whatever you want about Obama – and I have, and will continue to – he is clearly very intelligent, very thoughtful, highly disciplined and ridiculously measured. I think that alone drives people on the lazy, greedy right absolutely ape-shit in response, because it sorta shoves in their faces their own gross irresponsibility, and nobody likes being reminded of the harm they've caused to others (not to mention that such avoidance is, itself, a powerful form of laziness and greed).

Put it all together and ours is the strangest political moment, perhaps in human history. I say that not only because the tropes in our public discourse are so bizarre, but because, above all, the stakes are now so high. We live at a time when those who are the most angry and agitated in their politics are the very ones who have driven the country (and, in many respects, the world) off the cliff. And yet they endlessly preach to us about responsibility and morality.

There are no depths to the levels of duplicity and hypocrisy plumbed here, and there is no limit to the destruction being contemplated. Think about the damage

that already litters the landscape, and the lies necessary to wipe away the fingerprints upon it.

What's worse than dictating to everyone else what their sexual practices must be, while simultaneously engaging in every manner of debauchery themselves?

Perhaps it would be ranting endlessly about the virtues of the "free market" while constantly shilling for all forms of corporate welfare and bleeding the country dry.

Or perhaps it is selling massive tax cuts for the wealthy on the premise that such giveaways would provide us a great economy, and then delivering the Great Recession instead.

Or maybe it's exploding the national debt to pay for wars and tax cuts and corporate welfare and a giant 'defense' establishment against no real enemy, and then demanding that seniors and the poor and the middle class be kicked to the gutter because there is no money left to pay for social programs.

Or perhaps instead it would be plunging the country into a war that claimed as many as a million lives, all on the basis of lies.

Or maybe lying about and ignoring global warming, the planet's greatest threat ever, in order to protect the short-term profits of a handful of oil and coal tycoons.

These are among the worst gifts of regressivism, whose greatest exemplar in our time is Sarah Palin. She is the ultimate nothing-burger, herself. History will regard her as a cheap and rather harmless latter day Joe McCarthy.

But her politics are our national disease – Palinosis – and we have a lethal dose.

It is the politics of insecurity.

It's the politics of hate.

It's the politics of deceit.

It's the politics of hypocrisy.

It's the politics of laziness.

It's the politics of irresponsibility.

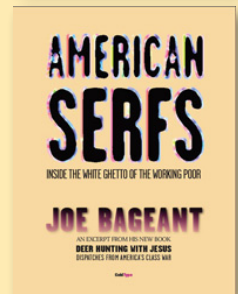
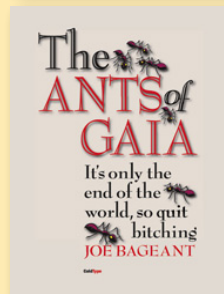
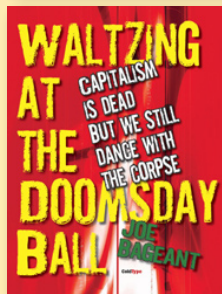
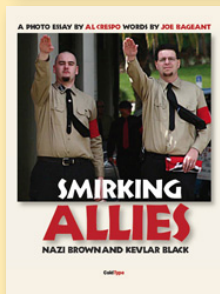
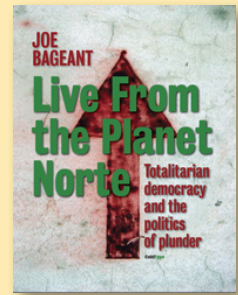
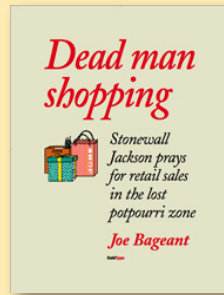
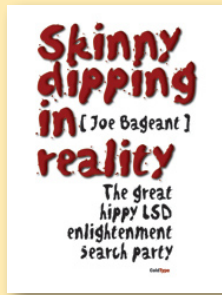
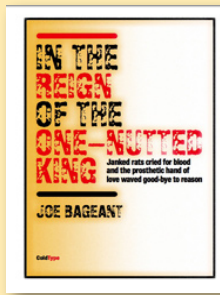
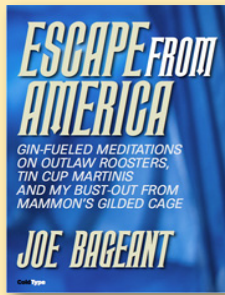
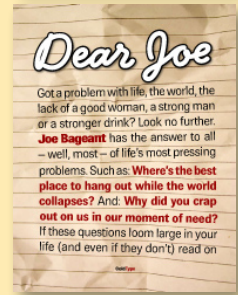
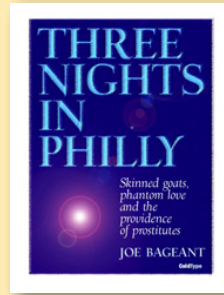
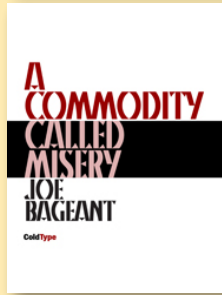
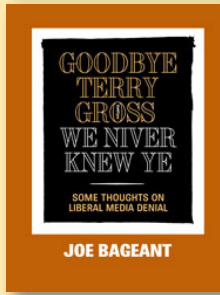
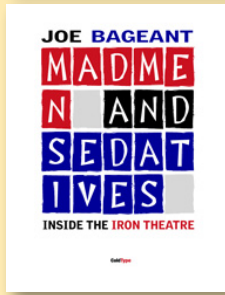
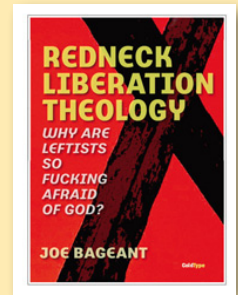
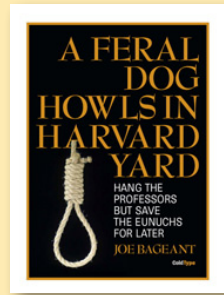
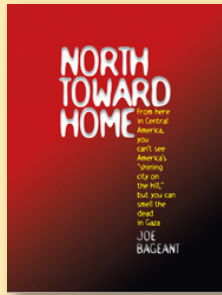
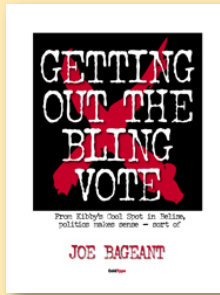
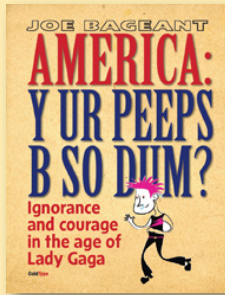
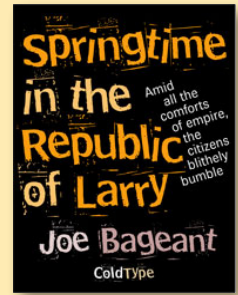
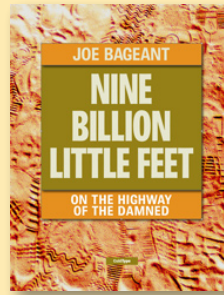
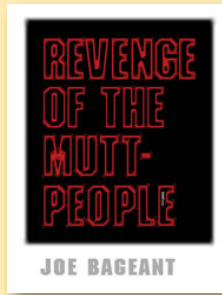
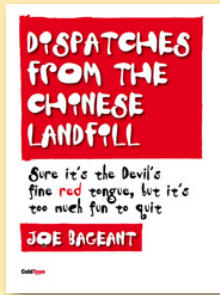
It's the politics of ignorance.

It's the politics of destruction.

But, most of all, it is the politics of greed.

CT

.....
David Michael
Green is a professor of political science at Hofstra University in New York. More of his work can be found at his website, www.regressiveantidote.net.



