

U.S. Foreign Policy

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Impact of the 9-Year Sanctions War on the People of Iraq

From UN Reports

- Iraq "has experienced a shift from relative affluence to massive poverty. In marked contrast to the prevailing situation prior to the events of 1990-91, the infant mortality rates in Iraq today are among the highest in the world, low infant birth weight affects at least 23% of all births, chronic malnutrition affects every fourth child under five years of age, only 41% of the population have regular access to clean water, 83% of all schools need substantial repairs. The ICRC states that the Iraqi health-care system is today in a decrepit state. UNDP calculates that it would take 7 billion US dollars to rehabilitate the power sector country-wide to its 1990 capacity." - UN Report on the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq, submitted to the Security Council, March 1999
- "The humanitarian situation in Iraq will continue to be a dire one in the absence of a sustained revival of the Iraqi economy, which in turn cannot be achieved solely through remedial humanitarian efforts." - UN Report on the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq, submitted to the Security Council, March 1999
- "The increase in mortality reported in public hospitals for children under five years of age (an excess of some 40,000 deaths yearly compared with 1989) is mainly due to diarrhea, pneumonia and malnutrition. In those over five years of age, the increase (an excess of some 50,000 deaths yearly compared with 1989) is associated with heart disease, hypertension, diabetes, cancer, liver or kidney diseases." Approximately 250 people die every day in Iraq due to the effect of the sanctions. - UNICEF, April 1998.
- "The Oil-for-Food plan has not yet resulted in adequate protection of Iraq's children from malnutrition/disease. Those children spared from death continue to remain deprived of essential rights addressed in the Convention of Rights of the Child." -- UNICEF, April 1998.
- "32 percent of children under five, some 960,000 children are chronically malnourished - a rise of 72 percent since 1991. Almost one quarter (23%) are underweight - twice as high as the levels found in neighboring Jordan or Turkey." - UNICEF, November 1997.
- "There is no sign of any improvement since Security Council Resolution 986/1111 ["Oil for Food"] came into force." - UNICEF, November 1997.
- "One out of every 4 Iraqi infants is malnourished. ... Chronic malnutrition among children under five has reached 27.5%. After a child reaches two or three years of age, chronic malnutrition is difficult to reverse and damage on the child's development is likely to be permanent." UNICEF and World Food Programmed (WFP), May 1997
- "Iraq's health system is close to collapse because medicines and other life-saving supplies scheduled for importation under the 'oil-for-food' deal have not arrived. ... Government drug warehouses and pharmacies have few stocks of medicines and medical supplies. The consequences of this situation are causing a near-breakdown of the health care system, which is

reeling under the pressure of being deprived of medicine, other basic supplies and spare parts." World Health Organizations (WHO), February 1997.

- "4,500 children under the age of 5 are dying each month from hunger and disease. ... The situation is disastrous for children. Many are living on the very margin of survival."-UNICEF, October 1996.
- "Since the onset of sanctions, there has been a six-fold increase in the mortality rate for children under five and the majority of the country's population has been on a semi-starvation diet." - WHO, March 1996.
- "Famine threatens four million people in sanctions-hit Iraq - one fifth of the population - following a poor grain harvest...The human situation is deteriorating. Living conditions are precarious and are at pre-famine level for at least four million people. ... The deterioration in nutritional status of children is reflected in the significant increase of child mortality, which has risen nearly fivefold since 1990." - UN FAO, September 1995.
- "Alarming food shortages are causing irreparable damage to an entire generation of Iraqi children". - UN FAO and WFP, September 1995.
- "Sanctions are inhibiting the importation of spare parts, chemicals, reagents, and the means of transportation required to provide water and sanitation services to the civilian population of Iraq. ... What has become increasingly clear is that *no significant movement towards food security can be achieved so long as the embargo remains in place*. All vital contributors to food availability - agricultural production, importation of foodstuffs, economic stability and income generation, are dependent on Iraq's ability to purchase and import those items vital to the survival of the civilian population." - UNICEF, 1995

Iraq Action Coalition ... <http://iraqaction.org> ...

A ZNet companion page to the new motion picture *Three Kings*.

"[In *Three Kings*, the soldiers] think Iraq is littered with cell phones, luxury cars and booty stolen from rich Kuwait ... But they suddenly find a situation that completely confronts their humanity and demands that they re-think what they're doing and who they are."

- *THREE KINGS* Director David Russell

**Attention
Activists!**

Take advantage of *Three Kings* show-ings by passing out this flyer to the audiences!

"When I returned to Iraq in 1997, nothing could have prepared me for what I saw. Never have I witnessed the moral conscience of the American people more fundamentally betrayed."

- Gulf War Veteran Erik Gustafson

The U.S. Government has committed no less than three major betrayals against humanity in the wake of the Gulf War. They include:

1 Ignoring Domestic Opposition in Iraq
Following the Gulf War, President George Bush called on the Iraqi people to rise up and overthrow Saddam Hussein with the promise of U.S. support. Then he reversed his position. Over 10,000 Iraqis were killed awaiting air support that never came. Throughout the Gulf Crisis which began in 1990, Washington has made a point of deterring any chances for a new, democratic government in Iraq.

[Read about the deterrence of democracy.](#)

Maintaining Sanctions to Punish Civilians

On September 17, the Chicago Tribune declared "the killing of innocent civilians... has been the most notable result of nine years of economic sanctions in Iraq." When asked about the 500,000 children dead as a result of economic sanctions, Secretary of State Madeline Albright responded, "The price is worth it." The international community resoundingly condemns the sanctions policy, including, most recently, Hans Van Sponeck, the senior UN official in Iraq. Still, the United States refuses to budge.

2

[Read more about the sanctions and their devastating effects.](#)

3 Infecting & Neglecting Gulf War Veterans
While the Federal government spends tens of billions of dollars to bomb and sanction Iraq, causing untold suffering, funding for veterans' hospitals has been slashed. More than 100,000 U.S. veterans suffer from Gulf War illnesses and can't get adequate health care. Additionally, there is massive and mounting evidence that experimental weapons used by the US military itself are at least partly to blame for these illnesses. Meanwhile, Washington still hasn't fully admitted the existence of these diseases, much less culpability in their cause! If you're a Gulf War veteran and/or interested in learning more, contact the [NGWRC](#).

[Learn more about the Gulf War's impact on vets and Iraqi civilians.](#)

[View/Download](#) a Portable Document Format (PDF) flyer version of this page (158k) to hand out at showings of *Three Kings* in your area! To do so, you will need to have the free [Adobe Acrobat Reader](#) installed (you may already have it). You can then print out a ready-to-copy version of the flyer, fonts, graphics and all. Catch a movie and educate the public this weekend! (If clicking the [view/download](#) link doesn't work, try right-clicking and opting to save target.) [Read about the experiences some](#)

[activists have had distributing this flyer at local cinemas.](#)

If you'd like to learn more about these and other issues surrounding US involvement in the Persian Gulf, please check out these resources:

[ZNet's Iraq Crisis Page](#)

[Iraq Action Coalition](#)

[Education for Peace in Iraq Center \(EPIC\)](#)

The concept for this page was derived from a flyer created by [EPIC](#). Much of the text was also directly lifted from EPIC's flyer. You might want to check out [their version](#) as well.

This web page/flyer was produced for [ZNet](#) by [On the Ground](#), a collective in Syracuse, NY.

--Field Reports--

Here are some reactions from activists who have already flyered local moviegoers. The response to this idea -- which was actually inspired by the folks at EPIC, of course -- has been overwhelming. Both ZNet and On the Ground are talking about collaborating on many more Internet-based distribution projects for the near future. Please let us know of any ideas, or how distribution could be improved. You can reach On the Ground at grounded@rootmedia.org.

Nearly everyone who has seen the movie has reviewed it quite positively, so this is definitely an excellent chance to be pro-active in getting the word out about the horrendous crisis continuing in Iraq.

For what it's worth, my experience with flyering has led me to the conclusion that briefly engaging the recipient of your propaganda, with a smile (and in this case, a wish that they enjoy the film), is the best route to take. This is a perfect opportunity to have friendly meetings with everyday folks. Making them feel like you might be protesting the entertainment activity in which they are about to engage is definitely not going to win you any positive attention, so be sure to be clear about your purpose if anyone even seems to be wondering, embarrassed or concerned. And it would be terrific if you can be available after the film for

discussion. Most of all, have fun!

-- Brian Dominick, On the Ground & ZNet

"My wife Angela and I saw the movie opening night and distributed the Epic flyers afterwards (we also hit cars). Our method was to only approach people leaving the theater after the movie, and we greeted them with, 'Would you please read about what's going on in Iraq today?'. Response was very positive. We heard many comments such as, 'yeah, we really screwed those people,' and 'Do you think we really did all that kind of stuff?' Angela went to Iraq with a Voices in the Wilderness delegation in July, so we had added that to the bottom of the flyer, and five separate people came back to meet her and talk about it. I recommend adding on any local contact information."

-- Greg Gerdeman, Nashville, TN

"Thanks for the info and the flyer. I went out tonight and hit three theaters. The shows were sold out (good sign), the lines were long (a captive audience), and people seemed surprisingly receptive...no spitting or yelling or anything. It seemed like people were actually reading and listening. Hmmm...maybe I should actually go see the movie next time."

-- Daphne Whittington

"Saw the film on Friday night [...]. We brought the fliers and gave them out both before (outside) and after (inside) the film. People reacted quite positively, especially those who had just seen the film."

-- Jim

"Just got back from flyering 2 cinemas. This was a great idea. Thanks Brian for the flyer and the inspiration to do something. Had some negative reaction. One woman brought the flyer back to me and told me to take my political opinion somewhere else. Then she sent her husband to tell the manager. He obediently did her bidding and we were asked to stop. [...] After being asked to stop in the cinema we left flyers on cars (as was suggested) and then to another cinema and stood on the sidewalk (not on their property) and caught another crowd of moviegoers. Some brought the flyers back but a few actually expressed appreciation for the information. Many thought we were protesting the movie which is probably what had the cinema managers anxious. How do you avoid that impression?"

-- 'North Beach'

"So far Seattle distributed some 2,000 flyers. Hopefully this will generate some calls to congress."

-- Jeff Gustafson

:"Well, I enjoyed the flyer, but apparently the manager at the movie theatre didn't. me and my friend went to distribute them at the door of the theatre and after a while the manager saw us and he said it wasn't a problem...but then he came back after 15 min and told us to leave...so what we found was just as effective was to go to the parking lot of the theatre, and put the flyers under the

windshield wipers of the cars...hehe...just a little tip....(he couldn't get rid of us that easy)..."

--Nahar Fityani

**EXCERPTS FROM *THE ENEMY* (Vintage Books, 1971),
by Felix Greene.**

**HOW IT BEGAN
(pages 47-64)**

CHAPTER I

"God Save the King"

It was formerly the custom in British schools, even during my own childhood, to hang a large map of the world on the wall of each classroom. The dominant color was red, for this was before the Russian Revolution, and red had not yet been appropriated by the Communists. India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, huge areas of the African continent running from Cairo to the Cape of Good Hope, Samoa, Burma, Malaya, Hong Kong, the West Indies, Ceylon --all colored red. And scattered across every ocean hundreds of islands and small outposts, obscure harbors and refueling stations--also red. Here on these maps, for the edification of British youth, was spread the British Empire in all its majesty. One-quarter of the land surface of the world, one-fifth of the human population intimately linked with or controlled by our own tiny island. It made us feel very superior. We took for granted that this vast medley of people, of every possible creed and color, were under us because they wanted to be. Who better could they be under? We British were just; our rule was benign. The young men we sent out to administer the empire were hardworking, they lived on a pittance, had enormous self-reliance and were incorruptible. Were we not demonstrating to these backward peoples what good government was? Were we not leading them towards the infinite consolations of Christian civilization? Were we not teaching them, with the patience of a father toward his children, that it was part of God's plan that young men wear trousers and that the breasts of young women be covered? In our generosity we were even providing them with schools where they could learn English and could broaden their minds by reciting Shakespeare.* We built hospitals and clinics to improve their health, and agricultural colleges where they could learn how to grow their crops better. No wonder they respected us. It gave us a curious thrill, as we looked on those maps, to think that all these people scattered around the world saluted our flag and sang "God Save the King" --our king.

*Writing in the *New Statesman* (April 4, 1969), Sir Jock Campell gives a marvelous example of the noneducation that was provided, until quite recently, in the British colonies. 'I was shown over a high school in British Guiana a year or two before it became independent Guyana. The English Literature class were reading an erotic short story in Cornish dialect; for Geography the children were studying the [English] Lake District; for Agriculture, the dust bowl of the American Middle West. They were doing sums in pounds, shillings and pence (when the 'colony' used dollars and cents). And the girls' domestic economy form room was bedecked with . . . posters showing how to buy, cook, serve, and carve beef: most of the class were Hindus.

What was more, this admirable state of affairs was clearly destined to continue indefinitely because we British were more clever and more humane than the Romans and Spaniards and the others who had tried to run an empire and had made a mess of it. Besides, we were the richest people in the world, our fleet was by far the most powerful and so our empire would go on and on forever, Amen. That, in all its fraudulent innocence, was the vision of the world entertained by our young minds and most of the British people not so many years ago. No one of course mentioned such words as exploitation, expropriation or forced labor. No one told us that the schools "we" provided were paid for by the people we ruled; that the "medical services" on which we prided ourselves often provided only one doctor for 10 thousand or more people (and in one case, Nigeria, only one for 34 thousand people); and that the increased profits resulting from improved agricultural methods benefited the plantation owner and not those who labored for him. No one told us about the conditions of work in the African diamond mines or in the cotton fields of India. No one talked about relative infant mortality rates or expectancy of life. We heard a lot about the *cost* of running the empire, and the enormous effort it took (the "white man's burden" we called it). But we never heard a word about the millions of pounds sterling (far, far more than the visible budgetary costs) that flowed back each year to British investors in the form of interest and profit; or the millions made by the bankers who financed it all, and by the insurance and shipping companies; or of the salaries and pensions paid out to Britishers from the colonial funds. No one explained to us that much of the cost of the empire was borne by the colonial people themselves. Nor that the costs that were paid for were paid by the British people as a whole through taxation, while the *benefits*, the fabulous financial benefits, were being reaped by a relatively small handful of individuals.

People who run empires have to be disingenuous, and they must not ask themselves too many questions. They need to have at their command a rhetoric of justification that will shield them from realities. They need to be serenely confident that they are doing humanity good.

But why bother with justifications when none were needed? Words and ideas only get in the way, and can be disturbing. There, on the map, was something more real than words. The British Empire --solid and permanent as Gibraltar.

* *

Those maps, of course, no longer hang in British classrooms. The old methods of empire have changed. Such control as the British ruling class still retains is more indirect, less visible. A new empire, the American Empire, has replaced the British Empire as the leading imperialist power. Exercising its power in a structurally different way, but nevertheless seeking the same ends and often with the same means, it is the American Empire which today bestrides the world. Though militarily and industrially vastly more powerful than the British Empire ever was, the new Empire is subject to greater challenge and greater uncertainty and much less likely to last as long.

Before we examine the factors which allowed the United States to wrest the position of world supremacy from Britain, it may be useful to go back yet further

and remind ourselves how it came about that a very few individuals were able to subject so many others to their will and live off their labor. For at this point we touch the very origin of empire History, they tell us, doesn't repeat itself. Perhaps not, but the study of history can help us to understand today more clearly.