KEEP JOE BAGEANT'S MEMORY ALIVE - DOWNLOAD, READ AND SAVE ALL OF ESSAYS - COLLECTED IN PDF FORMAT AT

<http://coldtype.net/joe.html>

Truth, lies and America

Stuart Littlewood on how US Congress loves being lied to about the Israeli-Palestine conflict, when the truth is so easy to discover

.....
Resolution 268 threatens withholding US foreign aid to the Palestinian National Authority if it presses ahead with an application for statehood in the United Nations in September
.....

Here in Britain, we have so many craven politicians paying homage to the likes of Murdoch and playing stooge to the pro-Israel lobby that there's little time to take much interest in US politics. So I apologise to American friends for briefly intruding into their affairs, but somebody has sent me a copy of a letter from a US Congresswoman to one of her constituents.

It reads:

"As the only democracy in the region, I believe that the United States has a special relationship with Israel... During my time in the House of Representatives, I will support our funding our ally and help to forward Israel's efforts to keep their citizens safe, which currently stands at \$2.8 billion in general foreign aid, and another \$280 million for a missile defense system..."

"Our foreign aid to Palestine is intended to create a virtuous cycle of stability and prosperity in the West Bank that inclines Palestinians towards peaceful coexistence with Israel and prepares them for self-governance. Continued failure to reach a two-state solution, combined with lack of consensus on any of the alternatives, may also mean that the status quo in the West Bank and Gaza could continue indefinitely. In addition, with the West Bank and Gaza currently controlled by Hamas, an entity listed as a terrorist organization by US State Department and many

other world governments, this may ultimately impact future aid our nation will provide.

"Most recently, I became a co-sponsor of House Resolution 268, which reaffirms our support for a negotiated solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict resulting in two states. This resolution is also opposition to a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state, as well as outlined consequences for Palestinian efforts to circumvent direct negotiations. This bill passed in the House on July 7, 2011 by a vote of 407 – 6..."

Resolution 268 actually states that "Palestinian efforts to gain recognition of a state outside direct negotiations demonstrates absence of a good faith commitment to peace negotiations". It threatens withholding US foreign aid to the Palestinian National Authority if it presses ahead with an application for statehood in the United Nations in September. It also calls for the Palestinian unity government to "publicly and formally forswear terrorism, accept Israel's right to exist, and reaffirm previous agreements made with the Government of Israel."

Senator Ben Cardin, who initiated the resolution, announced: "The Senate has delivered a clear message to the international community that United Nations recognition of a Palestinian state at this time does not further the peace process."

Israel is the only democracy in the region? The West Bank and Gaza are controlled by

Hamas? An application to the UN for Palestinian statehood is “circumventing” the peace process? Rep Colleen Hanabusa’s letter shows that she is poorly briefed. There is nothing on her website to suggest that she has a special interest in foreign affairs, let alone the Middle East. So why does this nice lady lawmaker from Hawaii suddenly find herself co-sponsoring a resolution that’s designed to scupper the hopes for freedom of another people halfway round the world, who have suffered betrayal and brutal military occupation for 63 years?

Disinformation is a recurring feature of US foreign policy discourse, and I’m reminded of the twisted comments of Alejandro Wolff, US Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, when he faced journalists’ questions at the Security Council on that infamous day, 3 January 2009, when Israel’s tanks rolled into Gaza to deal further death and destruction to a community that had already been air-blitzed for 8 days and suffered siege and blockade for nearly 30 months before that.

Reporter: Mr. Ambassador, you made no mention, sir, of any Israeli violation of those agreements that you’ve referred to, particularly in the opening of the crossings. And then there is a major development today, which is Israel’s land attack and that’s threatening to kill hundreds of civilians. Doesn’t this deserve some request for Israel... to stop its ground military attacks, sir?

Ambassador Wolff: Well, again, we’re not going to equate the actions of Israel, a member state of the United Nations, with the actions of the terrorist group Hamas. There is no equivalence there. This Council has spoken on many times about the concerns we had about Hamas’s military attacks on Israel. The charter of this organization [the UN] respects the right of every member state to exercise its self-defense, and Israel’s self-defense is not negotiable.... The plight of the Palestinian people in Gaza is directly attributable to Hamas.

Reporter: But Hamas represents the peo-

ple, because they voted, over 70 percent of them, for Hamas in the last election.

Ambassador Wolff: Hamas usurped the legitimate authority of the Palestinian Authority in Gaza.

Even US ambassadors should know that Hamas was and still is the legitimate authority. Hamas was democratically elected in 2006 in a contest judged by international observers to be clean. The result didn’t suit Israel or its protector America so, together with the UK and the EU, they set about trashing Palestine’s embryonic democracy. Losers Fatah, a corrupt faction rejected by the people for that reason, was recruited and funded to do the dirty work, for which they were well suited. As John Pilger has pointed out, when Hamas foiled a CIA-inspired coup in 2007 the event was reported in the western media as ‘Hamas’s seizure of power’.

Hamas simply took the action necessary to establish its democratic authority against Fatah’s US-funded militia. Which angered the US and Israel even more.

For Mrs Hanabusa’s information, thanks to America’s meddling Fatah controls the West Bank but has no democratic legitimacy while Hamas is holed up in Gaza. And Israel is far from being the full-blown western style democracy that many think.

.....
“No equivalence” between Israel and terrorist Hamas?

The US uses a perfectly good form of words to brand, outlaw and crush any organization, individual or country it doesn’t like. Under Executive Order 13224 (“Blocking Property and prohibiting Transactions with Persons who commit, threaten to commit, or support Terrorism”), Section 3, the term “terrorism” means an activity that:

- (i) involves a violent act or an act dangerous to human life, property, or infrastructure; and (ii) appears to be intended
- (a) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;

.....
Hamas was democratically elected in 2006 in a contest judged by international observers to be clean. The result didn’t suit Israel or its protector America so, together with the UK and the EU, they set about trashing Palestine’s embryonic democracy
.....

Why should Hamas or any other Palestinian party renounce violence against a foreign power that violently occupies their homeland, and bulldozes their homes at gun-point ...

(b) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or

(c) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, kidnapping, or hostage-taking.”

The order was signed 23 September 2001 by George W Bush. Its definition of terrorism fits the conduct of the United States and its bosom-buddy Israel like a glove, the irony of which seems totally lost on Congress.

Let us also look at Netanyahu’s definition since he runs Israel’s current government. His book *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* defines terror as the “deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends”.

In an interview with Jennifer Byrne in February 2002, he said: “Terrorism is defined by one thing and one thing alone, the nature of the act. It is the deliberate systematic assault on civilians that defines terrorism.”

It’s like he’s signing his own arrest warrant.

If terror is unjustifiable, then it is unjustifiable across the board. The Palestinians had no history of violence until their lands were threatened, then partitioned and overrun by a brutal intruder whose greed is never satisfied. Demands for Palestinians to cease their terror campaign (if you buy the idea that resistance = terror) must be linked to demands for Israel to do the same.

As for the resistance movement Hamas, its charter is objectionable and the leadership are foolish not to have re-written it in tune with modern diplomacy. Nevertheless the Hamas prime minister, Ismail Haniyeh, within days of being elected, offered long-term peace if Israel recognised Palestine as an independent state on 1967 borders. Previously the PLO had unwisely “recognised” Israel without any reciprocal recognition of a Palestinian state. The Oslo Accords were supposed to end the Occupation and give Palestine independence. “What we’ve got instead are more settlements, more occupation, more roadblocks, more poverty and more repression,” he said.

Omar Abdul Razek, Hamas’s finance minister, when interviewed by Aljazeera in May 2006, asked: “Which Israel would you want me to recognise? Is it Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates? Israel with the occupied Golan Heights? Israel with East Jerusalem? Israel with the settlements? I challenge you to tell me where Israel’s borders lie.”

Interviewer: “... the 1967 borders.”

Razek: “Does Israel recognise the 1967 borders? Can you tell me of one Israeli government that ever voiced willingness to withdraw to the 1967 borders?”

So the question remains: why should Hamas or any other Palestinian party renounce violence against a foreign power that violently occupies their homeland, bulldozes their homes at gun-point, uproots their beautiful olive groves, sets up hundreds of armed checkpoints to disrupt normal life, batters down villagers’ front doors in the dead of night, builds an illegal ‘separation’ wall to annex their territory, divide families, steal their water and isolate their communities, and blockades exports and imports to cause economic ruin... and now plans to steal Gaza’s offshore gas?

Palestinians, too, have a right to defend themselves, and their self-defence, like Israel’s, is non-negotiable.

As for recognizing Israel’s right to exist, no Palestinian is likely to do that while under Israel’s jackboot. Nor should they be expected to. It would simply serve to legitimize the occupation, which is what Israel wants above all and what Israel wants Israel must get, even if the US has to make a complete fool of itself.

The terror that stalks the Holy Land

American and Israeli politicians love quoting the number of garden-shed rockets launched from Gaza towards Sderot. But can they say how many (US-supplied) bombs, shells and rockets have been delivered by F-16s, helicopter gun-ships, tanks, drones and navy vessels into the tightly-packed humanity of Gaza?

But at least we have an idea of the death-toll over the last 10 years. B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights, keeps a close check.

In the period between the start of the second Intifada (September 2000) up to Operation Cast Lead (26 December 2008) 4,836 Palestinians were killed by Israelis in the Occupied Territories, including 951 children. 235 of these were targeted killings (i.e. assassinations) while 2,186 were killed during targeted killings although they were not taking part in hostilities. 581 Israelis, including 84 children, were killed by Palestinians in Israel.

During Operation Cast Lead (27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009) 1,396 Palestinians including 345 children were killed by Israelis. In Gaza itself they killed 344 children, 110 women and 117 elderly people. Only four Israelis were killed by Palestinians in this period, no children.

Since Operation Cast Lead and up to the end of May 2011 Israelis killed 197 Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, including 26 children. five were targeted killings during which 65 non-participants were killed. In the same period three Israelis were killed by Palestinians in Israel including one child.

I make that 6,429 to the Israelis and 589 to the Palestinians – a kill rate of 11 to 1. When it comes to snuffing out children Israel is even more proficient with a kill-rate of over 14 to 1.

And it's not just the dead. The Cast Lead assault on Gaza is reported to have injured and maimed some 5,450. Israel also destroyed or damaged 58,000 homes, 280 schools, 1,500 factories and water and sewage installations. And it used prohibited weapons like depleted uranium and white phosphorus shells.

Assassination has been official Israeli policy since 1999. Their preferred method is the air-strike, which is often messy as demonstrated in 2002 when Israeli F-16 warplanes bombed the house of Sheikh Salah Shehadeh, the military commander of Hamas, in Gaza City killing not just him but at least 11 other Palestinians including seven children,

and wounding 120 others.

I'm told resistance 'terrorists' like Hamas account for less than a thousand victims a year worldwide, while 'good guy' state terrorists slaughter civilians by the hundreds of thousands... some say millions.

The long list of Israeli attacks on Palestinian civilians – attacks that cannot be justified on grounds of defence or security and are so disproportionate as to constitute grave violations of human rights – puts Israel near the top of the state terrorist league. The demolition of thousands of Palestinian homes in the West Bank for "administrative" and planning reasons, the wholesale destruction of businesses and infrastructure, the impoverishment and displacement of Palestinians through land expropriation and closure, the abductions and imprisonments, the assassinations, and especially that 22-day blitzkrieg on the civilian population of Gaza who had nowhere to run... all this add up to mega-terrorism on the part of America's "special friend", according to their own definitions.

Finally, what is this nonsense about Palestinians lacking good faith and somehow "isolating Israel" by applying for UN recognition rather than wasting more time on fruitless negotiations? Israel obtained its statehood by accepting the borders of the UN's 1947 partition, which was agreed without even consulting the Palestinians whose land was being carved up. The Jews didn't stop to "negotiate". Well before the ink was dry Jewish terror groups had ethnically cleansed and driven off hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs from their lands and villages so that the new state's already generous boundaries were immediately expanded (example, Najd now Sderot). The land-grab had started and Israel's borders have been 'fluid' ever since.

Why are US lawmakers now trying to thwart the Palestinians' dream of their own independent state? No-one is demanding the 1947 borders. They are willing to accept the 1967 armistice lines recognized in numerous UN resolutions and generally accepted by

.....
Finally, what is this nonsense about Palestinians lacking good faith and somehow "isolating Israel" by applying for UN recognition rather than wasting more time on fruitless negotiations?

.....
**So democracy?
The people's
representatives?
How quaint in a
world in which
our real rulers are
unelected, shielded
by secrecy, and
supported by a
carefully nurtured,
almost religious
attitude toward
security and the
US military**
.....

the international community. Even Hamas has agreed. So what is the problem?

The problem is that the Israeli occupation should have collapsed long ago under the weight of its illegality, but Israel shows no willingness to return the stolen lands or relinquish enough control for a viable Palestinian state.

Netanyahu heads Israel's Likud party, which is the embodiment of greed, racist ambition, lawlessness and callous disregard for other people's rights. In any other country it would be banned and its leaders locked up. Yet he is welcomed like a hero in the US and given 29 standing ovations by Congress.

Likud intends to make the seizure of Jerusalem permanent and establish Israel's capital there. It will "act with vigor" to ensure Jewish sovereignty in East Jerusalem (which still officially belongs to the Palestinians as does the Old City). The illegal settlements are "the realization of Zionist values and a clear expression of the unassailable right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel". They will be strengthened and expanded. As for the Palestinians, they can run their lives in a framework of self-rule "but not as an independent and sovereign state".

So we can see where he's coming from.

Kadima, the party of Livni, Olmert and Barak, is little better and has also pledged to preserve the larger settlement blocs and steal Jerusalem.

In the 1947 UN partition Jerusalem was designated an international city under independent administration to avoid all this aggravation.

Rather than force compliance with international law and UN resolutions the international community, led by the US, has let matters slide by insisting on a solution based on lop-sided power negotiations in which the Palestinians are at a serious disadvantage. During this dragged-out failed process Israel has been allowed to strengthen its occupation by establishing more and more 'facts on the ground', and its violations of human rights and international law have escalated

with impunity. And that is what this dirty game is all about – Israel needs more time to make its occupation permanent.

Funny how we never hear the US talking about law and justice. It's always "negotiations" or "talks", buying time for Israel.

What the situation is crying out for is justice, and it's all set down in UN resolutions, international law and humanitarian law. Once both sides are in compliance negotiations can commence... if there's anything left to negotiate.

Fr Manuel Musallam, for many years the Latin Catholic priest in Gaza, recently told members of the Irish government: "We have spoken to Israel for more than 18 years and the result has been zero. We have signed agreements here and there at various times and then when there is a change in the Government of Israel we have to start again from the beginning. We ask for our life and to be given back our Jerusalem, to be given our state and for enough water to drink. We want to be given more opportunity to reach Jerusalem. I have not seen Jerusalem since 1990."

Indeed, when I met Fr Manuel four years ago he had been effectively trapped in Gaza for 9 years unable to visit his family a few miles away in the West Bank. Had he set foot outside Gaza the Israelis would not have allowed him back in to re-join his flock. So he stayed put until he retired. This is just a tiny part of the ugly reality that America supports and applauds.

If Mrs Hanabusa and the rest of Congress were in the Palestinians' shoes would they bog themselves down yet again in discredited negotiations with a gun to their heads?

Or would they apply to the UN for long overdue enforcement of its resolutions and international law?

There is only one thing worse that being lied to, Congress. And that's acting on a lie. **CT**

.....
*Stuart Littlewood is the author of the book
"Radio Free Palestine"*

Valiant Prince Harry?