CHAPTER II

"The Rise and Fall"

Empires --domination of one power over another-- have been a feature throughout recorded history.

China, Egypt, Greece, Rome --all exercised control over peoples outside their own formal borders. These empires of antiquity were primarily concerned with tribute or the plunder of wealth. It was for treasure that Spain sent her galleons and armed caballeros to Mexico and South America; it was plunder that made Spain the richest country in the world in the sixteenth century.

The emphasis then was on the looting of gold and silver. Our concern in this book is not with the empires of long ago but of today. A central characteristic of modern imperialism is its emphasis on a different kind of plunder--the pillage of other countries' wealth through *unequal trade* and through *investment*: which draws out far more wealth than it puts in.

The people of Britain (or more precisely, a relatively small controlling group within Britain) were the first to apply these new methods of plunder on a truly global scale. They became, before long, the real professionals of empire building. The system they developed, in its magnitude, diversity and in the complexity of its operations, dwarfed a previous empires. Never before had so many people --one quarter of the entire human race-- been subjugated and to work for the enrichment of so few.

What were the conditions that made it possible for British to develop such a wondrously profitable system? course, innumerable factors contributed to the success, we can isolate four closely related conditions that were basic importance:

1. The new technology of the industrial revolution.
2. The availability of an abundant supply of cheap labor.
3. The accumulation of capital.
4. The development of foreign markets.

The New Technology

As the new steam-powered factories increased their production capacity, the nations of Europe soon realized that commodities could be produced faster than they could be sold the home market. This does not mean that there was a "surplus"

productive capacity in any real sense. They themselves needed the goods, but their wages were so that they did not have the money with which to buy. At early stage capitalism was already confronted by its own fundamental contradiction—the capacity to expand production faster than the market can absorb it.

The fundamental, built-in, inescapable contradiction of capitalism can (even at the cost of over-simplification) be briefly summarized as follows: The profit an employer makes is secured by selling goods at a price higher than they cost him to make. The total earnings of workers can never match the full value of what they produce or there would be no profit. What is paid out in wages is therefore *never* sufficient to purchase all that is produced. This basic contradiction is hidden by the complexities of the economic process, and the consequences of the inability of purchasing power to absorb all that is produced can be postponed by enhancing consumer demand by buying on credit—but this merely stimulates demand today at the expense of tomorrow. There are other methods of boosting consumer demand, by stage-engendered monetary expansion, governmental consumption for military spending and so on. Ultimately, however, the decisive market factor is consumption by individuals. As long as the total amount paid out in wages and salaries is less than the value of the goods manufactured (and in a capitalist system based on profit it *must* be less) available purchasing power will never be able to absorb the output of consumer goods.

British industry, first in the field, was technically the most advanced and the most efficiently managed. In almost every branch of technical innovation British engineers led the way. Others merely followed. Thus the British gained a clear start over other industrializing countries of Europe.

* *

Cheap Labor

Britain could not have advanced her industrialization so rapidly if, just when owners of factories needed it most, an abundant supply of cheap labor had not made itself available.

Britain had been an agricultural country, but with wool becoming Britain's chief export, the landowners found raising sheep more profitable than renting land to tenants. Thousands of peasant farmers were evicted from their cottages, uprooted, often with no warning, from the land that they and their fathers had used from time immemorial.

What caused even more widespread suffering were the Acts under which public or "common land" was enclosed. In accordance with age-old tradition all men were free to use these common lands for the grazing of sheep and goat in the economy of the peasant farmers access to this land was an essential element without which they could not survive. Between 1760 and 1810 no fewer than 2,765 Enclosure Acts were passed. The human suffering they cause is beyond imagination.

Thus it happened that when the new factories that were springing up required labor, tens of thousands of homeless and hungry agricultural workers, with

their wives and children, were forced into the cities in search of work, *any* work, under *any* conditions, that would keep them alive.

The emergence of a huge, property-less and impoverished working class was precisely what the new industrialists wished for. They could, and did, dictate their own conditions. The laboring people of Britain were subjected to treatment so inhuman that today we would have difficulty believing it if the official records were not there for us to read. For wages that would barely keep them alive workers were herded into huge slums that had no sewerage, no adequate water supply, no beauty, no cultural amenities, no playgrounds. The company-built hovels in

which they had to live were of such meanness that today it would be illegal to use them to house animals. In the cotton mills near Manchester the workers were required to work fourteen hours a day in a temperature of eighty-four degrees. They were not permitted to send out for water or to open a window. Penalties were exacted and deducted from their wages for most trivial offenses. Some factory owners devised ingenious rules which insured the further reduction of their workers' already miserable wage. Thus from a Parliamentary Report we learn that one regulation posted in a factory warned that "Any spinner found dirty at his work will be fined one shilling." And in the same factory another regulation stated "Any spinner found washing himself will be fined one shilling." (A shilling, at that time, was approximately a day's wage.)

Children were cheaper to hire than adults, so children frequently became the wage earners while their parents remained unemployed. Pauper children, bought from the Guardians of the Poor, were cheaper still and were shipped in groups from London to the mining towns of South Wales and the northern cotton mills. Boys of nine were sent down the mines to work for fourteen hours a day hewing coal; and in the cotton mills of Lancashire girls of seven would work as "apprentices" from five in the morning until eight at night -- a fifteen-hour work day.

Under what were known as the "Combination Laws" all forms of collective bargaining, all associations of workers to improve their position, were considered "conspiracies" punishable by imprisonment. If the workers rioted, they were fired on by troops. When, in sheer desperation, men began to wreck the machinery, Parliament passed an act making the damaging of machinery punishable by death. In ways such as these did those with wealth and power achieve the continuation of the supply of cheap labor--the second of the 4 basic factors which made the development of the empire possible.

For those looking only at the statistics, Britain showed extraordinary advances during the industrial revolution. Production of cotton, of iron and coal and of every commodity was being multiplied tenfold. Profits were soaring. Wealth was pouring into Britain from all over the world. For the few it was a field day. Money, money, money - - it was rolling in. Money for country mansions; money for huge London houses; money for carriages and servants and elegant clothes; money for weekend parties and tours around the Continent; money for plays and entertainment and fancy-dress balls; money for music and education and seaside holidays; money just

for fun. This rich man's London might have been a million miles away from the dark cities where the great mass of the British people were existing in inconceivable

degradation. In 1836, at a time of unprecedented "prosperity," thousands of people were literally starving.

This was the cost that successive generations of the British working class paid for Britain's industrial leadership, which made possible the "glories of empire."

* *

The Accumulation of Capital

The third major factor which made possible the new methods of global plunder was the accumulation of capital. This derives from the exploitation of the workers which we have just described.

Capital is the wealth produced by the workers but expropriated from them. To put it differently, the worker produces a given amount of value but he is paid not the amount he has produced but only a part-the existential minimum necessary to guarantee his return to the same work tomorrow. The value he produced but did not receive, that value which was appropriated (stolen would be the better word) is the source of all capital. "Capital," said Marx, "is but yesterday's frozen or dead labor." This is true whether the capital is represented by money, machinery, factories, or anything else. Accumulated capital, arising from the exploitation of workers yesterday, perpetuates the enslavement of the living workers today. But there is one question on which we must be clear if we are to understand the workings of capitalism. At what stage is wealth created? The capitalist convinces himself that it is he who has created wealth, capital, when he sells an article for more than it cost him. But in actual fact wealth is not created at the time when a commodity is sold but when it is produced. It is true that it is only when he sells an article and gets paid for it that the capitalist can lay his hands on the excess value - that portion that was not paid to the worker. But this value was already *contained in the product itself* before it was marketed. The real issue is not whether the accumulation of capital is "wrong"-for capital is an essential element of progress-but who owns it, who controls it, and for whose benefit it is to be used. The relatively small group of capitalists who developed British industry had no doubts as to the answers. The capital belonged to them, would be controlled by them and would benefit them. This was, as they saw it, the natural law of things. It never occurred to them to question it.

* *

The Development of Foreign Markets

From the sixteenth century Britain had recognized the importance of the seas as her main trade highway, and had thereafter built a powerful fleet of merchant and war ships. The aim was trade, and particularly trade which exploited the profitability of cheap labor in the overseas territories. There was the slave trade, organized as a "business-like" operation, in which the British ships plied the "triangle" of trade. The ships transported slaves from Africa to America, carried tobacco and cotton from America to Bristol and Liverpool, and then returned with manufactured goods (including guns, whiskey and Bibles) to the African ports. There were also the products of the East which were handled by the East India Company-a powerful government organ in its own right.

Though the British took the lead in expanding their foreign markets, there was nevertheless a continuous bitter rivalry among the newly industrialized powers. The French, the Germans, the Belgians, the Dutch, as well as the British, were faced with the same problem (factories able to produce more goods than could be sold at home) and all were seeking the same solutions. The wars between France and Britain from 1792 to 1815 were essentially a struggle for markets and for sources of raw material which could be obtained at the least possible cost through the use of cheap labor.

The century from Britain's victory over France at Waterloo in 1815 to the start of World War I in 1914, the century during which Britain exercised to the highest degree world-wide power and plundered the wealth of other nations most successfully, is often referred to as a peaceful period.

Pax Britannica it is often called. It was a century almost continuous strife. Only by the use of aggressive military force was Britain able to seize one after the other, her overseas possessions.

1814 British Guiana
 1816 Gambia, Sikkim
 1819 Singapore
 1821 The Gold Coast
 1826 Assam
 1833 Falkland Islands
 1839 Aden
 1840 New Zealand
 1841 Hong Kong
 1842 Natal, Sind
 1846 North Borneo
 1849 The Punjab
 1852 Burma
 1853 Nagpur
 1854 Baluchistan
 1861 Nigeria
 1868 Basutoland
 1874 Fiji
 1878 Cyprus
 1882 Egypt
 1884 Somaliland
 1887 Zululand
 1888 Southern Rhodesia, Sarawak
 1890 Kenya, Zanzibar
 1891 Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland
 1894 Uganda
 1900 Transvaal, Orange Free State, Tonga
 1906 Swaziland

The West Indies, India, Australia, Ceylon, Mauritius and part of North America were already colonized, and with the defeat of the French, Britain had assumed control over large areas of the North American continent. That was only the start. Here is the timetable of British penetration into almost every corner of the world during this century of "**peace.**"

There were only fifteen years in that century when Britain was not engaged in some bloody military struggle. So much for **Pax Britannica!**

* *

The development of Britain's global system of exploitation would have been impossible if the small group with capital had not learned to pool their resources, to gather together, to concentrate, to centralize large reserves of money—the capital that was never rightfully theirs in the first place.

Because of the volume of her trade, London became the financial center of the world. Merchant bankers combined the role of both merchants and bankers. A network of credit agencies was established throughout the empire whose sole purpose was to encourage British investments and trade and to increase profits. Branches of London banks were set up in all colonial territories. It was *capital* that enabled the factories and ships to be built, credits to be extended to cover purchases, the necessary reserves to be built up for insurance. At certain moments the immediate availability of large sums of money enabled the British to jump ahead of others. When, for example, the British Government heard that financial control of the Suez Canal could be seized (it was then owned by the French) if 4 million pounds were found immediately, the Government turned to the bankers and the money was provided overnight.

Those making commodities and selling them abroad, the bankers making money by extending credit, the insurance companies, the shipping companies, the entrepreneurs were not of course engaging in their activities for the "glory of empire" or "to bring civilization to the backward people" --this was merely the rhetoric. They were out for themselves they were out for **profit**. And they made it. The empire, this intricate, complex system which was using the cheap labor in

Britain and the still cheaper labor in the colonies as means of amassing wealth, seemed foolproof. Outwardly it gave every appearance of stability and strength. Yet, even as it grew, there were intimations that the system contained its own built-in contradictions which must sooner or later prove fatal. But before we examine the reasons why Britain lost her position of supremacy, we must discuss the question often raised in justification of the system, of whether-in spite of the unspeakable miseries it brought to generations of the working people-the industrial revolution and the rise British imperialism brought with it compensating advantages and a general advance in the conditions of mankind.

* *

Bourgeois Democracy

After decades of prolonged and bitter struggle the working class in Britain did secure some political and social rights. Workers finally forced the industrialists and government to legalize trade unions; maximum working hours were set, the franchise was gradually extended; political parties began to be formed. Although the newly organized power of the workers brought some gains, the power structure remained essentially unaltered, as it is even today.

Bourgeois democracy is a form of class rule; it provides the appearance of democracy without its substance. It is an effective screen behind which class rule can continue. After a century and a half of "democracy," power and wealth still remain in the hands of a very small group within the British population. The great mass of workers are still being denied the wealth that they produce. Most of the "freedoms" that were won through their struggles are freedoms in form only and have no functional reality. (Anyone is "free" to start an independent newspaper-if he has a million pounds to do it with. Anyone is "free" to start his own business --if he has 20 thousand pounds in the bank.)* Within Britain's bourgeois democracy there still exist today grotesque and deep-seated inequalities --in educational opportunities, in wealth, in social status, in treatment before the law.

But what about the advances (such as the legalization of trade unions) won only after the most bitter struggle by the workers of Britain, the United States and other industrially advanced capitalist countries? These advances --and they were advances-- must be seen for what they really are. It is one of the hideous ironies of

*Henry J. Kaiser once remarked somewhat ruefully, "It cost me \$34 million to find out that I was too poor to get into the automobile manufacturing business."

capitalism that gains achieved by one section of the working class are paid for by another section. Capitalists, finding that the higher wages they were forced to give the workers at home to avoid revolt reduced their profits, went abroad and there, with total ruthlessness, systematically stole the land and destroyed the primitive self-sufficiency of colonial peoples, driving them (much as was done in the enclosure movement in England) into the arms of the "free labor" market. From there they could be recruited for work in the mines and the plantations at wages that barely kept them alive. In other words, the amelioration of the sufferings of the workers at home led to the increase of the sufferings of the workers in the colonies. Such is the relentless mathematics of imperialism.

Viewed within the context of a single country the British working people did, as in the United States, improve their conditions through their struggles. But if one takes not a regional view but considers the working class as a whole --the hundreds of millions in the poorer countries the surplus value of whose labor works its way through the world-wide apparatus of imperialism --one must see that the so-called "bourgeois democracy" has brought no improvement, amelioration of conditions, but rather an *increase* of repression.

The Fate of the Parasite

The Fate of the Parasite

Capital has no loyalty but to itself. It follows its own built-in rules. It will at times for tactical reasons appear to give some consideration to other factors than its own immediate purposes, but in the end it will seek its own advantage regard-less of more general social consequences. Capitalists were not concerned with the appalling conditions they imposed on the working people of Britain as long as they were able to extract from them high profits; nor with the slavery, or near-slavery, they imposed on the people overseas. As the wealthier class accumulated capital, they found lending their capital abroad or investing it in overseas enterprises to be more profitable than investing in Britain herself. Especially toward the end of the century the *export of capital* (which is characteristic of imperialism) became as important to the British economy as the export of British goods.

On the eve of World War I, Britain's foreign investment represented one-quarter of Britain's total national assets. One-half of Britain's annual savings were being placed -abroad. This exported capital brought in huge annual revenues in the form of interest and profits, but it also brought consequences which were detrimental to the economy as a whole. Britain in this sense had become a parasite, drawing its nourishment from the toil of millions overseas. Capital that should have been invested to keep factories in Britain up-to-date went abroad where the returns were greater. Inevitably Britain's industrial plant began to suffer and her manufacturers were less and less able to produce goods in competition with other countries.