Felicity Arbuthnot has a few thoughts about Britain's Prince Harry, who's about to go to Afghanistan to do battle against 'barbaric thugs'

"They're in their 20s, but like certain children, they have been told only one story, over and over. Like most children, they believe in an easily identifiable good and evil, and like most children, they are capable of unthinkable cruelty." – Michael Cunningham, novelist (1952-)

Prince Harry, third in line to the British throne, is to return to Afghanistan later in the year, we are told. It is the stuff of discard "B" movies. He will be: "one of the most treasured scalps" to the Taliban if captured; he will be "given a new identity (to ensure) he does not fall in to the hands of barbaric thugs."

The partying Prince, unkindly dubbed the "spare heir" by the media, seemingly, suddenly has a value. He is to fly Apache helicopters (there are pictures of him, spruced up, tooled up and standing in front of one.) He is to be taught: "survival, evasion, resistance and escape", in case of being shot down (a polishing up of a hitherto more simplistic method of getaway: attempting to floor photographers outside night clubs.)

Equipped with an SA80 Carbine and a pistol, he will be taught to: "turn into a wild animal, survive in the desert like a beast ... stink like an animal to confuse tracker dogs." The RAF Press Officer who dreamed up this teenage fantasy, is apparently unaware that

the Afghans don't use tracker dogs, these are the invaders' canine accessory.

The adolescent scribbler was further carried away by Harry learning how to pee in a bottle: "while flying at 180 mph ... one of the hardest things (he'll) have to learn." I'll spare you the remaining bathroom tuition.

Another pretty hard thing he will have to learn is to fly this notoriously tricky £40 million weapon of mass destruction, while galvanising a weapons system, including a 1,200 round M230 Chain gun, Hydra air-to-ground rockets and Hellfire missiles. A 30mm cannon with "huge" bullets, fires at 10, 20 or 30 a second. The gun can be eye-operated, shooting activated via a monocle, swiveling to target wherever the right eye focuses.

The Prince graduated with a lone B in art and D in geography, St James' Palace announced in August 2003, leading the *Times of India* to comment less than charitably: "Prince qualifies for royal dunce." (15th August 2003.) Last time he was in Afghanistan (spirited to safety when the Drudge Report broke a media blackout and reported proper news – that he was there) he was in a bunker as a "forward air controller", playing computer games, which called in the US Air force to kill Afghans (sorry: "repel Taliban insurgents.") This time, if he gets the complicated hang of it, he will be doing it all by himself.

.....
The Prince graduated with a lone B in art and D in geography, St James' Palace announced in August 2003, leading the *Times of India* to comment less than charitably: "Prince qualifies for royal dunce"

.....
Another pilot confirms: "You can see very clearly the people you kill. The Apache can cut people to shreds with its cannon"
.....

The young man who greets his cousin's rugby-playing fiancé with the two finger hand-as-gun gesture to the head, should fit in well with the Apache pilots' slice 'em and dice 'em mentality.

It's a huge buzz to fly an Apache. Every time I pulled the trigger, I (thought): "There goes another £40,000" ' , Major Jim Panton told the *Daily Mirror* (17th June 2011.) No thought of more human lives, more grief-enveloped families collecting body parts. Panton finds the 30mm cannon killing-by-eye-action: "The most sexy thing of all", about the Apache.

In his outstanding book, *A Million Bullets*, James Fergusson speaks to Apache wing man, Lieutenant Jack Denton: "When you are on top of the enemy you look, shoot and it's: "You die, you die, you die"", he said.

Ha, that's "Humanitarian intervention", bloodily, sadistically, gleefully, laid bare.

And, in his book *Apache*, Ed Macy expounds gaily on the unique assets of a machine, following the: "US military tradition" of new aircraft (names) honouring Indian tribes." This one is: "the hunter-killer supreme for all future military wars ... its destructive capability without precedent."

For individual targets, the cannon, at: "ten High Explosive Dual Purpose rounds a second ... makes light work of armoured personnel carriers, vehicles and buildings" exploding into fragments on impact: "throwing out hundreds of sharp, red-hot pieces of metal. The duality (is) the incendiary", penetrating or damaging the target : "it sets it alight."

Concerned? There's far worse. "The helicopter (packs up to) 1,160 of them, fired in bursts of 10, 20, 50, 100 – or **all at once.**" (Emphasis mine.)

Flechette rockets destroy people and

vehicles. Each contains 80, five inch long, tungsten darts. HEISAP is for buildings, vehicles and ships. Penetrating up to half an inch of steel, they also contain an explosive incendiary which sticks to alloys and combustibles: "torching them." The all, also used to great effect in Panama and Iraq.

The Hellfire missile packs: "a five million pound per square inch punch on impact ..."

Perhaps the ultimate confirmation as to how successful the military has become at dehumanizing a frightening amount of people, is this paragraph: "Snipers and Apache pilots (are) the only two combatants to get a detailed look at the face of the man they (are) about to kill. Nine out of ten times, we'd watch them in close-up, on a five-inch-square screen before we pulled the trigger. It was no different to a sniper fixing his quarry in the sights of his bolt-action rifle, until the optimum moment to engage. **We shared the same mindset; the mindset of a professional assassin.**" (Emphasis mine.)

Another pilot confirms: "You can see very clearly the people you kill. The Apache can cut people to shreds with its cannon."

The British have recently sent Apaches to Libya to assist in the humanitarian carnage of the fantasy "no fly zone" there.

As for Prince Harry – who took a gap year billed as working with disadvantaged children in Africa – and is likely now to shred their like and their families in Afghanistan . Should he be unfortunate enough to be shot down, let's hope his survival course and D level geography stand him in good stead. In truth, though, it is hard to care. **CT**

.....
Felicity Arbuthnot is a freelance journalist specialising in social and environmental issues

READ THE BEST OF JOE BAGEANT
<http://coldtype.net/Joe.html>

Britain faces torturous imperial past in Kenya

Four victims of torture in concentration camps run by the British during the 1952-56 Mau Mau uprising in Kenya may finally force the country to apologise for its colonial sins, writes **Trevor Grundy**

Four elderly Kenyans who say they were tortured in concentration camps set up by the colonial authorities in Kenya in the 1950s, have been given the go-ahead by a High Court judge to sue the British government. In an historic judgment on 21 July, the High Court in London rejected the British Government's attempt to strike out the claims of Kenyan victims of British Colonial torture on the grounds of "state succession".

In a strongly worded judgment, Mr Justice McCombe described the Government's tactics as "dishonourable" and held that there is clearly an arguable case against the British Government and that the claims of the four Kenyans – originally five, but once has died since proceedings started – are fit for trial.

This, say human rights lawyers and activists in Britain and Africa, could bring a tsunami-like flood of litigation from as many as 30,000 more claimants in Kenya and possibly tens of thousands of men and women from other former colonies, including Malaya, Cyprus and Northern Ireland.

It's the go-ahead green light that has delighted human rights workers and lawyers and – more importantly – tens of thousands of black Kenyans who say that they, too, were victims of British-approved acts of torture.

The test case claimants, Ndiu Mutwi-

wa Mutua, Paulo Muoka Nzili, Wambugu WaNyingi and Jane Muthoni Mara – who are in the seventies and eighties – allege that their mistreatment was part of a widespread and systematic campaign of torture and violence against detainees and that it was all sanctioned at the highest level in Nairobi and London at the height of the Mau Mau uprising.

"Over 50 years ago our five clients suffered the most terrible torture at the hands of the British Colonial regime," said Martyn Day, the senior lawyer at Leigh, Day & Co, the plaintiff's London lawyers.

"Castration, abuse, severe beatings, were just some of what they had to endure as the British tried to prevent the advance of the Kenyan Independence movement. Our clients have been battling for years to obtain justice for what they endured. Our Government has been hell bent on preventing that happening."

In April, lawyers representing the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) had said at a hearing to see whether the Kenyans could go ahead and sue that the British Government cannot be liable because Kenya had its own Colonial Administration for the camps at the time of the alleged tortures.