By 1870 Britain's industrial monopoly was lost. Germany and the United States, especially, were not ready to see Britain's position of supremacy continue unchallenged. Rising later on the industrial scene, they could take advantage of more advanced technology, more modern factories, and little by little these

countries began to out-produce and undersell Britain. Britain was saddled with old machinery and cheap labor scattered in distant colonies, while a growing imperialist rival, the United States, used "free" wage labor and slavery (a "colony" much more conveniently placed within her own territory) to amass sufficient capital eventually to render British factories obsolete.

On the eve of World War I Britain was still very powerful. The empire at that time consisted of *fifty-five countries, 12 million square miles of territory, over 400 million people*. The British navy was the most powerful in the world, and British merchant ships represented *50 per cent of the world's tonnage*. The pound was the currency against which all other currencies were measured. But both the United States and Germany had out-stripped British industrial production, and Germany was challenging Britain's naval supremacy on the high seas.

In Germany Britain saw still another threat.

For several centuries Britain had realized that she would become vulnerable if ever Europe was unified under a single power. Britain had already fought three major continental wars to prevent such unification. She had fought Philip of Spain, Louis of France and Napoleon. Now, in 1914, she felt herself threatened again. Not only was Germany encroaching on Britain's commercial position overseas, but, with plans for a huge expansion of naval forces, her supremacy on the seas. Added to these fears was the possibility that if Germany were victorious in another war she might gain power over all of continental Europe.

Britain had no choice. Though in an already weakened position, Britain and her empire had to turn to meet this challenge in the first of two prolonged, destructive, costly and bloody wars. Britain was on the winning side of both, but they brought to an end her position of world Supremacy*

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Every empire at the height of its success has appeared indestructible and permanent. With such wealth and massive power at its disposal, such sophistication and administrative experience in its leadership, why should it ever be eclipsed? Yet within every empire there are built-in antagonisms which make its eventual decline inevitable. Today world supremacy of the United States appears as unassailable as did that of Britain at the height of her imperial might. But America's present power and wealth cannot in any conceivable way prevent her economy from declining. For this very power and wealth, as we shall see later in this book, require the continued economic enslavement of other peoples and these peoples (and not only in the poor countries) are no longer prepared to submit.

* Just how quickly Britain's military power was supplanted can be seen by the decline of her naval forces. Until after World War I the British navy was supreme; by 1922, under the Washington Treaty, she "granted" equality of naval strength to the United States. For a short period in the British navy was down to a total active strength of one cruiser four destroyers.

All empires rise and fall, and the American empire be no exception. As the decline of Britain shows us, when empires begin to crumble they may crumble fast.

CHAPTER IX

The Satellization of the Rich (pages 207-215)

There is no immediate economic answer to the American invasion of Europe while America has its own *Fifth Column*, the capitalists, who are only too ready to sell the pass for a bit of cash; but sooner or later there will be a *political* answer. . . . It will come in Europe as a result of a significant number of individuals realizing that the problem is not the "satellization" of Europe by the American economy (or competing with it on its own terms as J.-J. Servan-Schreiber suggests in his book, *The American Challenge*). For capitalism is not only faced with an objective economic crisis, but a crisis *within the consciousness of man himself*. The increasing mechanization and dehumanization of man's experience and the identification of technological progress with progress have stripped man of his individuality. Man can no longer express himself in his work, and is less and less able to shape his life in accordance with his own choices. For Europe to "Americanize" itself would be only to plunge into the same extremity of social conflicts and lawlessness that the United States is facing today.

The answer for Europe, as we hope to show in a later chapter, is to extricate itself from the bondage of a system that is certainly not meeting the human needs of its victims, nor even of those who are supposedly benefitting from it most.

* *

This chapter would not be complete without some mention of what the British choose to call their "special relationship" with the United States. There still lingers in the minds of many British people a romantic notion that between the United States and themselves there exists a strong bond of friendship. The United States is pictured as a country essentially democratic progressive, closely knit to Britain by ties of blood, language and common ideas of law, and sharing many similar attitudes to the problems of the world. The United States being presented to British people as being fundamentally friendly and helpful in spite of occasional frictions which, the British people say to themselves, are the kind of minor disagreements that "occur in any family." Many of these ideas about America --its democracy, its attachment to peace and aversion to militarism and bureaucracy, and its special regard for Britain as the "mother country"-- derive from a much earlier era. They have no validity whatever today. But these are attitudes which help America achieve its imperialist aims, namely, to use Britain, to control as much as necessary, Britain's international

policies without this becoming too obvious, and to take over any British enterprises which might be profitable to herself. At Potsdam, Britain still figured as one of the "Big Three," but she soon was seen to be a much weaker power than either the United States or the Soviet Union. As other capitalist powers recovered from the war and Britain's relative position weakened still further, Britain aspired to a position of a lesser partner of the United States. Britain did all she could to cultivate this "special relationship" with the United States to conceal as far as possible her own growing weakness. But this role too was lost. When Kennedy became President in 1960 he made it clear that Britain was to be treated as no better than one capitalist country among a number and all were expected to toe the American line. If anything the United States began to regard West Germany, rather than Britain, as America's most useful junior partner. After World War II, with all her allies (who were also her potential rivals) impoverished, the United States deliberately and consciously set out to take over global power--largely at Britain's expense. Canada, with 70 per cent or more of her industry acquired by the United States, was pulled into the U.S. orbit; Australia and New Zealand were linked to the United States in the military ANZUS Pact, from which Britain was ostentatiously excluded; Britain was displaced in the Middle East as the dominant imperialist power; in 1949 the U.S. forced a 30 per cent devaluation of Sterling and insisted on the loosening of British exchange and trade controls in order to facilitate her commercial economic penetration. No one saw and expressed more clearly the United States' global ambitions than Mao Tse-tung. In August 1946 --, three years before the successful conclusion of the Chinese Revolution --he talked to the American journalist Louise Strong. This was at the start of the United States' cold war against the Soviet Union. In the course of this conversation Mao said:

There are two aspects to the propaganda about an anti-Soviet war. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is indeed preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current propaganda about an anti-Soviet war . . . is political preparation for such a war. On the other hand, the propaganda is a smokescreen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover many actual contradictions immediately confronting U.S. imperialism. There are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people, and the contradictions of U.S. imperialism with other capitalist countries and with the colonial and semi-colonial countries Both Hitler and his partners, Japanese warlords, used anti-Soviet slogans for a long as a pretext for enslavement of the people at home and aggression against other countries. Now the U.S. reactionaries are acting in exactly the same way.

The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific the United States now controls areas larger than all the British spheres of influence there put together; it controls Japan, that part of China under Kuomintang rule, Korea and the South Pacific. It has long controlled Central and South America. It seeks also to control the whole British Empire and Western Europe. Using various pretexts the United States is

making large-scale military arrangements and setting up military bases in many countries. The U.S. reactionaries say that the military bases they have set up and are preparing to set up all over the world are directed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. At present, however, it is not the Soviet Union but the countries in which these military bases are located that are the first to suffer U.S. aggression.

Despite all the efforts and apparent successes of the Americans, the balance of forces on a world scale since the end of the war have swung against them.

First, their relative economic preponderance has declined. While in 1945 America's industrial output was twice that of all the other capitalist countries, today the others together equal hers; and the socialist countries, which from 1949 have included China, account for nearly one-third of total world output.

In spite of the United States' relatively declining global power the British ruling class continued to seek support from the United States. American support meant for them, concretely, not merely loans and supplies but also the deployment of American forces in appropriate areas. This is why the British after the war not only connived at American cold war propaganda but helped to promote it. The cold war was a pretext for spreading American power over the world.

To some extent the British imperialist policy worked as they expected. They received financial and some political and military support from America. But British political influence was downgraded. The Suez attack in 1956 was a milestone on this road of British decline. It was the last attempt on the part of Britain to act independently of the United States. She was quickly brought to heel. The lesson sank in. Since Suez the British ruling class has never ventured to challenge the Americans on any major question.

This gives rise to a fundamental political question: to what extent is there today a separation between British and American imperialism? Are the two so closely linked that for all essential political purposes they are inseparable? Who is the main enemy of the British people today? British imperialism? American imperialism? The two jointly? The close ties between the British imperialists and American imperialism are seen more and more clearly as time goes on. Each successive British government now obeys the Americans with complete servility. They talk of long-term policies to strengthen Britain but their actual short-term policies of continued overseas spending and domestic deflation make Britain weaker not stronger. The help that the British Government is being given by other imperialist powers is extended on terms that ensure that no change in Britain's policies can be made, and hence Britain's decline is accentuated. The position of the British ruling class is dependent on the closest possible collaboration with American imperialism and they will do all they can to maintain it.

Although American direct investment in the United Kingdom has grown, the total volume of U.S. investment is less significant than its character. American influence in United Kingdom is based not so much on direct investment as on the way U.S. interests have interlocked themselves with British. For example, the British and

American *oil companies* act in many ways as a joint international cartel; there are many links in *chemicals, non-ferrous metals, machinery, consumer goods* and so on... There is very close collaboration between the "City" and the United States over *banking, insurance and investment*.

The out-and-out collaborators with U.S. imperialism, those committed to an unshakable alliance with the United States, are a relatively small number of the biggest capitalists. They are small but extremely powerful.

On the other hand other British interests feel themselves directly and immediately challenged by America and anxious to resist its control before it is too late. Two examples are the British *aircraft* and *automation* industries. Other British groups which are predominantly concerned with overseas trade tend to collaborate with the Americans in the belief that they can obtain support which, on balance, is worthwhile. Many capitalists, including smaller industrial concerns, are fearful of American competition not merely in overseas markets but in their share of the United Kingdom market itself. For example, drugs, toiletry and cosmetics, food processing, some non-ferrous metals and so forth.

But what is the position of the British worker?

Great numbers of the British people already have strong feelings against United States' domination. These feelings are given little or no expression by any of the political parties. A very wide section of the British people, however, for many different reasons and with differing degrees of understanding, realize that Britain must resist the increasing United States dominance over her affairs. Particularly those who want to see a genuine socialism established in Britain must realize that this is impossible until Britain can settle her future free from outside interference. A great task at this stage for the British people is to build up a wide alliance of those who stand for British national independence and a resistance to American imperialism and its British partners.

* *

Those who still cling, in spite of all the evidence, to the comfortable belief that the United States is Britain's "friend" should read a report written by Mr. Richard Neustadt for circulation among official circles in Washington which was printed in the *New Left Review* in their September-October 1968 issue. Neustadt was a presidential adviser to both President Kennedy and President Johnson. He was sent to Britain shortly before the Labour Government took office to assess what their reactions would be in regard to the Multilateral Nuclear Force policy which was then being pushed by Washington. This report reflects clearly the attitude of patronizing contempt with which Washington views British influence and power and how cynically they view their relationship with the British political leaders. Talking, for instance, of a forthcoming visit of Mr. Wilson to Washington, Neustadt wrote:

As Prime Minister I would expect him to arrive in Washington with recollections of the Anglo-American relationship and hopefully his own personal relationship which are quite different from perceptions of reality held by many American officials. Numbers of things can be done on the cheap to avoid shocking his sensibilities. For one, the President might ask his advice on the short list of replacements for [Ambassador] David Bruce. For another Averell Harriman might figure prominently among his hosts. If these don't serve there are sure to be others. They are worth thought and attention.

These suggestions all rest on the one underlying premise that it will be worth our while to ease the path for Wilson, pay him a good price, leave him no possible excuse we can foresee for failing to proceed toward MLF in company with us and with the Germans . . . if we get over this hurdle in good style the stage will be well set ... for effective Anglo-American relations. I can think of nothing likelier to speed a Labour Government's approach toward the European and Atlantic attitudes we favor, than productive, firm relations both with Washington and Bonn.

The "royal reception" of Mr. Wilson on one of his more recent visits with an honor guard and all the trappings on the white House lawn, indicates that the American officials are still looking for things "that can be done on the cheap to avoid shocking his sensibilities."

This is about all that is left of Britain's "special relationship" with the United States.

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Subject: from ANOTHER CENTURY OF WAR, chap 2

Chapter 2

The Middle East: The Legacies of Failure

Oil has not been the sole factor in guiding the U.S.' foreign policy in the Middle East, but free access to the region's enormous reserves--now about two-thirds of the world's known supply--has been its most consistent and overriding concern. Other considerations have at various times been important, of course, but they have simply not been of the same significance. The events of September 11 were the direct results of over fifty years of American involvement in the region, the consequences of actions and policies that have destabilized the arc of nations extending from the Mediterranean to South Asia. Today we live with these outcomes. The United States has its oil but the region is profoundly troubled--and so is the entire world.

The Middle East was the region where the intrinsic ambiguities of its relationship to Great Britain, its closest military and ideological ally, shaped all of the U.S.' actions, because although it sought not to weaken Britain either economically or militarily--on the contrary, it loaned England huge sums after August 1945 precisely because it wanted a barrier to Soviet influence ranging from Europe to the Indian Ocean--it also wanted far greater control over the region's oil reserves.

Objectively the two nations were the sole rivals for the single most important ingredient in a modern industrial society, but the Truman Administration believed it was very much to the U.S.' interest that the British continue their military role in the region; if they did not police it then Washington would have to fill the vacuum. Elements of genuine friendship as well as competition characterized its actions throughout the period ending about 1956, when the two nations irrevocably parted ways in the region. But domestic political pressures--especially from ambitious oil companies and the powerful pro-Zionist lobby--and the formal American ideological commitment to the "Open Door" principle and the growing need for access to the region's oil made its nominal desire not to weaken the British far more rhetoric than reality.

Ideologically at least, the British had a great deal in common with the U.S. The two nations were rivals for control over the region's oil, and each favored their own clients, but British obstinacy and arrogance made it much easier for America to gradually supplant its dominating role in the area. But Britain could not afford the price of being an imperial power, placing it at a decisive disadvantage in dealing with the Americans. As early as 1946, London asked the U.S. to take over its costly aid to the Greek regime and it was in this context that the Truman Doctrine was declared in March 1947 and the domino theory first articulated; aid was also extended to Turkey, and Washington warned that the Middle East, with its "great natural resources," and even Asia, was at stake.

The U.S. even supported the beleaguered British position in Palestine until 1948, where Zionist terrorists cost the British many lives, but the presidential election compelled Truman reluctantly to play an independent role. What the British wanted most was assurances from the State Department that it would not help American oil firms challenge the 1928 "Red Line agreement," which formalized their dominant position--Saudi Arabia excluded--in the Middle East's oil industry.

Events were to show that they were not to get it, either verbally or in reality. Iran and Iraq--setting a precedent that other states in the region also followed--both sought to entice American firms to counterbalance British predominance, and the bait was too tempting. Even though official Washington favored continued collaboration with England, and certainly wanted it after 1948 to assume responsibility for the Middle East's military security, the cooperation it proposed was increasingly on its own terms. But it was not only access to oil that motivated American actions. They also feared a vacuum of power wherever the weakened British empire was capsizing--ranging as far as South Asia--into which an amorphously defined communist influence could enter. Oil provided the context in which the Americans placed their concern over the decline of British power, and thereby accelerated it principally for the nobly-intended sake of geopolitics rather than the profit of American oil firms. The U.S. had been a net exporter of oil before 1939, but by 1946 it was clear it would import an ever-greater share of its petroleum needs--by 1960 it purchased nearly one-fifth of its oil from foreign sources. Even before extensive exploration, in 1946 the Middle Eastern reserves were almost equal to the entire Western Hemisphere's, and its output went up exponentially. By 1950 its reserves were equal to the rest of the world combined--and the British controlled most of it. Everyone knew that the Middle East held the key to the future of the world's oil industry, and it also cost far less than American oil to locate and extract.

The Korean War accelerated the U.S. abandonment of the British. The U.S. concluded that "ultra-nationalists" were the greatest danger and that the British were strengthening their influence by refusing to pay higher royalties--the 50-50 split that U.S. firms had initiated with Venezuela in 1948. The minor communist threat in these nations could be handled with stronger "police controls." What was essential was a British willingness to pay the Arab states greater shares for their oil. Acheson later recalled that "in an unplanned, undesired, and haphazard way" the U.S. supplanted the British in the area. But there was nothing unplanned in the CIA's help to General Naguib el-Hilali's overthrow of King Farouk--a docile British puppet--in July 1952, which brought Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser to power. The U.S. agents dealing with Nasser directly sympathized with his commitment to a period of discipline to purge Egypt of its negative inheritances--and stifle whatever communists existed. The single most important British bastion, through which its canal to its Asian empire flowed, now was under American influence.

In Iran, however, the U.S. decided to openly undercut the British, who controlled the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, as well as prevent the nationalist Mohammed Mossadegh from coming to power. Mossadegh, who headed the crucial committee of the Majlis (parliament) and was the most visible exponent of the popular proposal for nationalizing the AOIC, was European-educated and played to the urban middle classes. While he was opportunistic (politicians everywhere suffer from this malady) and willing to utilize the Communist Tudeh Party when useful, he was also an anti-communist who was eager to modernize Iran in a vague but fairly conventional bourgeois fashion. The Americans favored the young Shah, who courted them to offset the British and Russians and who shared their utter dislike of Mossadegh's nationalism. Since Iran was virtually bankrupt, and the British paid 10-12 percent royalties while the U.S. firms agreed to a 50-50 split in neighboring Saudi Arabia in 1950, the die was cast. The American ambassador in Teheran thought the British were "self-righteous and arrogant." In early 1951 they reluctantly agreed to 50-50 but it was too late; the Majlis nationalized the AIOC in March, and Mossadegh became prime minister the following month.

While the Pentagon feared the change might increase Soviet influence, the State Department at first encouraged Mossadegh's intransigence, and

the British with ample reason thought the Americans were openly undermining their position. During 1952, however, the U.S. wavered because the Mossadegh government created mounting economic disorder and the Communists became stronger; in July and again in November Washington offered Iran a \$100 million advance if it permitted U.S. firms to handle its oil, but the British were able to block it. Mossadegh, who also feared growing turmoil and was strongly anti-Soviet, was naively convinced he could play Britain against America to obtain his goals. He was sorely naïve! By this time the U.S. saw Iran mainly as a dangerous island of instability which the Soviets could exploit, while the British were worried principally about the future of the Empire and their payments balances--oil.

When Eisenhower became president in January 1953 he authorized the CIA to cooperate with a British plan to overthrow Mossadegh. London successfully stressed the communist danger, but Washington also decided that it would take over the once-crucial British role. The following August, despite mishaps which almost produced failure, the Shah was installed as a virtual dictator. Working under a deadline to force the British hand, the Iranians hired the former head of Texaco to advise them, while the official American representative to the renewed oil negotiations was a former consultant to major American oil companies. Five major U.S. firms got 40 percent of the new company; even the Shah disliked the new terms but the British were the major losers. By far the most important problem that America confronted in the Middle East was not the Soviet Union but its relations with England, for not only were the Communist parties inconsequential but the region's social and political dynamics were far more complex than elsewhere. The British were removed step-by-step but the labyrinthine cultural and political factors which were playing itself out far transcended America's capacity to comprehend, much less control.

In Iran, which was of crucial importance both strategically and economically, the U.S. opposed and overthrew a nationalist, largely middle-class movement which was neither authoritarian or traditionalist. These nationalists may have done so inefficiently, but they were more likely than any of the alternatives to modernize the nation. In Iran the U.S. placed all of its bets on the Shah, and thereby made a grievous error. Elsewhere in the Persian Gulf the U.S. supported feudal and authoritarian regimes, all strongly traditionalist. American policy was not merely convoluted but it was entirely opportunist, and the British leaders who later wrote memoirs bitterly portrayed the Americans as anti-British; in fact they were more likely simply pro-American. What was crucial in the longer run was that secular movements of political, social, and ideological change were either repressed--and here the American role was crucial in buttressing traditionalist regimes--or they discredited themselves. It meant that rebellion and discontent throughout the Middle East increasingly over the decades took fundamentalist Islamic forms and adapted its ideologies accordingly. Some were syncretic and quite irrational but they had a broader mass appeal than modernist and middle-class ideologies, and most were deadly serious in their fanaticism. Terrorism was one of the outcomes.

The U.S. replaced Britain only insofar as control over oil was concerned, but otherwise there was almost no improvement in the fate of the people or the kinds of political orders that controlled them. The large majority of people in the Middle East needed and often desired elementary social services and rights, but anyone who spoke for their cause was likely to be treated as a subversive. Only the mosque was an acceptable locale for dissent. Instead of developing gradually politically or ideologically, the region remained locked in ignorance and authoritarianism, and repression became the rule--with American endorsement of most of it. There were some exceptions, of course, but they were not sufficient to avert the crisis that is wracking the U.S.

and the Middle East today.

The United States Traumatizes the Region

But the U.S. was convinced it had to confront the nationalism which spread throughout much of the Middle East after the late 1940s, and this it did unevenly and often uncomfortably. By 1962 five countries were ruled by the military, who comprised the large majority of the new leaders. That they were anti-British was axiomatic, but Marxism's influence was negligible, and the politically astute men who led these movements knew how to play on Cold War rivalries to optimize the military and economic aid they received from both sides. Syncretic ideologies were the rule, and while they were opposed to Islamic traditionalism and monarchies they also tended to be inefficient, unstable, and corrupt.

In Egypt the U.S. supported Nasser, who became formal head of the nation in November 1954 and spent the next two years trying to consolidate his precarious domestic political position. Nasser played on divisions among American decision makers but they all had no doubt he was, in his own way, staunchly anti-Soviet. The Saudis gave him financial support; Nasser merely attempted to get the West and Russians, as British foreign secretary Harold Macmillan later put it, "to bid up each other's price." Nasser miscalculated and alienated the U.S. in May 1956 by recognizing Communist China, and two months later Washington canceled an offer to loan Egypt money to build the Aswan dam. Nasser then seized and nationalized the Suez canal at the end of July, Britain's lifeline to the Persian Gulf and its former empire. Britain's leaders were certain then and later that the Eisenhower Administration had encouraged their plans to invade Egypt in conjunction with the French and Israelis, but in fact the U.S. favored a negotiated resolution of the dispute--there was a presidential election in November. The attack on Egypt began the end of October, and the U.S. immediately opposed it. The alliance with Britain and France, it stated clearly, was purely European; at the beginning of December, bowing to the U.S. working through the UN, they ignominiously withdrew from Egypt. The once-dominant British role in the vast region ended with it. The result was a vacuum and a vastly increased American role. In January 1957 Eisenhower proclaimed his doctrine that the U.S. was ready to protect any country requesting aid "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism," a vague formulation that created altogether new problems for the U.S. Lebanon, Syria, Jordan--the region was destabilized as never before, and during 1956-65 U.S. military forces greatly increased their interventions in the region--for a total of thirty-nine from 1946 through 1975. Some of these were huge in scale. In the case of Lebanon in July 1958, 14,000 troops equipped with atomic artillery landed. Now its credibility was at stake in a far more unstable political environment than the region had ever experienced--officers overthrew the pro-British Iraqi monarchy at the same time. No Middle East nation, then or thereafter, ever became communist, and the word itself was meaningless in the regional context. Not only American spokesmen abused it; in March 1959 Nasser accused the officers ruling Iraq of introducing "a Communist reign of terror."

The problem, which many American officials admitted in private, was that Arab political complexities and changes transcended the U.S.' ability to master them, and that it might be just as much a victim of the region's social and political dynamics as the British. But although Congress over Eisenhower's and Dulles' objections gave Israel modest sums of economic aid in the form of grants and loans, largely because of the Zionist bloc's skill in mobilizing Congress' ethnic voting coalition and the Democrats, the U.S. had managed to avert the shoals of the Arab-Israeli conflict for well over a decade. It also banned arms deliveries to Israel and Jordan. But Israel's lesser importance at this time was due principally to the indifference of Middle Eastern states

after 1949 to the Palestinian Arab cause, which was to change. Nothing lay before the U.S. save far deeper troubles.

Those difficulties began in the spring of 1967 and culminated in June, when Israel embarked on its "Six Days War" and conquered the remainder of pre-1948 Palestine as well as Syria's Golan Heights. Israel's actions were in large part a response to demagogic rivalries among the Arab states, which included Syrian shelling of Israel from the Golan, an Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, and other clear provocations. Guerrilla activity during preceding years was only a nuisance to the Israelis but it provided them a convenient excuse to expand their territorial control over pre-1948 Palestine--plus the Golan. The war ended because of Moscow's threats and a tense, potentially very dangerous U.S.-Soviet naval standoff. But it also initiated a regional arms race which allowed the Soviets, for the first time, to play a major role in the area. In January 1968 U.S. lifted its embargo and began massive arms aid to Israel, reaching \$600 million in 1971 (seven times the amount as under the entire Johnson Administration) and over \$2 billion in 1973--making Israel thereafter the leading recipient of its arms aid from that time onwards. Today it still receives \$2 billion in free American arms aid. Most of the Arab world, quite understandably, has since identified Israel and the U.S. as one.

The British decision in December 1967 to withdraw all its forces from the Persian Gulf region by the end of 1971 left the U.S. alone, with immense obligations, at a time it was deeply involved in the Vietnam War and scarcely in a position to fill the vacuum. American relations with Israel had been friendly but discreet until then, but Washington began to look for surrogates or proxies that could help it create barriers to the Soviet Union--who was unwilling to employ its own troops but ready to heavily arm states such as Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. The CIA before the June 1967 war told the various administrations that Israel could defeat their neighbors even if they combined to fight together. The State Department warned that Arab nationalism was a greater threat than the USSR, but successive administrations ignored its opinion. Israel and Iran, and later Saudi Arabia, were designated the U.S.' closest allies in the region, where five major American firms controlled half the entire oil output at a time that both the demand and price of oil was rising. Washington believed its reliance on surrogates was a solution to its regional challenges when in reality it only increased its problems. It now had to defend and stabilize its proxies, expanding its definition of credibility to include their security. In doing so it further enflamed Arab nationalism. From this point onwards, however, Washington subordinated all regional issues to what it believed was an overriding Soviet-American rivalry. Israel increasingly held a de facto veto over American policy on the Palestine Arab question. When on October 6, 1973 the Egyptians overwhelmed a completely surprised Israeli army in Sinai, America united with the Russians in the UN to end the fighting. But it still regarded the USSR as its main enemy in the region rather than as a victim of the Arab world's cynical willingness to exploit it for arms. Not a single communist state was established in the region, and it should have been perfectly obvious that Arab nationalism--which united the virtually medieval Saudis and secular Arabs--was far more potent than radicalism. Of far greater and enduring importance was a massive Saudi and Gulf oil boycott which increased oil prices by 1979 to almost twenty times the 1970 level and had immense repercussions on the world economy.

After 1967, the Arab-Israeli conflict guaranteed that anti-Americanism would only intensify. The quickening cycle of change and crisis, combined with its crucial importance as supplier of the world's oil, meant that the region would increasingly frustrate the U.S. and that it, in turn, would alienate the Arab world. Given the vast responsibilities in the area it decided to assume, and its need to depend upon surrogate regimes, only crises lay before it.

America's Failure: the Iran Crisis

Iran was to confirm the fact that the U.S. was no stronger than its proxies. Assuming Britain's lucrative rights but complex responsibilities in Iran was one of the most crucial actions the America was to take in the Middle East. It eliminated a secular, middle class nationalism but it had no idea whatsoever that it would also have to confront profound changes in that nation. The U.S. overthrew those who favored modernizing options and left a resurgent Muslim fundamentalism as the status quo's main opponent. No other nation in the Middle East better illustrated the risks to the U.S. when it depended on proxies to protect its interests.

The Shah was anti-British but he understood thoroughly America's geopolitical goals in the region and how he might exploit them to reinforce his power. He relied on the military to sustain his regime, and over time his police also became crucial--especially after 1962, when he assumed virtually total power. He bypassed the nationalist middle classes and intelligentsia, and during the early 1960s some American officials worried that he was politically too isolated. By introducing an inept and corruptly managed land reform intended to end virtual feudalism in many areas, he instead added to the rural society's problems and drove many peasants into the cities. By 1963 his main opposition came from the traditionalist, fundamentalist Shiite religious leaders, the mullahs, of whom Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was the most important; the Shah was not a Shiite. Riots in the major cities in the summer of 1963 resulted in over a thousand deaths and increasing repression, which became the Shah's way of retaining power--and after 1971 the CIA and Israeli Mossad helped train Savak, his dreaded security organization. Some thousands filled Iranian prisons and the press and media, universities, and the like were tightly controlled. Washington depended on the Shah, and its reliance on him increased after 1967 when the British decided to leave the Gulf.

The Shah courted the Americans successfully but he also wanted greater oil revenues and more sophisticated arms, and he even threatened to turn to the USSR if he could not buy them from the U.S. He shrewdly encouraged America's geopolitical visions and fears for the region, but he also increased his oil revenues until 1976. He even announced in early 1973 that he would not renew the 1954 oil agreement when it expired in 1979--in effect, nationalizing oil and following in Mossadegh's footsteps. But he also spent \$20 billion on overpriced American arms during 1970-78, providing a market for one-quarter of its arms exports. Corruption and repression suffused his regime, and the Shah and his family amassed a huge fortune. Some 7,200 American military personnel and contract employees by 1977 helped service his modern army, but the living standards for the large majority fell. The visible class differences helped to traumatize the people further.

There was no class basis for the Shah's regime, only the army and its satraps--and their ultra-modern equipment. In September 1978 the CIA predicted the Shah would remain in office over the next decade, even though bloody confrontations between Muslims and the police had begun earlier that year. In the fall of 1978 the opposition to the Shah took to the streets, and the army learned it could not depend on its poorly paid conscripts from the villages. It took only several months for the army to disintegrate. The rest was certain. The Shah went into exile in January 1979, and on February 5th Khomeini took power and Iran became an Islamic republic. It was a major, total defeat for American policy in the Middle East, the most important it has ever experienced. The Carter Administration's intense dissatisfaction turned to fury when Iran's new leaders seized fifty-two Americans working in the Embassy the following November. Never had the U.S. suffered such humiliation, and the following January it proclaimed the "Carter Doctrine," which threatened any "outside force" seeking "to gain control of the Persian Gulf region" with an unspecified but possibly nuclear response anywhere

in the world should America's "vital interests" be attacked. The Carter Doctrine was not a policy but an impotent and pathetic stance; the problem was not the Soviet Union but a very militant Islamic movement. Communism was irrelevant, and a botched American effort in April 1980 to free the hostages only added to its discomfort. Having pushed the British out and taken on the immense task of seeking to control the Middle East, the U.S. had no means for doing so. Like Britain before it, it now confronted the region's immense complexities.