But the presiding judge also heard that Mutua and Nzili had been castrated. Nyingi was beaten unconscious in an incident in which 11 men were clubbed to death and

.....
This could bring a tsunami-like flood of litigation from as many as 30,000 more claimants in Kenya and possibly tens of thousands of men and women from other former colonies, including Malaya, Cyprus and Northern Ireland

.....
nother of the
plaintiffs claim
to have been
castrated while a
third was beaten
and left for
dead during the
infamous Hola
Camp massacre
of 1959, in which
11 detainees were
clubbed to death
.....

Mara had been subjected to appalling sexual abuse.

The plight of former detainees captured British newspaper headlines and reminded journalists, politicians, church leaders and some historians about the more sordid aspects of British rule in one of its prize colonies –Kenya in the 1950s..

Under the headline, “Tales of brutality and violence that could open the claims floodgate” (The Times, 5 April, 2011), Macintyre painted a chilling picture of what the High Court in London had been told by one of the four Kenyans, Mutua. He explained how he had been captured by a white farmer (who also stood in as a colonial policeman) in September 1957, repeatedly beaten by African officers fighting with the British against Mau Mau “terrorists” and then castrated. He was later rescued by Mau Mau fighters and spent three and a half years in the forests around Kiambu and Nairobi before he returned home.

The victim said he suffered all his life from depression, anguish, mental stress and intense flashbacks to the episode of assault. He mourned the fact he could never have children of his own and never be with a woman. Like his fellow claimants, he holds the British government responsible for his sufferings.

.....
Castrated

Another of the plaintiffs claim to have been castrated while a third was beaten and left for dead during the infamous Hola Camp massacre of 1959, in which 11 detainees were clubbed to death.

The only woman claimant told the High Court judge that she was subjected to sexual torture in which she was violated by men using bottles filled with hot water.

Macintyre said that on 3 December 1963, just nine days before Kenya’s formally declared Independence, three wooden crates containing 1,500 highly sensitive government files were loaded onto a British United

Airways flight bound for Gatwick Airport in England.

A memo written by a FCO official said their contents might embarrass members of the police, military forces, public servants, or other people. In 1967, the Kenyan Foreign Ministry asked the British government to return these missing files. The FCO refused.

The internal war in one of Britain’s last, some say most picturesque colony, cost taxpayers an estimated £60 million. It committed 50,000 soldiers and policemen to a war against Kikuyu-led insurgents that resulted in at least 10,000 African deaths and the detention of at least 100, 000 men, women and children in concentration camps that the British Army introduced to the world during the two Anglo-Boer Wars at the start of the last century.

“It was the ugliest of all Britain’s imperial adventures and the one we now want to deny,” said David Anderson, Professor of African Politics at the University of Oxford in England. People in Kenya ask why the British cannot admit to their colonial sins and move on, as indeed the Germans have done in Namibia.”

The judgment was welcomed throughout Africa and scrutinized in many former British colonies. A leading figure in the human rights movement, South Africa’s (Anglican) Archbishop Desmond Tutu, urged the British to deal with the Kenyan victims of torture honourably. He said: “Responding with generosity to the plea of the Kenyan victims is not a matter of legal niceties. No, it is about morality, about magnanimity and humaneness, about compassion.”

In Nairobi, George Morara of the Kenya Human Rights Commission which embraced the Mau Mau torture victims’ case in 2003, said: “These are test cases but if they succeed there are many more.” He estimated that there were perhaps as many as 30,000 others waiting to file similar complaints of torture.

David Anderson, Professor of African Politics at Oxford University and an expert

witness at the hearings, told the BBC (21 July) that in his opinion the figure would be more like 1,400 and wrote in *The Times* that day: "Other colonial legacy cases wait in the wings. How long can it be before they are heard at the Royal Courts of Justice? "

In Malaya, British troops are alleged to have been involved in the mass killing of unarmed villagers.

In Cyprus where the counter-insurgency campaign pitted the island's Turkish minority against the Greek supporters of Eoka, abusive interrogation methods were used.

And in the Gulf States, where Britain assisted local forces in repelling insurgencies and in Aden, where the messiest of all Britain's de-colonisations took place, there might yet be revelations that will do more harm to Britain's reputation.

"Then there is Northern Ireland," said the academic.

He recalled that in January 2011, secret documents relating to 36 of Britain's former colonies had been discovered, documents which serve to fuel suspicions that Britain had something to hide.

British Foreign Secretary William Hague has said that he intends to put them into the public domain.

"And the sooner the better" said Anderson.

.....
Outside time limit

But the road to justice for four elderly Kenyans still faces an obstacle. A further hearing is to be held (in London) before next Easter to consider the British Government's additional argument that the claims have been brought outside the legal time limit.

Henry Bellingham, the Foreign Office Minister for Africa, has said that the British Government has "taken note of the judgment and are considering next steps."

Marty Day of Leigh Day & Co responded by saying - "We call on the British Government to deal with these victims of torture with the dignity and respect they deserve

and to meet with them and their representatives in order to resolve the case amicably."

There was a fifth claimant who died during the court proceedings. So the immediacy of Mr Day's request is apparent.

Anderson told the BBC: "They've not asked for full damages and in fact before the case came to the hearing, the plaintiffs tried to get a court settlement that would have seen a payment made to them of compensation which would have been a kind of acknowledgment of their ills. And that is still very much their position."

.....
"If we are going to sin, we must sin quietly"

Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor of Kenya at the time of the emergency (1952-1956), said in a telegram to London that allegations of extreme brutality had been made against eight European district officers. They included assault by beating up and burning two Africans during screening (interrogation). One officer was accused of murder after beating up and roasting alive an African. No action was taken against the accused.

British camp officials carried out horrendous acts against Africans who refused to admit they had taken a special oath, and their acts of defiance during torture and questioning were called the Mau Mau Moan.

Eric Griffiths-Jones, the Attorney General of Kenya wrote in a secret memo: "A resistor who started it (the moan of defiance) was promptly put on the ground, a foot placed on his throat and mud stuffed in his mouth."

If this was not sufficient to do the trick, the man was knocked unconscious.

Apart from screening victims, a torture treatment was used to keep detainees awake all day and night by throwing water on them. Dilution was the word given to a system of assaults and psychological shocks to force the "co-operation" of the toughest

.....
British camp officials carried out horrendous acts against Africans who refused to admit they had taken a special oath, and their acts of defiance during torture and questioning were called the Mau Mau Moan
.....

.....
By 1950, the one million strong Kikuyus had been reduced to the level of squatters on their own ancestral lands
.....

Mau Mau supporters.

Even President Obama's grandfather was arrested and tortured. Obama described his grandfather's imprisonment in *Dreams of My Father*, a book full of anger at what he called "the indignities large and small" heaped upon Africans by the British colonialists.

The only living individual accused of human rights abuses in the multi-million pound High Court case in London by the four ageing Kenyans is 89-year-old Terence Gavaghan – named as a torturer by one of the men seeking compensation. He is unable to testify because he has Alzheimer's. "Terence got a decoration from the Queen for the work he did in Kenya," said his wife, Nicole, who is 77 years old.

Nyingi claims he was detained for nine years without being charged and that early in 1957 he was transferred to a camp where Gavaghan was an officer. A document submitted to court said: "Immediately he was beaten with 25 strokes of the cane which caused him to lose consciousness." A further document claims Gavaghan once watched as Nyingi was given 72 strokes of the cane.

The Mau Mau Uprising, and the injustices that drove the Kikuyu people to violence cry out for recognition and explanation, writes Amanda Foreman in a review of a book by Stephanie Williams called *Running the Show: Governors of the British Empire* (Viking, 552 pp £20) in the *New Statesman* (5 May, 2011).

By 1950, the one million strong Kikuyus had been reduced to the level of squatters on their own ancestral lands. The best land – the White Highlands – was farmed almost exclusively by 30,000 white Kenyans (land often owned by absentee landlords). The 200,000 Africans who were registered to work in the White Highlands – more than half of them from the Kikuyu ethnic group – were classed as resident native labourers.

Young Africans eager keen to know the background to the land problem in Africa should recall what the Rhodesian/Zimba-

bwean leader Dr Joshua Nkomo said in 1961: "Land, the source of all our bitterness."

They might also turn to respected writers for assistance – *Weep not Child* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o; *I Refuse to Die: My Journey for Freedom* by the Kenyan politician and activist Koigi wa Wamwere, and *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu* by L.S.B. Leakey, which he wrote in 1952.

Leakey (who had great insight into the cultural and religious reasons for the uprising but who, like the Kenyan liberal leader Michael Blundell, condemned Mau Mau violence) said: "By Kikuyu law and custom, land occupied and owned by other people cannot be acquired simply by conquest, for if this were done and the previous owner forcibly dispossessed, the Kikuyu fully believed that the spirits of the owners would make it impossible for the new occupiers to carry out their agricultural activities with any hope of success, or with any hope of the blessing of Ngai, the God of the Kikuyu."

.....
Colonial atrocities ignored

In Britain, teenagers study history but rarely examine colonial atrocities, preferring to sniff other people's dustbins and concentrate on French misdeeds in Algeria, German crimes in South West Africa (Namibia), Belgian atrocities in the Congo and Portuguese acts of horror in Angola and Mozambique.

Students at universities and colleges are encouraged to forget the Empire and concentrate on the Tudors and the rise and fall of the Third Reich.

This is convenient for those who hope to perpetuate the myth that during rough games of 20th century political football Britain, through her public school-educated trusty servants, trotted around the world -like some finely tuned moral referees-blowing whistles, handing out yellow and red cards and telling perceived wrongdoers to behave properly and follow their example.

Until now, British army and police atroci-

ties in Kenya and elsewhere were hidden from the public gaze.

Thank goodness for historians such as Professor Anderson and Piers Brendon who devoted a chapter on “Kenya and the Mau Mau” in his excellent 2007 book “The Decline and Fall of the British Empire 1781-1997” (Jonathan Cape, London).

In it he tells how after the trial of Kenyatta (the judge was paid £20,000, defence lawyers were harassed and witnesses were bribed) Winston Churchill sent his trusted friend General Sir George (“Bobbie”) Erskine to Nairobi with a warrant authorising him to proclaim martial law, if necessary, and take over the government. Erskine replaced General W.R.N. (“Loony”) Hinde.

Erskine peered down his Etonian nose at most of the British “settlers” in Nairobi who paraded at their silly clubs – the Muthaiga Club being the most notorious – talking about kaffirs, munts niggers and boys who worked in their farms and in their homes.

He privately referred to most of the European memsahibs as “middle class sluts” and blamed them and their “rotten administration” for the uprising which British troops had to put down.

Oliver Lyttelton, another Old Etonian and Churchill’s trusted Secretary of State for the Colonies, said most whites in Kenya were “parasites in paradise.” He also spoke about “the hellish character” of Mau Mau and identified Kenyatta as it “Lucifer.”

By the autumn of 1953, Erskine had deployed 12 British battalions, supported by armoured cars, artillery and two squadrons of obsolete Harvard and Lincoln bombers supplemented by Vampire jets. In April, he surrounded Nairobi with 20,000 troops – Operation Anvil – and 24,000 men and women were sent to hastily constructed detention (concentration) camps.

That dealt a crushing blow to the uprising. Fifty camps were built to accommodate black prisoners and by the end of 1954 anything between 70,000 to 100,000 Africans were detained or imprisoned.

Writes Brendan: “When the governor proposed a negotiated settlement in 1954, white settlers accused him of shaking hands with murder. (Michael) Blundell even charged Evelyn Baring (the Old Etonian British Governor) with having taken the Mau Mau oath, though he quickly apologised.” (page 559 The Decline and Fall of the British Empire)

Brendan wrote: “Throughout their imperial history, the British had always paid lip service to legality, but by the mid-1950s it was an open secret that Kenya had become a police state that dispensed racist terror. After all, Dr Malan, the Nationalist Party prime minister of South Africa, took it (Kenya) as a model for the apartheid regime.” (page 560, The Decline and Fall of the British Empire). But however much old Etonians despised “middle class sluts” and suburban upstarts, the English ruling class realised they had to placate their kith and kin before handing over to Africans.

.....
“The horror, the horror”

One liberal-minded British administrator, Thomas Cashmore, recoiled with Conradian “horror, the horror” at several aspects of British rule during the Mau Mau uprising but was forced to suppress his self-described “squeamishness,” writing to a friend in England – “. . . it is not possible to impose the civilities of Cheltenham in the foothills of Chuka.”

Years later, when the British sent yet another Old Etonian, Lord (Christopher) Soames, out to hand over southern Rhodesia to the winner of the February 1980 “free and fair” election Cashmore’s words must have echoed around the Governor’s Lodge in Salisbury (Harare).

Said Lord Soames: “You must remember this is Africa. This isn’t Little Puddle-ton-on-the-Marsh and they behave differently here. They think nothing of sticking poles up each other’s whatnots and doing filthy, beastly things to each other. It does happen.

.....
One liberal-minded British administrator, Thomas Cashmore, recoiled with Conradian “horror, the horror” at several aspects of British rule during the Mau Mau uprising but was forced to suppress his self-described “squeamishness”

.....
Almost overnight, Jomo Kenyatta went from being Oliver Lyttleton's "Lucifer" to a secular saint because of his famous "reconciliation" speech of 1963 which inspired Robert Mugabe to make the same kind of meaningless but flattering promises to non-blacks in 1980
.....

It's a very wild thing, an election." (Quoted in David Blair's "Degrees in Violence – Robert Mugabe and the Struggle for Power in Zimbabwe (Continuum, 2002).

But British poles going up African what-nots was never reported and after Kenya's Independence torture claims were brushed under the carpet.

Between 1952-1958, 1,090 Africans were hanged in Kenya, some on a travelling gallows built at Governor Evelyn Baring's request.

.....
Beaten to death

On 3 March 1959, eleven black prisoners were beaten to death at Hola Camp. John Cowan was the senior prison superintendent and he was awarded the MBE by Queen Elizabeth II.

Critics remained vociferous, writes Brendon and the most outspoken of them all was Enoch Powell. In the House of Commons, he said that the British failure to take responsibility for what happened at Hola undermined Britain's endeavour to plant responsible government in its dependencies.

He said: "All government, all influence of man upon man, rests upon opinion. What we can still do in Africa depends on the opinion which is entertained of the way in which this country and we Englishmen act. We cannot, we dare not, and in Africa of all places, fall below the highest standards in the acceptance of responsibility." (The Times, July 28, 1959).

His statement came at the same time as the Devlin Report charged that Britain had

turned Nyasaland (Malawi) into a police state, a declaration that dealt a hammer blow to the short-lived Central African Federation (1953-1958) which was Britain's last throw of the survival dice in Africa.

After Hola, the British moved fast to hand over power to Africans.

Almost overnight, Jomo Kenyatta went from being Oliver Lyttleton's "Lucifer" to a secular saint because of his famous "reconciliation" speech of 1963 which inspired Robert Mugabe to make the same kind of meaningless but flattering promises to non-blacks in 1980.

Kenyatta became Britain's "darling" and Kenya the widely proclaimed "mirror of democracy in Africa."

President Kenyatta, an Anglophile without equal, never raised the subject of torture and neither did his successor Dan Arap Moi. So when the Union Flag fell and the new red, green and black flag of Kenya was raised at midnight on 12 December 1963, departing British administrators, soldiers and police officers might well have chosen the words of Eric Griffith-Jones, Attorney General of Kenya as their motto.

"If we are going to sin, we must sin quietly," he'd written in a confidential letter to a colleague in London.