The Reagan Administration picked up the gauntlet Iran had thrown down, and its chosen instrument was the secular Saddam Hussein, who became the virtual dictator of Iraq in July 1979. Indeed, he had even begun his career with vaguely socialist pretensions, which were then in vogue among officers, but he was ultimately completely opportunistic. Power, not ideology, was his sole concern. He not only detested Islamic fundamentalism but also had ample reasons, going back to the 1960s when Iran began to supply Kurdish dissidents with arms and seized strategic Iraqi islands in 1971 (leading to a break in diplomatic relations), to consider Iran an enemy. The U.S., beginning under Carter, encouraged Saddam to confront the Iranian bullies, who were over-armed with American weapons, by secretly giving Iraq false intelligence on alleged Iranian weaknesses. In the sordid war that followed, successive American administrations also gave Iran some assistance, and indeed the CIA helped to fund U.S. aid to the contras in Nicaragua by secretly selling arms to Iran via Israel, but most of its effort went to help Iraq--and Saddam Hussein. But the U.S. helped Iran enough to protract the war, and proved a devious ally to both sides. Iraq was set-up to fight a war it could not win, one that ended by benefiting only the U.S., its reactionary neighbors, and arms merchants all over the world. Washington, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia strongly encouraged Saddam to invade Iran in late 1980 in the expectation that Iraq would annex part of Iran and help prevent the charismatic Shiites from extending their influence throughout the region. As then President George Bush put it in early 1992, "As you may remember in history, there was a lot of support for Iraq at the time as a balance to a much more aggressive Iran under Khomeini...." But Iran had much larger manpower and the war took far longer than expected. Iraq borrowed \$95 billion, mainly from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and imported \$42 billion in arms. The U.S. supplied Iraq with intelligence throughout the war, and provided it a total of over \$5 billion in food credits, technology, and industrial products, most of it after it began to use mustard, cyanide and nerve gasses both against the Iranians and dissident Iraqi Kurds. Both sides wrecked each other's refineries, and at the beginning of 1987, with Iran desperate and angry at Kuwait for funding the war, the U.S. put its own flag on Kuwait's tankers and provided its Navy's protection for them, increasing the U.S. warships in the Gulf from six to at least forty by September 1987. Indeed, had they not done so, the Kuwaitis and Saudis threatened to dump their vast holdings of U.S. Treasury bonds. A cease-fire was signed in August 1987, and a tense, disputatious peace has existed since then.

At least 370,000 people died, 262,000 of them Iranians; but Iran claimed 800,000 dead. No one really knows how to measure accurately such horrors. The war cost Iran over \$600 billion directly and in lost oil and export income; Iraq spent almost as much and owed its neighbors vast sums. Both nations were devastated.

The U.S. was Iraq's functional ally and encouraged it to build and utilize a huge army with modern armor, aviation, artillery, and chemical and biological weapons. It did not foresee what was obvious: Saddam could also use his advanced arms in yet other ways. But the profusion of modern arms in so many hands was far more than commerce for arms manufacturers. It also transformed power relations in the Middle East and made the world far more dangerous.

Oil: The Middle East's Stakes

What stakes are involved in the Middle East? Some data is relevant at this point.

The U.S. produced 69 percent of the petroleum it consumed in 1970 but 38 percent in 1996. After the early 1980s its production in absolute terms began falling, and its crude oil imports became even more crucial. From 1960 until 1996 its imports rose at least four times. Most of its imports after 1945 were from Western Hemisphere sources and Nigeria, but the Persian Gulf region supplied 8.8 percent of U.S. imports in 1983 and 22.1 percent in 2000--most of it from Saudi Arabia. For Western Europe and Japan it is far higher. The Persian Gulf in 2000 contained approximately 65 percent of the world's total reserves and about 34 percent of its natural gas reserves. The region has become increasingly important for the entire world economy.

Projections are always subject to correction, some crucial, but domestic U.S. petroleum production until 2020 is expected to remain constant. Its consumption over the period 1998-2020 is projected to rise from 18.9 to 25.8 million barrels daily, and all of this increase must be imported. But the competition for imports will become far more intense, especially from China. The Persian Gulf states will always be eager to sell their oil, but that they already control the single most crucial factor in modern industrial power--and are likely to increase their crucial leverage in the future--is a fact that those in power in Washington are acutely aware. Both the president and the vice president have worked in the oil industry.

The Gulf War and Its Aftermath

No sooner than Iraq's war with Iran had ended than Kuwait began pressing Baghdad for repayment of its huge loans. It also demanded that Iraq abandon its border dispute with Kuwait and it lowered greatly the world price of oil, virtually Iraq's only source of hard currency, by exceeding its OPEC output quota. The Iraqi army occupied Kuwait in August 1990, and it now became its former allies' detested enemy. The U.S., Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia for a decade had pursued a political strategy in the Gulf which was now a consummate failure; it had backfired in a way that was disastrous. They had financed and supported Iraq as a balance to Iran, and to destroy Saddam Hussein's forces was to produce the very outcome it had been American policy to avoid: Iran became the dominant power in the absolutely vital Gulf region, and Iraq's action produced a vacuum that assured that Iran would remain the principal long-term threat to the U.S.' interests.

Washington began planning for war with Iraq no later than the following October, intending to destroy Saddam's elite Republican Guard.

"Operation Desert Storm" began January 17, 1991. Saddam was an astonishingly convenient and stupid enemy who followed the rules of conventional warfare, and over forty-seven days air power largely--but not entirely--decimated his army and the modern equipment the Kuwaitis and Saudis had financed. The 380,000 American soldiers and as many allied forces were used over a much shorter time against 183,000 Iraqis in Kuwait alone; a total military victory came very quickly. Only the Kuwaitis favored the American-led forces driving all the way to Baghdad, which they could have easily done, but its coalition would have disintegrated. Saddam Hussein remains in power after a decade, and Iraq is a pariah state under UN sanctions, still subject to U.S. and British air attacks. Iraq's debts are now astronomical, making it the world's most indebted nation, and it is unlikely they will be fully paid. The United States is his arch-enemy, and believes that he is attempting to develop chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction. He surely had ample help from Western nations in doing so when his target was Iran. If true, and it may be, then he may use them against American interests in ways that cannot be predicted.

Civilian deaths as a result of the U.S.-led war against Iraq are subject to radically different estimates, for there are no accurate census takers of the atrocities over the past century. As many as 33,000

civilians died during the short war and the Kurdish and Shiite rebellions that followed, and estimates of the number of civilians who have died over the past decade as a result of UN-sanctions (which the U.S. has supported more strongly than any nation) on absolutely vital imports of food and medicine range from 100,000 to a half-million. These figures, as shocking as they are, are still much lower than the casualties Iraq inflicted upon Iran with enthusiastic Kuwaiti, Saudi, and American support.

The brief American war with Iraq—so easy in large part because Saddam is an incompetent military strategist—ended the occupation of Kuwait but it created far more important difficulties for the victors, above all Saudi Arabia. For Saudi Arabia is a very troubled and increasingly unstable nation. It is ruled as a result of a 1744 alliance between the Al Saud family, which has held political power since, and the al-Wahhab family, which runs what is the state religion along exceedingly conservative, puritanical lines and is in charge of Islam's holiest sites. This hereditary arrangement is a gross anachronism in every sense. It has left the vast majority of locals, including the increasing proportion of educated males (women have no rights whatsoever and cannot work or even drive), politically impotent. There have been increasingly articulate and important attempts to challenge the monarchy's absolute power, but erstwhile reforms during the 1990s in the form of consultative bodies changed nothing. The ruling family itself (which numbers about 7,000) is divided, the succession unclear, and some parts of it are supporters of dissidents such as bin Laden. The large majority of the labor force is comprised of foreign workers (7 million of the 22 million population), who have no rights, but the majority are Muslims. The per capita income, reflecting the drop in oil revenues, has fallen by almost two-thirds since the early 1980s, and this has also fueled discontent.

There is growing dissatisfaction with the basic political structure, a good part of which has taken religious forms, and it has expanded greatly over the past decades. Indeed, opposition in the guise of religion is the only legally tolerated form of dissent in much of the Arab world, and Islamic purist extremism is to a crucial extent a reflection of this fact. The royal family lives ostentatiously abroad, and there are sharper class distinctions and consciousness than ever. There is now an alternate clergy, but Wahhabism still remains a charismatic religion. In this unstable context, bin Laden has been highly successful in recruiting followers and raising money. With the encouragement of all religious tendencies, at least 12,000 young Saudis went to Afghanistan to fight with the mujahedeen against Soviet troops during the 1980s. Bin Laden, who was very well connected with the elite, was chosen by the head of Saudi intelligence to help command them. It was during the 1980s that the CIA worked closely with the Saudis to fund the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan, and they nearly matched the \$3 billion that the Agency itself spent. Many of bin Laden's wealthy Saudi contacts, motivated by similar religious convictions, a sense of guilt, or the like, continued to fund him over the following decade. They presently include members of the extended royal family unhappy with current trends and the possible succession. The U.S., in any case, welcomed Islamist movements as an antidote to secular leftist groups, which they feared would work with the Soviets, just as it preferred the Shah in Iran to secular middle-class nationalists. The Gulf War brought these tensions to a head, which essentially revolve around the question of how a virtually medieval but very rich society should interact with modern realities, and they have only sharpened since then. Bin Laden proposed that a purely Islamic army, such as he had formed in Afghanistan, could drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait and—above all—defend Saudi Arabia, and that foreigners were not needed on holy Saudi soil. The ruling family preferred that the Americans confront Iraq, but it also increased its purchases of sophisticated

military equipment, a step that divided the elite. For this also meant accepting—for an indefinite duration—a much more visible presence of U.S. troops, along with their rules and conspicuous manners. American military personnel and support in that country peaked at about 30,000 but are now reduced to approximately 5,000, plus a larger number of American civilians to service the ultra-modern Saudi army. Bin Laden could build a following in this heady context, and he especially opposed the stationing of Americans—which led to his being stripped of his citizenship in 1994. He has concocted an inchoate chiliastic and syncretic alternative to the ruling elite and its theology, but his intense hostility to all foreign influences is one that emerges logically from the official Wahhabi doctrine—with which his differences are more of degree than of kind—and resonates sufficiently throughout the nation to provide him with many followers and ample funds. This mixture of theology and rebellion against authority also appealed to many Muslims in other nations and it replaced various socialist notions as the dominant expression of discontent and revolt.

The heart of bin Laden's global network is Saudi Arabia and it explains why the U.S. has gotten far less cooperation from that nation during its war in Afghanistan than it desired. Its rulers know that if the thousands of discontented young men who go to fight jihads in foreign lands stay at home instead many are likely to challenge their authority. In a word, it has exported potential trouble. The regime there knows that if it gives the U.S. everything it asks for there is a serious risk of political turmoil, and it may even be overthrown in the name of Islam. But bin Laden's vision is not confined to one nation but the entire Islamic world, and even if there is not the remotest chance that his vague theocratic notions for it will be realized, al-Qaeda interacts with existing instabilities and grievances and may destabilize various Muslim nations. For bin Laden's primitivist Islamic appeals are very powerful, especially among the young, and many clerics strongly support his anti-foreign rhetoric; he has shown this already in Afghanistan but there are much more important places, where ignorance, injustice, and hunger have created a heady symbiosis of discontent and potential rebellion where the ground is already fertile.

Should Saudi Arabia undergo an Islamic revolution such as bin Laden and those who share his beliefs desire, or the unstable society produce some fundamental changes that challenge the anachronistic political and social order that has existed there for over two centuries, then the strategic and economic consequences for the U.S. will be enormous. Afghanistan's destiny, by comparison, will be of minor consequence. Sooner or later, it is likely to happen.

Meanwhile, the U.S.' political strategy of isolating and imposing sanctions on Iraq, Libya, and Iran because of their alleged links with terrorism has greatly reduced its access to oil, which it will have to import in ever-larger quantities. Germany, France, and Italy, among others, have actively sought to buy oil from these nations, and Russia will sell Iran billions of dollars of arms and finish a giant nuclear power plant there. Iran alone has the world's fifth largest proven oil reserves, and it is especially enticing. At the same time, of course, these NATO members solidarize with the American war against terrorism, which Washington has cast in broad terms to include Iraq, Libya, and Iran among those states that encourage terrorism. Largely because of the pro-Israel lobby in Congress, the U.S. has a law that can even impose penalties on any foreign company that invests more than \$20 million in Iran or Libya, but important American oil firms regard these gestures as counterproductive aids to French and other rivals for the control of oil supplies. Even Vice President Dick Cheney, when he headed the giant oil services company, Halliburton, was opposed to sanctions against Iran, and legal restrictions are hardly enforced, if at all.

The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism reflects in part the failure of

America's efforts in the Middle East. While its position on Israel is the most important single error it made, and it is the one that even its closest friends in the region argue was the origin of terrorism and anti-Americanism, it also conveniently simplifies American policies; there were also other causes for hostility toward the U.S.--and these I have only outlined in this chapter. The Bush Administration acknowledged that strong U.S. support for Israel has alienated even its conservative friends in the area, above all the Saudis, and it surely has made it far more difficult to gain support from Muslim countries for the coalition it alleged it wished to build to fight in Afghanistan and eradicate "terrorism" globally. Even before September 11 it acknowledged that America's bias in favor of Israel was harming it. But it is too late for the U.S. to undo the compounded policy errors of successive administrations over the past 40 years. If it can override the powerful pro-Israel bloc in the Senate and House, which is most doubtful, it may even seek to do so by favoring a Palestinian state or attempting to impose a peace settlement on both sides, but it is unlikely to succeed. Israel is now far too strong militarily and politically, and its leaders will make few, if any, of the essential real concessions that will be required of it. Arafat far too weak and his hold on the Palestinian people is now too contested. Neither Israel's political leaders nor Arafat will commit political suicide among their domestic political constituencies and try to achieve a genuine peace settlement. Both sides are unwilling and unable to act rationally, and it is scarcely a promising situation.

But there are other reasons besides Israel for the strategic and policy impasse the U.S. now confronts. All of its policies in the Middle East have collectively produced a disaster which now threatens to destabilize nations not only crucial to its interests but--and this is infinitely more important--endangers its very security at home and world peace. It made many errors elsewhere, of course, but by encouraging Islam and traditionalism as an alternative to nationalism, and then profoundly alienating the reactionary and repressive regimes that fostered them, the U.S. has now become involved in a conflict from which--temporary military successes notwithstanding--it will only lose. Opinion in the Arab world has been overwhelmingly critical of the U.S.' war in Afghanistan, which its media accurately portray as a form of bullying terrorism and political adventurism quite independent of the Taliban and bin Laden, whom few admire. The opportunism which the U.S. rationalized in the name of anti-communism, which led it to enthusiastically support oppressive regimes, has now created a permanent crisis extending over the Islamic arc reaching from the Mediterranean to South Asia. It is a crisis the U.S. will confront in the decades to come.

THE WASHINGTON REPORT ON MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS

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US Aid: The Lifeblood of Occupation
By Matt Bowles

Israel has maintained an illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Palestinian territories) for 35 years, entrenching an apartheid regime that looks remarkably like the former South African regime. Palestinians are confined into small, noncontiguous bantustans, imposing closures and curfews to control where they go and when, while maintaining control over the natural resources, exploiting Palestinian labor, and prohibiting indigenous economic development.

The Israeli military (IDF) --the third or fourth most powerful army in the world-- routinely uses tanks, Apache helicopter gunships, and F-16 fighter jets (all subsidized by the U.S.) against a population that has no military and none of the protective institutions of a modern state.

All of this, Israel tells its citizens and the international community, is for "Israeli security." The reality, not surprisingly, is that these policies have resulted in a drastic increase in attacks on Israel. These attacks are then used as a pretext for further Israeli incursions into Palestinian areas and more violations of Palestinian human rights which makes Israeli civilians more secure, all of which further entrenches Israel's colonial apartheid regime. Most Americans do not realize the extent to which this is all funded by U.S. aid, nor do they understand the specific economic relationship the U.S. has with Israel and how that differs from other countries.

The aid pipeline

There are at least three ways in which aid to Israel is different from that of any other country. First, since 1982, U.S. aid to Israel has been transferred in one lump sum at the beginning of each fiscal year, which immediately begins to collect interest in U.S. banks. Aid that goes to other countries is disbursed throughout the year in quarterly installments.

Second, Israel is not required to account for specific purchases. Most countries receive aid for very specific purposes and must account for how it is spent. Israel is allowed to place US aid into its general fund, effectively eliminating any distinctions between types of aid. Therefore, U.S. tax-payers are helping to fund an illegal occupation, the expansion of colonial-settlement projects, and gross human rights violations against the Palestinian civilian population.

A third difference is the sheer amount of aid the U.S. gives to Israel, unparalleled in the history of U.S. foreign policy. Israel usually receives roughly one third of the entire foreign aid budget, despite the fact that Israel comprises less than .001 of the world's population and already has one of the world's higher per capita incomes. In other words, Israel, a country of approximately 6 million people, is currently receiving more U.S. aid than all of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean combined when you take out Egypt and Colombia.

This year, the U.S. Congress approved \$2.76 billion in its annual aid package for Israel. The total amount of direct U.S. aid to Israel has been constant, at around \$3 billion (usually 60% military and 40% economic) per year for the last quarter century. A new plan was recently implemented to phase out all economic aid and provide corresponding increases in military aid by 2008. This year Israel is receiving \$2.04 billion in military aid and \$720 million in economic aid there is only military aid.

In addition to nearly \$3 billion in direct aid, Israel usually gets another \$3 billion or so in indirect aid: military support from the defense budget, forgiven loans, and special grants. While some of the indirect aid is difficult to measure precisely, it is safe to say that Israel's total aid

(direct and indirect) amounts to at least five billion dollars annually.

On top of all of this aid, a team from Israel's finance ministry is slated to meet with U.S. government officials this month about an additional \$800 million aid package which the Clinton administration promised Israel (and the Bush administration later froze) as compensation for the costs of its withdrawal from Lebanon. The U.S. also managed to find another \$28 million in the 2001 Pentagon budget to give Israel to purchase "counter terrorism equipment."

According to the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE), from 1949-2001 the U.S. has given Israel a total of \$94,966,300,000. The direct and indirect aid from this year should put the total U.S. aid to Israel since 1949 at over one hundred billion dollars. What is not widely known, however, is that most of this aid violates American laws. The Arms Export Control Act stipulates that US-supplied weapons be used only for "legitimate self-defense."

Moreover, the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act prohibits military assistance to any country "which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights." The Proxmire amendment bans military assistance to any government that refuses to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to allow inspection of its nuclear facilities, which Israel refuses to do. To understand why the U.S. spends this much money funding the brutal repression of a colonized people, it is necessary to examine the benefits for weapons manufacturers and, particularly, the role that Israel plays in the expansion and maintenance of U.S. imperialism.

A very special relationship

In the fall of 1993, when many were supporting what they hoped would become a viable peace process, 78 senators wrote to former President Bill Clinton insisting that aid to Israel remain at current levels. Their reasons were the "massive procurement of sophisticated arms by Arab states." Yet the letter neglected to mention that 80% percent of those arms to Arab countries came from the U.S. itself.

Stephen Zunes has argued that the Aerospace Industry Association (AIA), which promotes these massive arms shipments, is even more influential in determining U.S. policy towards Israel than the notorious AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) lobby. AIA has given two times more money to campaigns than all of the pro-Israel groups combined. Zunes asserts that the general thrust of U.S. policy would be pretty much the same even if AIPAC didn't exist: "We didn't need a pro-Indonesia lobby to support Indonesia in its savage repression of East Timor all these years."

The "special relationship" between the U.S. and Israel must be understood within the overall American imperialist project and the quest for global hegemony, beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s. For example, 99% of all U.S. aid to Israel came after 1967, despite the fact that Israel was relatively more vulnerable in earlier years (from 1948-1967). Not coincidentally, it was in 1967 that Israel won the Six Day War against several Arab countries, establishing itself as a regional superpower. Also, in the late 1960s and particularly in the early 1970s (this was around the time of the Nixon Doctrine), the U.S. was looking to establish "spheres of influence"-regional superpowers in each significant area of the world to help the U.S. police them.

The primary U.S. interest in the Middle East is, and has always been, to maintain control of the oil in the region, primarily because this is the source of energy that supplies the industrial economies of Europe and Japan. The U.S. goal has been to insure that there is no indigenous threat to their domination of these energy resources. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the U.S. made the strategic decision to ally itself with Israel and Iran, which were referred to as "our two eyes in the middle east" and the "guardians of the gulf." It was at this point that aid increased drastically, from \$24 million in 1967 (before the war), to \$634 million in 1971, to a staggering \$2.6 billion in 1974, where it has remained relatively consistent ever since.

Israel was to be a military stronghold, a client state, and a proxy army, protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East and throughout the world. Subsidized by the CIA, Israel served U.S. interests well beyond the immediate region, setting up dependable client regimes (usually military-based

dictatorships) to control local societies. Noam Chomsky has documented this extensively: Israel was the main force that established the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire, for example. They also supported Idi Amin in Uganda, early on, as well as Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, and Emperor Bokassa in the Central African Republic.

Israel became especially useful when the U.S. came under popular human rights pressure in the 1970s to stop supporting death squads and dictatorships in Latin America. The U.S. began to use Israel as a surrogate to continue its support. Chomsky documents how Israel established close relations with the neo-Nazi and military regimes of Argentina and Chile. Israel also supported genocidal attacks on the indigenous population of Guatemala, and sent arms to El Salvador and Honduras to support the contras. This was all a secondary role, however.

The primary role for Israel was to be the Sparta of the Middle East. During the Cold War, the U.S. especially needed Israel as a proxy army because direct intervention in the region was too dangerous, as the Soviets were allied with neighboring states. Over the last thirty years, the U.S. has pursued a two-track approach to dominating the region and its resources: It has turned Israel into a military outpost (now probably the most militarized society in the world) that is economically dependent on the U.S. while propping up corrupt Arab dictatorships such as those in Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. These regimes are afraid of their own people and, thus, are very insecure. Therefore, they are inclined to collaborate with the U.S. at any cost.

Prospects for activism

Since the end of the Cold War, the nuclear threat associated with direct intervention in the Middle East has disappeared and the U.S. has started a gradual and direct militarization of the region. This began with the Gulf War—putting U.S. military bases in Saudi Arabia (the primary source of oil), among other places—and has continued through the current 'war on terrorism.'

Although U.S. aid has not decreased yet, there have been other observable shifts. The first obvious one is the mainstream media reporting on the conflict. Although there is still, of course, an anti-Palestinian bias, the coverage has shifted significantly in comparison to ten years ago. This has been noticeable in both journalistic accounts of Israeli human rights abuses and the publication of pro-Palestinian op-eds in major papers such as the Washington Post and the Boston Globe.

There are also some stirrings in the U.S. Congress. Representative John Conyers (D-MI) requested that President Bush investigate whether Israel's use of American F-16s is violating the Arms Export Control Act. Further, Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) recently complained about giving aid without conditions: "There are no strings on the money. There is no requirement that the bloodshed abate before the funding is released." Other elected representatives are slowly starting to open up to the issue as well, but there is a long way to go on Capital Hill.

The most important development, however, has been the rising tide of concern and activism around the Palestinian issue in the US left. The desperate plight of the Palestinians is gaining increasing prominence in the movement against Bush's "war on terrorism," and it is gradually entering into the movement against corporate globalization.

For years the Palestinian cause was marginalized by the left in America. Since this intifada broke out 17 months ago, that began to shift significantly and has moved even further since September 11. With the new "anti-war" movement, there has come a deeper understanding of U.S. policy in the Middle East and how the question of Palestine fits into progressive organizing.

In Durban, South Africa last September, at the UN Global Conference Against Racism, one of the most pressing issues on the global agenda was the Palestinian struggle against Israel's racist policies. 30,000 people from South Africa and around the world demonstrated against Zionism, branding it as a form of apartheid no different than the system that blacks suffered through in South Africa. Shortly after, the U.S. and Israel stormed out of the conference.

In Europe and America, a range of organizations have risen in opposition to Israeli apartheid and

in support of Palestinian human rights and self-determination. Just over the last year or two, organizations such as Students for Justice in Palestine, based at the University of California at Berkeley, have begun organizing a divestment campaign, modeled after the campaign that helped bring down South African apartheid. SUSTAIN (Stop U.S. Tax-funded Aid to Israel Now!) chapters in a number of cities have focused their efforts on stopping U.S. aid to Israel, which is the lifeblood of Israeli occupation and continued abuses of Palestinian rights.

Many Jewish organizations have emerged as well, such as Not in My Name, which counters the popular media assertion that all Jewish people blindly support the policies of the state of Israel. Jews Against the Occupation is another organization, which has taken a stand not only against the occupation, but also in support of the right of Palestinian refugees to return. These movements, and particularly their newfound connection with the larger anti-war, anti-imperialist, and anti-corporate globalization movements, are where the possibilities lie to advance the Palestinian struggle.

The hope for Palestine is in the internationalization of the struggle. The building of a massive, international movement against Israeli apartheid seems to be the most effective and promising form of resistance at this time. The demands must be that Israel comply with international law and implement the relevant UN resolutions. Specifically, it must recognize that all Palestinian refugees have the right to return, immediately end the occupation, and give all citizens of Israel equal treatment under the law.

We must demand that all U.S. aid to Israel be stopped until Israel complies with these demands. Only when the Palestinians are afforded their rights under international law, and are respected as human beings, can a genuine process of conflict resolution and healing begin. For all the hype over peace camps and dialogue initiatives, until the structural inequalities are dealt with, there will be no justice for Palestinians and, thus, no peace for Israel.

Matt Bowles is a member of SUSTAIN - Stop US Tax Funded Aid to Israel Now.

The above article was originally published in the March/April issue of Left Turn magazine.

Subject: Edward Herman on Israel: Part 1 of 3.

7 April 2002
Grenoble, France

Dear Colleagues:

The Grenoble Center for the Advanced Study of American Institutions and Social Movements just received this three-part series on Israel, written by our associate researcher, Edward Herman, Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. (Dr. Herman participated in the International Colloquium on "The Impact of American Multinational Corporations," which was held at the University of Grenoble-III last January.

Eileen Sutton writes of this research, "Along with Chomsky's *The Fateful Triangle*, Herman's meticulously-researched work will give anyone a keener understanding of the region's conflict. It's a must read in the effort to deconstruct the propaganda surrounding Israel in the U.S. press."

| Subject: Herman on Israel

"The racist discrimination in pushing out Palestinians in favor of Jews is cruel, scandalous, and reminiscent of the behavior of the Nazis (a comparison made often in the Israeli press, but not in the U.S. mainstream media)...Amnesty International (AI) notes in discussing Israel's policy on demolitions that "The Palestinians are targeted for no other reason than because they are Palestinians" in a system where "the family may only have 15 minutes to take out what belongings they have before the furniture is thrown into the street and their home bulldozed"...in 1994, Rabbi Yaacov Perin stated that "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

ISRAEL'S APPROVED ETHNIC CLEANSING: PART 1 MAKING "FACTS ON THE GROUND"

by Edward S. Herman

Israel's treatment of the Palestinians has always presented a moral problem to the West, as that treatment has violated every law and moral standard on the books.

Some 750,000 Palestinians were driven from their homes in 1948-1949, and since then scores of thousands more have been pushed out by force, their houses demolished or taken over by Israeli Jews (not Israeli Arabs). Under the supposed "peace process" following the signing of the Oslo Agreement in September 1993, a UN Special Report of November 13, 2000, says that "In the past seven years...Israel's confiscation of Palestinian land and construction of settlements and bypass roads for Jewish settlers has accelerated dramatically in breach of Security Council Resolution 242 and of provisions of the Oslo agreements requiring both parties to respect 'the territorial integrity and unity of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.'

Since 1993 the settler population in the West Bank and Gaza has doubled to 200,000 and increased to 170,000 in East Jerusalem." The report also describes and condemns the demolitions of Palestinian houses, the diversion of water to Israeli cities and settlements, the policy of closures that has damaged Palestinian social and economic life, and the "widespread violation of their [Palestinian] economic, social and cultural rights" both within Israel and in the occupied territories. It also assails Israel's use of excessive force against Palestinians and hundreds of Intifada killings, "most of them unarmed demonstrators."

The settlements have been made in territory outside of Israel, technically "occupied" by Israel and subject to international law that clearly prohibits dispossession and settlement by the "belligerent occupying power" (the Palestinians are "protected persons" under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949; violations of that Convention, including dispossession and settlements, are "war crimes"). This systematic violation of international law has been going on for several decades, just as the creation of new "facts on the ground" in brazen violation of Article 31(7) of Oslo has proceeded since 1993, but as the United States does not object, and in fact has supported these law and agreement violations by massive economic and military aid, and by vetoing any hostile UN actions (it has used the veto an estimated 60 times to give Israeli ethnic cleansing and law violations free play), international law is inoperative.

The contrast with Kosovo is dramatic and enlightening. In that case also international law was inoperative, but only because intervention allegedly to protect the Kosovo Albanians would have been excessively constrained by adherence to legal niceties such as the UN Charter. International observers, already agreed to by Yugoslavia, were not enough--a full military occupation by Nato forces was required. In the case of Israel and the Palestinians, however, as Israel naturally does not want foreign observers, let

alone a UN military force to protect the Palestinians, the United States defers to Israel (as it did to Indonesia in East Timor) and refuses to support even an observer presence without the ethnic cleanser's acquiescence.

We may note also that Nato's forcible occupation of Kosovo took place in Yugoslav territory, whereas the U.S. defers to Israel (and for 25 years to Indonesia) in reference to its performance in illegally occupied territory where the indigenous population has long been subjected to serious abuses condemned by overwhelming UN majorities. Welcome to the New World Order and "ethical foreign policy"!

Racist State, Brutal Occupation, and Large-Scale Ethnic Cleansing

The racist discrimination in pushing out Palestinians in favor of Jews is cruel, scandalous, and reminiscent of the behavior of the Nazis (a comparison made often in the Israeli press, but not in the U.S. mainstream media). It was Nazi practice in occupied territories to dispossess the locals from homes to provide "lebensraum" for the "ubermenschen," and Amnesty International (AI) notes in discussing Israel's policy on demolitions that "The Palestinians are targeted for no other reason than because they are Palestinians" in a system where "the family may only have 15 minutes to take out what belongings they have before the furniture is thrown into the street and their home bulldozed" (AI, Israel: Home Demolitions, Dec. 8, 1999). Israeli author Israel Shamir, writing in the Russian Israeli publication RI in December 2000, says that Israelis "are taught they belong to the Chosen People, who are Uber Alles. They have been indoctrinated in belief that the Gentiles are not fully human, and therefore can be killed and expropriated at will." And the U.S. Jewish observer Eduardo Cohen says that "traveling through Israel I encountered a deep, widespread and racist contempt for Arabs," based on the belief that Arabs "didn't share the same faculties of thought and reason that 'civilized human beings' possess" (OR, Oct. 18, 2000).