And until four elderly Kenyans told their stories in a London court room and nudged Whitehall's Rip van Winkle-like conscience, you couldn't hear a British pin drop. **CT**

.....
Trevor Grundy lived and worked as a journalist in central, eastern and southern Africa and now works in London as a researcher, broadcaster and author

**Get your FREE subscription to
COLDTYPE MAGAZINE
Write to subs@coldtype.net**

Libya and unending American hostility

Who is questioning the reasons behind the US/Nato attack on Libya? asks **William Blum**

If I could publicly ask our beloved president one question, it would be this: “Mr. President, in your short time in office you’ve waged war against six countries – Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen and Libya. This makes me wonder something. With all due respect: What is wrong with you?”

The American media has done its best to dismiss or ignore Libyan charges that NATO/US missiles have been killing civilians (the people they’re supposedly protecting), at least up until the recent bombing “error” that was too blatant to be covered up. But who in the mainstream media has questioned the NATO/US charges that Libya was targeting and “massacring” Libyan civilians a few months ago, which, we’ve been told, is the reason for the Western powers attacks? Don’t look to Al Jazeera for such questioning. The government of Qatar, which owns the station, has a deep-seated animosity toward Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and was itself a leading purveyor of the Libyan “massacre” stories, as well as playing a military role in the war against Tripoli. Al Jazeera’s reporting on the subject has been so disgraceful I’ve stopped looking at the station.

Alain Juppé, Foreign Minister of France, which has been the leading force behind the attacks on Libya, spoke at the Brookings Institution in Washington on June 7. After his talk he was asked a question from the audience by local activist Ken Meyercord:

“An American observer of events in Libya has commented: ‘The evidence was not persuasive that a large-scale massacre or genocide was either likely or imminent.’ That comment was made by Richard Haass, President of our Council on Foreign Relations. If Mr. Haass is right, and he’s a fairly knowledgeable fellow, then what NATO has done in Libya is attack a country that wasn’t threatening anyone; in other words, aggression. Are you at all concerned that as NATO deals more and more death and destruction on the people of Libya that the International Criminal Court may decide that you and your friends in the Naked Aggression Treaty Organization should be prosecuted rather than Mr. Gaddafi?”

Monsieur Juppé then stated, without attribution, somebody’s estimate that 15,000 Libyan civilians had been killed by pro-Gaddafi forces. To which Mr. Meyercord replied: “So where are the 15,000 bodies?” M. Juppé failed to respond to this, although in the tumult caused by the first question, it was not certain that he had heard the second one.

It should be noted that, as of June 30, NATO had flown 13,184 air missions (sorties) over Libya, 4,963 of which are described as strike sorties. You can find the latest figures on the Allied Command Operations website.

If any foreign power fired missiles at the United States would Barack Obama regard that as an act of war? If the US firing hundreds of missiles at Libya is not an act of war, as Obama

.....
Monsieur Juppé then stated, without attribution, somebody’s estimate that 15,000 Libyan civilians had been killed by pro-Gaddafi forces. To which Mr. Meyercord replied: “So where are the 15,000 bodies?”

.....
Since Gaddafi came to power in 1969 there has virtually never been a sustained period when the United States has been prepared to treat him and the many positive changes he's instituted in Libya and Africa with any respect
.....

insists (to avoid having to declare war as required by US law), then the deaths resulting from the missile attacks are murder. That's it. It's either war or murder. To the extent there's a difference between the two.

It should be further noted that since Gaddafi came to power in 1969 there has virtually never been a sustained period when the United States has been prepared to treat him and the many positive changes he's instituted in Libya and Africa with any respect. For a history of this hostility, including the continual lies and scare campaigns, see my Libya chapter in my book, *Killing Hope*.

.....
America and its perpetual quest for love
.....

Why can't we "get some of the people in these downtrodden countries to like us instead of hating us." – President Dwight D.Eisenhower, in a March,1953 National Security Council Meeting

The United States is still wondering, and is no closer to an understanding than Good Ol' Ike was almost 60 years ago. American leaders still believe what Frances Fitzgerald observed in her study of American history textbooks: "According to these books, the United States had been a kind of Salvation Army to the rest of the world: throughout history, it had done little but dispense benefits to poor, ignorant, and diseased countries. ... the United States always acted in a disinterested fashion, always from the highest of motives; it gave, never took."

In 2007 I wrote in this report about the US military in Iraq:

"I almost feel sorry for them. They're "can-do" Americans, accustomed to getting their way, accustomed to thinking of themselves as the best, and they're frustrated as hell, unable to figure out "why they hate us", why we can't win them over, why we can't at least wipe them out. Don't they want freedom and democracy? ... They're can-do Americans, using good ol' American know-how and Madison Avenue savvy, sales campaigns, public relations, advertising, selling the US brand,

just like they do it back home; employing psychologists and anthropologists ... and nothing helps. And how can it if the product you're selling is toxic, inherently, from birth, if you're totally ruining your customers' lives, with no regard for any kind of law or morality, health or environment. They're can-do Americans, accustomed to playing by the rules – theirs; and they're frustrated as hell."

Here now the Google Cavalry rides up on its silver horse. Through its think tank, Google Ideas (or "think/do tank"), the company paid for 80 former Muslim extremists, neo-Nazis, US gang members and other former radicals to gather in Dublin June 26-28 ("Summit Against Violent Extremism", or SAVE) to explore how technology can play a role in "de-radicalization" efforts around the globe. Now is that not Can-do ambitious?

The "formers," as they have been dubbed by Google, will be surrounded by 120 thinkers, activists, philanthropists and business leaders. The goal is to dissect the question of what draws some people, particularly young people, to extremist movements and why some of them leave.

The person in charge of this project is Jared Cohen, who spent four years on the State Department's Policy Planning staff, and is soon to be an adjunct fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), focusing on counter-radicalization, innovation, technology, and statecraft.

So ... it's "violent extremism" that's the big mystery, the target for all these intellectuals to figure out. ... Why does violent extremism attract so many young people all over the world? Or, of more importance probably to the State Department and CFR types: Why do violent extremists single out the United States as their target of choice?

Readers of this report do not need to be enlightened as to the latter question. There is simply an abundance of terrible things US foreign policy has done in every corner of the world. As to what attracts young people to violent extremism, consider this: What makes a million young Americans willing to travel to places like Afghanistan and Iraq to risk their

life and limbs to kill other young people who have never done them any harm, and to commit unspeakable atrocities and tortures?

Is this not extreme behavior? Can these young Americans not be called “extremists” or “radicals”? Are they not violent? Do the Google experts understand their behavior? If not, how will they ever understand the foreign Muslim extremists? Are the experts prepared to examine the underlying phenomenon – the deep-seated belief in “American exceptionalism” drilled into every cell and nerve ganglion of American consciousness from pre-kindergarten on? Do the esteemed experts then have to wonder about those who believe in “Muslim exceptionalism”?

This just in! American leaders do have feelings!

Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai’s criticism of US and NATO forces in his country grows more angry and confrontational with each passing week. Recently, US Ambassador Karl Eikenberry was moved to reply to him: “When Americans, who are serving in your country at great cost – in terms of lives and treasure – hear themselves compared with occupiers, told that they are only here to advance their own interest, and likened to the brutal enemies of the Afghan people ... they are filled with confusion and grow weary of our effort here. ... We begin to lose our inspiration to carry on.”

That certainly may apply to many of the soldiers in the field. But oh, if only American military and political leaders could really be so offended and insulted by what’s said about them and their many wars.

Eikenberry – who has served in Afghanistan a total of five years as a senior US Army general and then as ambassador – warned that if Afghan leaders reach the point where they “believe that we are doing more harm than good,” then Americans may “reach a point that we feel our soldiers and civilians are being asked to sacrifice without a just cause,” and “the American people will ask for our forces

to come home.”