Before the Final Solution was decided upon by Hitler during World War II--and in 1940 Himmler was still referring to "the Bolshevik method of physical extermination of a people" as "un-German and impossible"--there was active discussion in Nazi official circles of how alien peoples in occupied lands should be handled to best serve German interests. Partly, it was a matter of space needs--in 1940 Hitler claimed that "the Jewish question really was a space question," and Jews and others were expelled in Vienna and elsewhere to provide housing for Germans. There was much debate in 1940 about the desirability of forced emigration and resettlement, of bringing some of the racially valuable to Germany for assimilation, but with a remnant population "that would serve as a

reservoir for migrant labour to Germany" (quoting Christopher Browning's summary of this debate).

Similar debates have taken place in Israel between the "hardliners" on the one hand, who have favored forcible "transfer" and the "mass deportations of Arabs from the territories" (Netanyahu), and the "moderates" on the other hand, who want to rely on the now traditional methods of slow but steady dispossession and encouraging "voluntary" exit by impoverishment. The moderates also recognize the service of the impoverished alien population in providing a reservoir of migrant labor for Israel. Israel Shamir also compares the Israeli treatment of the Palestinians in Intifada II unfavorably to the anti-Jewish pogroms in Czarist Russia, where the casualties were much smaller and where, after the pogrom, "all writers and intelligentsia condemned the perpetrators. In the Jewish state, a few dozens gathered on the demonstration in Tel Aviv, while the Hebrew Writers Union supported the pogrom of Gentiles." Shamir goes on to say that Israeli racism is "not less wide-spread and poisonous" than that of the German Nazis, citing a number of genocidal opinions of Russian-Israeli Jews and stating that today: "The Jewish state is the only place in the world possessing legitimate killer squads, embracing a policy of assassinations, and practicing torture on a medieval scale. But do not worry dear Jewish readers, we torture and assassinate Gentiles only."

In Israeli publications it is repeatedly pointed out that the army does not kill Jews, only Gentiles. Phyllis Bennis notes that in 1982, when an Israeli Jewish protester against the war in Lebanon was killed by Israeli forces, there was such an enormous outcry that his name--Emil Grunzweig--is remembered even today. But when a Palestinian is killed by Israelis, this is hardly newsworthy and only body counts are given--"we never hear their names, who their parents and children are, what they did for a living" (Max Elbaum, Interview with Bennis, "For Jews Only: Racism Inside Israel," ColorLines, Dec. 15, 2000). It has also been pointed out by AI that "Israeli security forces repeatedly resorted to excessive use of lethal force in circumstances where neither their lives nor the lives of others were in imminent danger, resulting in unlawful killings." But AI notes that the Israelis are expert in non-lethal crowd control, citing July-August 1999 riots "policed without resort to firearms." But they note that here it was Ultra-Orthodox Jews rioting, so as in the case of settler violence the use of lethal force is ruled out, to be used only on Gentiles. Israeli dissident Uri Avnery describes how, when the Israeli army several months ago would not allow Palestinians to harvest their olives in an orchard bordering a Jewish settlement, where a 14-year old Palestinian boy had recently been shot and killed when alone in the orchard with his father, the villagers sent an SOS to Avnery and his group to come so that their presence would preclude shooting ("Olives, Stones and Bullets," Ha'aretz, Nov. 18, 2000). Many old olive trees had already been cut down, and ancient

terraces destroyed, "apparently to enable the army to shoot without hindrance." But the Avnery group did its job—their Jewish presence enabled some olives to be picked without the threat of shooting. Avnery noted that the settlers were of course free to move and travel at will, under heavy army protection.

The well-known Israeli journalist Amira Hass recently described in detail the growing racist cruelty "characteristic of every occupation regime...that intensified during the Oslo years because of the gap between the fine talk about a 'peace process' and a reality." ("The Mirror Does Not Lie," Ha'aretz, Nov. 1, 2000). The new Intifada is a popular uprising that "is a final attempt to thrust a mirror in the face of Israelis and to tell them: 'Take a good look at yourselves and see how racist you have become.'"

She focuses on the Israeli occupation of Hebron, writing: "How perfectly natural that 40,000 persons should be subject to local curfew for more than a month in the Old City of Hebron in order to protect the lives and well-being of 500 Jews.... How perfectly natural that 34 schools attended by thousands of Palestinian children should be closed down for more than a month...while the children of their Jewish neighbors...are free to frolic as usual in the street among and with the Israeli soldiers stationed there...The protracted curfew imposed on Hebron and the way in which their curfew has been accepted in Israeli eyes as such a natural event convey, in a nutshell, both the entire story of Israeli occupation of Palestinian land in general and the essence of the kind of Israeli thinking that has developed in the shadow of obvious military superiority."

Hass also discusses the freedom of settlers to travel, versus severe restrictions on Palestinians; the well-built highways for settler use, constructed on lands expropriated from Palestinian villages; the limitations imposed by the occupying authority on Palestinian development of their own communities, while the Jewish settlers get expedited treatment and subsidies; and the discrimination in water use with days and even weeks "without running water in the faucets of Palestinian homes" while their Jewish neighbors "experience no problems or shortages as far as their water supply is concerned."

Jeff Halper, Professor of Anthropology at Ben Gurion University, and head of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, states that, having seized control of West Bank/Gaza water supplies, Israel and the settlers now give themselves 6.7 times the water they allow the Palestinians (870 million cubic meters per annum for themselves, 130 million cubic meters for the Palestinians). He also points out that under the Oslo "peace process" Israel has uprooted some 80,000 Palestinian-owned olive and fruit trees and much farmland "for Israeli construction and 'security'," with some 10,000 trees removed just since the beginning of the recent uprising.

Israel has been constructing some 300 miles of highways and bypass roads to serve the settlements, but which divide the West Bank into tiny islands and prevent the free movement of Palestinian people and goods. With its military control and superior force Israel has imposed lengthy and devastating "closures" on Palestinian movement that has created widespread poverty and hunger. (For further details, Halper, "The 'Peace Process' As Seen From the Ground," Feb. 12, 2001.) The per capita GDP of the Palestinians in the occupied territories has fallen drastically under the Oslo "peace process," surely by more than 25 percent.

Demolitions for Lebensraum

Since 1967 some 8,500 Palestinian homes have been demolished, 1,200 of these since the Oslo agreement of 1993 (with 5,000 people made homeless, including 2,000 children). Israel demolishes Palestinian homes on the slightest provocation—"security," a youngster in the household throws stones at an Israeli soldier—but it does this mainly as part of a systematic program to provide space for the "chosen people." In December 1994, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, a former chief rabbi of Israel and the Israeli armed forces, urged the armed forces to refuse to obey orders to remove Jewish settlers from the West Bank, citing the law of Moses and asserting that "The command to settle the land of Israel is greater than all the commandments put together" (Los Angeles Times, Jan. 3, 1994).

This is consistent with the focus of Zionist ideology on "redemption of the land" of Palestine, which should be held only by Jews; land held by non-Jews is "unredeemed." Israeli human rights activist and scholar Israel Shahak claims that this exclusivist ideology, aiming at minimizing the number of non-Jews in the "Land of Israel," is inculcated in Jewish school children in Israel (Jewish History, Jewish Religion [Pluto, 1994], pp. 7-8). "A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind." Thus spoke Dr. Joachim Prinz, a Zionist rabbi, in a book entitled Wir Juden (We Jews), published in 1934 and celebrating the victory of Adolf Hitler and the defeat of liberalism in Germany. Later Prinz became a central figure in the World Zionist Organization, and Shahak shows that the ideology that Prinz espoused remains a powerful force in Israel. >

Palestinian stone throwing can mean demolition. On the other hand, if a Baruch Goldstein slaughters 29 Palestinians, his home is not demolished. In fact, a memorial to this mass murderer was erected near his home, although destroyed by the army under court order in 1999, and he is honored by significant numbers within Israel. At his memorial service in 1994, Rabbi Yaacov Perin stated that "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

As Amira Hass contends, this Nazi-like mindset has grown under the occupation, where the military superiority, abuse of the inferiors, and fear that they might not remain quiet, has made for an increasingly racist perspective that now characterizes the majority of the Jewish population of Israel. Speaking of Israeli attitudes toward the intensified repression in 1996, David Hoffman reported that "few Israelis have objected to going back to the old methods against the Palestinians; many, in fact, have complained that the reaction was too timid" (WP, March 15, 1996). Phyllis Bennis states that "The majority of Israeli Jews are willing to accept the killing of Palestinians and collective punishment of the Palestinian people as justified state policy."

Within Israel, the Jewish state and Jewish National Fund, which own over 90 percent of the land, for decades have reserved it for Jews. A recent High Court ruling in favor of an Israeli Arab couple wanting to buy a house in Katzir in the Galilee that had been reserved for Jews has called this tradition into question, but the breadth of effect of this decision remains to be seen. In any case, the sizable (18 percent) Arab minority are legally second class citizens, without "nationality rights," that have included not only land use but access to public and private employment and credit, and many other privileges that are limited to Jews. Arab citizens may also be killed if they protest, and 14 of them have already died in Intifada II, in contrast with Israeli Jewish citizens, who can protest without fear of the application of lethal force.

Jews living in distant countries can come to Israel and immediately obtain rights denied Arab citizens, and of course the Palestinians expelled from their homes in Israel have no rights to return or compensation. In the Negev, where the indigenous Bedouin have been blocked from grazing their flocks, the state has allowed

Jewish farmers to occupy the land, build on it, and then have their seizures recognized retrospectively in a process of "Judaization" of the land (Orit Shohat, Ha'aretz, March 27, 1998). This is structured racism, and a set of policies which if applied against Jews in Italy or France would justifiably cause a furious outcry.

Torture, Aggression, and the Intifadas

Israel has used torture on a systematic basis against Palestinians for decades, the New York Times noting matter-of-factly in 1993 that Israel's torture victims were running to 400-500 per month, but that Israel was "rethinking" the merits of its "interrogation" practices (Joel Greenberg, "Israel Rethinks Interrogation of Arabs," Aug. 14, 1993). Again, if this was being done to Jews on a systematic basis in some country, the outcry would be deafening, but here also an Israeli practice condemned everywhere as barbaric is treated in very low key and brings about no negative policy responses from the United States or international community.

This has permitted Israel to thrive, to command massive international aid, and to be given regular accolades as a model democracy, despite its long record of being "the only state in the world to effectively legalize the use of methods which constitute torture or ill-treatment" (AI, "The Israeli government should implement the High Court decision making torture

illegal," Sept. 6, 1999).

Similarly, Israel can invade other countries freely, bomb them at will, and kill civilians there with a free hand without penalty. Each time it has invaded Lebanon, killing many thousands of civilians and deliberately creating large refugee populations, this has led to no substantive responses whatever on the part of the United States and its allies, and the mainstream media have reported these de facto aggressions with great understanding of Israel's position and alleged "security" needs.

Even mass slaughters of civilians are permissible for Israel, as in the case of Ariel Sharon's admitting the Christian Phalange to the Sabra-Shatila camp in 1982 where 2,000 or more Palestinian women, children and old men were butchered in cold blood. We may recall the official and media outrage at the alleged massacre of some 40 Kosovo Albanians by the Serbs at Racak in January 1999--a massacre which may never have occurred, as shown in a belatedly released analysis of the forensic findings on the bodies in Forensic Science International [116: 171-185, 2001]--and recall also that the figure 2,000 has been widely accepted as the total of killings on all sides in Kosovo in the year preceding the Nato bombing of Yugoslavia.

But in the case of the 2,000 purely civilian victims of Israel, the international outcry was modest and resulted in no penalty or constraint on Israel's ability to kill. Israel was also free to organize and maintain a proxy army in South Lebanon to serve its post-invasion "iron fist" cross-border policies. If done by Libya such an arrangement would be condemned as sponsorship of international terrorism, but again, both the sponsorship of a terrorist army and the numerous "iron fist" killings were not condemned by the United States or its allies and this approved international terrorism could proceed at the terrorist's discretion. Israel's occupation has produced two "Intifadas," both rooted in the severity of Israel's abuse of Palestinians in the occupied territories. In the first, which lasted some five years, over a thousand Palestinians were killed and many thousands were injured. The West did not intervene at all in this process even though Israel's abuses were in violation of UN resolutions and international law; U.S. economic and military aid to the ethnic cleanser did not shrink, and Israel was therefore free to kill and repress with no apparent limit.

The same has been true in the case of the second Intifada which began in September 2000. Israel has so far killed about 400 Palestinians, injured thousands, and escalated the brutality of its army's repression in the occupied territories in a genuine anti-civilian war, preventing Palestinians from working, harvesting crops, and obtaining medical care. But again the United States supports Israel without limit, and the international

community in general does nothing substantive for the victims. Yasar Arafat has asked for UN intervention to protect the Palestinians who have been under harsh military attack, and Amnesty International has called for international observers. But Israel is against this, the United States supports Israel, so no protection is forthcoming. As noted earlier, the contrast with Kosovo, and the consistency with U.S. (and British) deference to Indonesia's rights to ethnically cleanse East Timor in 1999 and earlier, are enlightening. It was also noted that Israel's and Indonesia's violence and ethnic cleansing have taken place in illegally occupied territory, whereas Yugoslavia's occurred within its own borders and in territory where international observers had already been admitted.

But all of this is of no account as Israel and Indonesia are prized U.S. client states, Yugoslavia is not. In the former cases, therefore, "ethical foreign policy" and the new dedication of the international community to the protection of defenceless people against ethnic cleansing are suspended. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has claimed that not only Germans but the Serbs had cultural qualities giving their countries a bent toward ethnic cleansing and genocide.

But he has had nothing to say about any Israeli cultural penchant that causes them to treat Palestinian Gentiles harshly, although Eduardo Cohen, Israeli Shamir and Israel Shahak, and the words of Netanyahu and Rabbis Shlomo Goren and Yaacov Perrin, suggest that this should be rich Goldhagen terrain. No outcries over this case of real and sustained ethnic cleansing have been heard from Susan Sontag, David Rieff, Geoffrey Robertson, Bernard Kouchner, Vaclav Havel, Michael Ignatieff, and the rest. This is officially approved ethnic cleansing, the Palestinians are "unpeople" (John Pilger's word) or "unworthy victims," and Israel's longstanding and savage operations can proceed at their expense without impediment.

The Coming Bloodbath

Israel has had a free ride as an ethnic cleanser in part because Jews, as victims of the Holocaust, have been treated gently and claimed special security rights as erstwhile victims. But as noted, like the Germans themselves, the Jews, or rather an important segment of Jews, have claimed to be a chosen people with superior rights to contested land. Add to this the protection given by the United States to their implementation of these rights by force, and a dangerous amalgam is put into play that has in fact led to increasingly abusive behavior that feeds on itself.

With Ariel Sharon, a terrorist, war criminal, and longtime advocate of "transfer" and policies of force, now head of the Israeli state, and with his accession warmly greeted and "rock solid" U.S. support of this terrorist assured by President Bush, there is every reason to fear a shift from mere brutal ethnic cleansing and a "moderate" bloodbath under the moderate Barak to a more massive bloodbath and war under the "tough warrior" Sharon.