Well, if Eikenberry is really interested, a June 8 BBC World News America/Harris Poll found that 52% of Americans believe that the United States should move to get its troops out of Afghanistan “now”, with only 35% believing that the troops should stay; while a Pew Research Center poll of mid-June showed 56% of Americans favor an “immediate” pullout.

“America has never sought to occupy any nation in the world,” the ambassador continued. “We are a good people.”

How nice. Reminds me of US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, after the 1999 78-day bombing of the helpless people of the former Yugoslavia, a war crime largely instigated by herself, when she declared: “The United States is good. We try to do our best everywhere.”

Do these grown-ups really believe what comes out of their mouths? Does Mr. Eikenberry actually think that “America has never sought to occupy any nation in the world”? Sixty-six years after World War II ended, the United States still has major bases in Germany and Japan; 58 years after the end of the Korean War, tens of thousands of American armed forces continue to be stationed in South Korea; for over a century, the United States has occupied Guantanamo Bay in Cuba against the fervent wishes of the Cuban people. And what other term shall we use to describe the American presence in Iraq for more than eight years? And Afghanistan for almost ten?

George W. Bush had no doubt: The Iraqis are “not happy they’re occupied,” he said. “I wouldn’t be happy if I were occupied either.”

However, the current Republican leader in the House, John Boehner appears to be a true believer. “The United States has never proposed establishing a permanent base in Iraq or anywhere else,” he affirmed a few years ago.

If 18th century Americans could resent occupation by the British, when many of the Americans were British themselves, then how much easier to understand the resentment of Iraqis and Afghans toward foreign occupiers.

CT

Do these grown-ups really believe what comes out of their mouths? Does Mr. Eikenberry actually think that “America has never sought to occupy any nation in the world”?

William Blum is the author of: *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions Since World War 2; Rogue State: A Guide to the World’s Only Superpower; West-Bloc Dissident: A Cold War Memoir; Freeing the World to Death: Essays on the American Empire.* Signed copies may be purchased, at www.killinghope.org

The blue eyes of terror

Danny Schechter on Anders Behring Breivik, Norway's candidate for the world's top living evil-doer

.....
Recently, members of Congress condemned a "ground Zero Mosque that was neither a mosque or at Ground Zero. Demagogues whipped up anti-Islamic passions and promulgated stereotyping. Protests against the protesters went largely unreported
.....

Move over Osama bin Laden even as I know you already have in the physical sense – because you now have an emulator who borrows your tactics and inverts your ideology.

Anders Behring Breivik, is Norway's candidate for the new world's top living evil-doer and terror supremo having admitted to killing 93 young people and blowing up buildings in Oslo.

While Bin Laden castigated crusaders, Breivik salutes them in a 1518 page manifesto of madness. And his lawyer has rationalized his murder spree in a similar way to those who defended Al Qaeda as defending Islam.

The two are almost carbon copies. The Norwegian posted videos on You Tube while Bin Laden relied on TV communiqués. One was killing in the name of Islam, the other in the name of Christianity.

Foreign Policy reports, "Breivik's lawyer said that his client admitted to the killings, but rejected "criminal responsibility." He described Breivik as being motivated to carry out the attacks by a desire to force radical change on Norwegian society.

"He has said that he believed the actions were atrocious, but that in his head they were necessary," the lawyer said."

And now he's pleaded not guilty, Of course!

Breivik has taken Islamphobia to a new level of violence and killing hoping to spark an uprising in Europe. He quotes from American

websites that view all Muslims as Jihadists, and even the tract of the Unabomber.

The Made in USA stamp is all over this despicable act. We can see how easily hate mongers abandon argument for agitation and vow death for all perceived enemies.

We can also see how quickly major media outlets jumped to the assumption that the perpetrators were Muslims, Al Qaeda killers or worse. All the "terror" experts did what was done before after the Oklahoma City bombings – blame the "other." Fox News led the rush to judgment with predictable Muslim bashing. CNN's Ton Lister was not far behind, speculating early on, "You've only got to look at the target--prime minister's office, the headquarters of the major newspaper group next door. Why would that be relevant? Because the Norwegian newspapers republished the cartoons of Prophet Mohammad that caused such offense in the Muslim world...That is an issue that still rankles amongst Islamist militants the world over."

Hmmm....

A resort to violence escalates when underlying prejudice is legitimated and is recycled. Recently, members of Congress condemned a "ground Zero Mosque that was neither a mosque or at Ground Zero. Demagogues whipped up anti-Islamic passions and promulgated stereotyping.

Protests against the protesters went largely unreported. Today, one time Pizza company executive, Herman Cain, a Republican presiden-

tial candidate spews disdain of all Muslims.

Anwaar Hussain, a Pakistani by birth and blogger by vocation, offers a perspective worth contemplating.

May I quote him at length?

“**Condolences**, Norway. Our hearts ache for you in this time of incredible sadness and shock. As more than 90 of your families bury their dead, we stand with you in solemn sorrow. And welcome to the world of right wing zombies.

“These are words written by the citizen of a country that continues to reel from the onslaught of these androids. We understand your grief and your disbelief. But please understand that these human low-lives go by many different names i.e. fundamentalists, jihadists, radicals, extremists etc.–yet they all claim to get their instructions straight from their god.

“Afterward, they go out to slaughter some children in the name of that god. We are sorry that you had to taste firsthand what we’ve been living through for the past twenty years. We were taken there, we have seen it all, we are still there.

“From the Oslo carnage, three facts emerge as usual. Firstly, these cowards always turn on their own first, attacking the most defenseless of the society for starters. It may be called the terror stage.

“Secondly, the victims always refuse to believe that killer/s could be one/s of their own. In Pakistan, for a long time people said, ‘these killers can’t be Muslims’. And in Norway now when the killer is even confirmed as a blond, blue-eyed, indigenous Norwegian white right-wing extremist, their very own Anders Breivik Bin Laden, people are saying, ‘he can’t be a Christian’.

“Let us call it the denial stage which may linger on, as is in Pakistan, for decades before the victims can differentiate between their Messiahs and killers.

Thirdly, extremists come in every hue. What they have in common is extreme views and the conviction that they know what’s good for the rest of us.”

And here we are at a time of financial col-

lapse and political stalemate when so many want simple explanations and symbolic enemies to go after. As our politics polarize in the USA, so does the world’s.

It’s shocking but all too predictable.

Its time to take a stand for tolerance and mutual respect, and reject the simplistic attacks on multiculturalism that stirs prejudice and reinforces racism by pandering politicians who play to the public’s fears.

It is a time to call a fascist a fascist and condemn this outbreak of violence that stains a great nation and troubles the world.

May our artists and politicians speak out before there are more copycat incidents?

May our educators stop their lesson plans and focus on the lessons of this dastardly deed against the youth of the county that gives us the Nobel Prize and helps poorer countries while the more affluent stand by and do nothing.

We can’t let this “incident” pass without a global media-led teach-in to turn the madness around. This happened in Norway but the extremists are everywhere and will be emboldened unless a universal chorus of condemnation arises.

It will happen again and again until the teachers of hate are challenged and stopped. Journalists have a responsibility to take on the machinations of extremist views and groups and expose them for what they are. Only then can we say that those young people at a Norwegian summer camp did not die in vain.

How many more of these ‘templars’ in their fantasy costumes armed to the teeth and ready to destroy what democratic societies remain. With their fertilizer they make bombs out of bullshit.

One warning: Incidents like this invite armed overreactions as 911 did with military establishments the beneficiary even as the threat is not a military one in the end.

We are all Norwegians now. Their loss must become our own. The duty to respond belongs to every person of conscience. Show some solidarity.

Speak now or forever say goodbye to peace and justice. **CT**

.....
It will happen again and again until the teachers of hate are challenged and stopped. Journalists have a responsibility to take on the machinations of extremist views and groups and expose them for what they are

.....
Danny Schechter,
the News Dissector,
writes the News
Dissector.com
blog. Comments
to dissector@
mediachannel.org

WRITING WORTH READING

ColdType

www.coldtype.net