ISRAEL'S APPROVED ETHNIC CLEANSING: PART 2, U.S. OFFICIAL PROTECTION

by Edward S. Herman

When Milosevic dealt brutally with Kosovo Albanians, the United States claimed to find such actions so intolerable as to justify a war against the villain and his people and an occupation of Kosovo to terminate the process. Returning expelled Kosovo Albanians to their homes was an urgent priority--after NATO policy itself had produced the expulsions.

In sharp contrast, as described in Part 1, Israel has been able to establish and maintain a "Jewish" state--hence a racist state--and systematically "redeem" the land from the large indigenous Palestinian population--that is, engage in large-scale ethnic cleansing--because in this case the United States found ethnic cleansing not only tolerable but worthy of aggressive support. An international consensus has condemned the Israeli occupation for decades, and huge majorities in the UN have periodically called for an Israeli exit (e.g., 144-2 on Resolution 242 in December 1990), but the United States and Israel have said "nyet," so nyet it has been.

Official Protection: The Orwellian Processes

Thus, instead of having to leave the occupied territories Israel continues to push out the locals by force, uproot their trees, steal their water, beggar them by "closures" and endless restrictions, and it suffers no penalties because it has U.S. approval, protection, and active assistance (see below). The partners also deny Palestinians any right to return to land from which they were expelled, so 140+ contrary UN votes, and two Security Council Resolutions--both vetoed by the United States--have no effect; and in a remarkable Orwellian process of doublethink--and double morality--Israel is free to expel more Palestinians in the same time frame in which their protector spent billions and great moral energy in a campaign to return worthy victims in Kosovo. (On the lying and non-humanitarian root and effects of the Nato war, see Chomsky's *New Military Humanism*; Herman and Peterson, "The Nato-Media Lie Machine," *Z Magazine*, May 2000; Herman and Peterson, "Kosovo One Year Later: From Serb Repression to NATO-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing," *ZNet Commentary*, June 26, 2000.)

Another remarkable Orwellian process is this: the abused and beggared Palestinian people periodically rebel as their conditions deteriorate and more land is taken, homes are demolished, and they are treated with great ruthlessness and discrimination. Many are among the hundreds of thousands expelled earlier, or who have still not forgotten their relatives killed and injured by Israeli violence over many years--and Palestinian deaths by Israeli arms almost surely exceed Israeli deaths from "terrorism" by better than 15 to 1 (see Herman and O'Sullivan, *The "Terrorism" Industry*, pp. 29-33). Judith Stone, a frequent visitor to Palestine, says that "I

have yet to meet a Palestinian who hasn't lost a member of their family to the Israeli Shoah, nor a Palestinian who cannot name a relative or friend languishing under inhumane conditions in an Israeli prison" ("Quest for Justice," <http://www.facts4peace.com/article/stone.htm>). And after this long history of expulsion and murder they are still under assault. In this context, if they rise up in revolt at their oppressors this is not "freedom fighters" or a "national liberation movement" in action, it is "irrational violence" and a return to "terrorism," and both Israeli and U.S. officials (and therefore the mainstream U.S. media) agree that the first order of business is to stop this terrorism.

Back at the time of the first Intifada, U.S. Ambassador Robert Pelletreau was explicit that the "riots" in the occupied territories "we view as terrorist acts against Israel." Correspondingly, U.S. policy was to put no pressure on Israel to curb its repression or alter its policies, essentially giving Israel carte blanche to use "harsh military and economic pressure" till "in the end, they will be broken" (Yitzak Rabin). In the second Intifada, once again there is absolutely no U.S. pressure on Israel to change its policies. Arms aid and training programs to Israel have been stepped up--35 Black Hawk military helicopters supplied in October, 2000 and nine Apache attack helicopters bought from Boeing in February 2001; U.S. training in urban counter-insurgency tactics that would help Israel to take control of Palestinian urban centers, provided in mid-September 2000; and joint U.S.-Israeli military exercises along with the redeployment of Patriot missiles from Germany to Israel in February 2001--and as in the past all UN resolutions of condemnation and calls for an international presence in the occupied territories have been ignored or vetoed by the United States on behalf of its ethnic-cleansing client.

This of course makes the process self-fulfilling. A people under continuous oppression and a long process of "redemption of the land" at their expense is given no peaceful recourse by Israel and its patron--Oslo was an agreement confirming all Palestinian losses, with no right of return or compensation promised, no ending of expropriations and expulsions in the occupied territories, and with any benefits to the victims dependent on future negotiations. But that future never came: since 1993 the Palestinians have been ground down further, and Israel has continued its steady encroachment and increased its brutalization (the more recent Barak-Clinton Bantustan offer is discussed in Part 3 under "Apologetic Frames"). In consequence, the Palestinians periodically burst forth with bombings involving the self-immolation of desperate men, and with mass upheavals, as in the two Intifadas.

But in the definitional system of oppressor and patron this is **TERRORISM**, horrifying and intolerable. What Israel has done making this people desperate is not terror. As State Department PR man James Rubin explained after another spate of Israeli demolitions of Palestinian houses, this was "a wrong signal" for a delicate stage in peace talks (NYT, June 23, 1998). Not bad in themselves and a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, just a wrong signal. Madeleine Albright called on the Israelis to refrain from "what Palestinians see as the provocative expansion of settlements, land confiscation, house demolitions and confiscation of IDs" (NYT, Oct. 15, 1997). Only "the Palestinians" see these actions as "provocative;" Albright does not find them objectionable in themselves or illegal. In fact, under Clinton the United States finally rejected the international law and almost universal consensus on the occupation, declaring the territories not "occupied Palestinian lands" but "disputed territories" (Albright). By U.S. fiat Palestinian lands became open to settlement by force by the ethnic cleanser who the United States has armed to the teeth, and who has aggressively brutalized while creating "facts on the ground" during the "dispute," which will not be settled until the victims end their terrorism.

And Albright has stressed that there is "No moral equivalency between suicide bombers and bulldozers" (Newsweek, Aug. 18, 1997). Clinton, standing next to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres as the latter defended a blockade of the Palestinians that was adding to their misery, put the blame on Hamas who were allegedly "trying to make the Palestinians as miserable as possible" (Phila. Inquirer, March 15, 1996). There was not the slightest hint that Israel was contributing to Palestinian misery despite massive expropriations and 300 devastating "closures" after 1993.

· So it is not Israeli policy, which amounts to a continuous and illegal assault on and displacement of the Palestinians, that is ultimately at fault and that must be changed to resolve this conflict. Albright can't recognize that decades of "bulldozers" necessarily produce suicide bombers, although she was quick to find that much less repression in Kosovo produced "freedom fighters;" nor can she distinguish between systematic policy (i.e., bulldozers) and uncontrollable outbursts from victims that do NOT constitute policy. The inability of these U.S. officials to see Israel's hugely discriminatory and brutal expulsions, demolitions, mistreatment and plain exploitation as seriously wrong in themselves, illegal, or causal manifests a complete identification with and apologetic for the ethnic cleansers. Five years ago a senior Clinton White House official declared that "We are not going to second-guess Israel" (PI, March 15, 1996), and on March 19, 2001, Colin Powell assured the Jewish lobbying group AIPAC that "We are dedicated to preserving this special relationship with Israel and the Israeli people...[and] a secure Israel with internationally-recognized borders remains a cornerstone of the United States foreign policy." In short, now as in the past, and with only rare exceptions, as in the case of the unauthorized Israeli attack on Egypt in 1956, Israel will get strong U.S. support for whatever it does, and the ethnic cleansing of its unworthy victims can proceed as required.

· One of the triumphs of Oslo was its buying off of Arafat, making him into a second class client and an enforcer of the pathetic "settlement," with U.S. and Israeli funds and training exchanged for his commitment to keep his people in line and control "terrorism." (For a compelling account, with full background, Chomsky, *World Orders Old and New* [1994], chap. 3.) The formula for the wholesale terrorists (Israel) has always been: whatever violence we perpetrate is "retaliation" and it is up to the retail terrorists (Palestinians) to stop terrorizing and then we might "negotiate" with them in a "peace process." Israeli leaders say "You can't ask us to stop expanding existing settlements, which are living organisms" (Netanyahu), as if this were not in violation of UN resolutions, the Fourth Geneva Convention, and even the 1993 Oslo agreement itself. (Note also the spiritual affinity with another great ethnic cleanser, who said: "One only possesses a land when even the last inhabitant of this territory belongs to his own people." [Heinrich Himmler])

U.S. officials can never bring themselves to say that what Israel is doing is wrong--at worst it may send "a wrong signal," etc. And they follow closely the Israeli party line that "terrorism" (Palestinian, not Israeli) must be stopped first, so that the "peace process" can be put back on track. For Albright, "security" is primary, and she told Arafat that "she needed a commitment and action on the subject of security" before she could make a credible approach to Israel on other issues (WP, Sept 12, 1997). "Security" always means Israeli security, not Palestinian, for Albright--or for Colin Powell--just as for Israeli officials. Here as elsewhere these high U.S. officials internalize the Israeli perspective and the idea of "security" for the unworthy victims doesn't arise, any more than the notion that Israeli insecurity arises from the much greater Palestinian insecurity that inevitably results from Israeli policies. In his visit to Jerusalem in March 1996, Clinton spoke of "the awful persistence of fear"--but only in reference to Israelis, not to Palestinians (PI, March 15, 1996). This is an internalized racist bias that has characterized U.S. official statements and media and expert opinion here for decades.

Reasons For and Modalities of Support

Why does the United States support Israel's ethnic cleansing? Broadly speaking, the reasons boil down to two factors. One is Israel's role as a U.S. proxy in the Middle East and its integration into the U.S. security system, which encompasses not only keeping the Arab world in line, but also providing services like supplying arms to the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, the Pinochet government of Chile, Mobutu, Idi Amin, apartheid South Africa, and the Guatemalan and Argentinian terror states. Because of these services, Israel's victims are not merely unworthy, they also become "terrorists" and part of the "Islamic threat" for the U.S. political elite and mainstream media.

The second factor is the exceptional power of the pro-Israel lobby, which for many years has bought and bullied politicians and the media, so that they all vie with one another in genuflections to the holy state. This bullying is especially strong and effective in Canada and the United States, but it applies widely, and the distinguished British reporter Robert Fisk, describing the abuse he has suffered in reporting on the Middle East, says that "the attempt to force the media to obey Israel's rules is now international" ("I Am Being Vilified For Telling the Truth About Palestinians," *The Independent*, Dec. 13, 2000). (For fuller analyses of "why" see my "The Pro-Israel Lobby," *Z Magazine*, July-August 1994; and especially Chomsky's *The Fateful Triangle*, Updated Edition, 1999, Preface and chapter 2.)

These factors feed into the intellectual and media culture in complex ways that institutionalize the huge bias, with pro-Israeli and anti-Palestinian perspectives internalized and/or made obligatory by potential flak and pressure from above and without. This is extremely important, as there is no reason to believe that the U.S. public would support a massive and brutal ethnic cleansing program if they were given even a modest quantum of the ugly facts, if the main victims rather than the ethnic cleansers were humanized, and if the media's frames of reference were not designed to apologize for Israeli expropriation and violence. However, the ongoing media and intellectual biases do very effectively complement the national policy of support for the ethnic cleansing state, just as they helped cover up national policy supporting Indonesia's murderous occupation of East Timor, and just as they roused the public to a pitch of frenzy over the unapproved Yugoslav violence in Kosovo.

ISRAEL'S APPROVED ETHNIC CLEANSING: PART 3, HOW THE U.S. MEDIA PROTECTS IT
by Edward S. Herman

The U.S. mainstream media have followed closely their government's agenda of giving Israel carte blanche in dealing with their Palestinian subjects, both within Israel and in the occupied territories. This has involved a major intellectual and moral challenge, given the facts of serious racist discrimination, the long Israeli refusal to exit the occupied territories as demanded by an overwhelming international consensus, Israel's daily violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention requirements on treatment of people in occupied territories--including a massive ethnic cleansing openly designed to benefit the "chosen people"--and their clear intention to create a Palestinian system of dependent and poor bantustans in the occupied territories, organized strictly for the advantage of the ethnic cleansing state.

This brutal, racist and illegal ethnic cleansing program has taken place in an era when the United States and its allies have proclaimed a new moral order in which defenseless people will be protected by the Great Powers, as allegedly happened in Kosovo. The challenge of rationalizing the Israeli ethnic cleansing in this ideological context has been severe, but it has been met by the U.S. media with remarkable success. Identifying completely with the Israelis, the media have transformed them into the primary victims and treated the populace really victimized as "unpeople" whose pain does not count and who do not require "security" like the victimizers. And by a comprehensive system of biased word usage, framing, eye aversion, and rewriting of history, they have demonstrated once again that in its service to the state the Free Press can teach a lesson to any state-run propaganda system.

The bias on the Israel-Palestinian conflict is sometimes illustrated dramatically in events such as long-time Executive Editor of the New York Times, A. M. Rosenthal's, receipt of an award in 1991 as "Defender of Jerusalem" for his "passionate voice on Jewish and Israeli affairs," or his refusal to allow an unpleasant fact about Rabbi Meier Kahane to be published because it "would generate anti-semitism;" or CBS news anchor Dan Rather's enthusiastic participation--contrary to CBS rules--in a 1992 Jerusalem Foundation fund-raiser chaired by pro-Israel hawks Martin Peretz and Morton Zuckerman. But the bias is on continual display in actual media performance.

Let us review briefly, with some recent illustrations, some of the modalities by which Israel's more than half-century long, massive ethnic cleansing has been made palatable.

1. Language: Ethnic Cleansing, Violence, Terrorism, Clashes

The phrase "ethnic cleansing" is far more applicable to Israeli actions than to those of the Serbs in Kosovo. The brutal Serb mistreatment of Kosovo Albanians was a feature of an ongoing civil war, and the killings and large scale expulsions during the Nato bombing were war-related actions; they were not part of a long-term project to "redeem the land" from non-Serbs. Albanians in Belgrade have not been limited in property ownership as Arabs are in Israel and the occupied territories, and Kosovo Albanian homes were not demolished for the purpose of providing space for Serbs. Despite this reality, in the three year period 1998 through 2000, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Time and Newsweek used the phrase "ethnic cleansing" some 1,200 times in discussing Kosovo, in about four-fifths of the cases in reference to Serb policy, whereas during the entire decade of the 1990s they used the phrase only 14 times in discussing Israel, and only five times referring to Israeli policy. This reflects massive internalized bias.

In media reporting on Intifada II, "violence" means stone throwing and shooting, it never refers to the "structural violence" of expropriating land, evicting people from their houses and demolishing them, seizing and diverting their water resources for the use of the chosen people, building roads that destroy communities' access to former neighbors and jobs, closing down access directly by army orders and barricades, and tolerating and protecting settlers' attacks, destruction, and seizure of Gentile property. Even though there have been a substantial number of killings and injuries inflicted on the Gentiles by army and settlers in this process, this massive low-intensity violence has been entirely acceptable to the Clinton, Bush II, and predecessor administrations, so for the mainstream media it is not classified

as violence or given serious attention (as discussed further below).

But even within their limited conception of violence, the media's bias displayed during Intifada II has been spectacular in giving far greater attention and exclusive indignation to stone-throwing and suicide bombings by Palestinians, than to the more cruel and deadly violence of the Israeli army. The better than six to one ratio of killings and far higher ratio of Palestinian injuries to those of Israelis is neutralized by greater attention to--and much greater humanization of--Israeli victims. In a simple and rough measure of this bias, of eight front page photos of Intifada victims in the New York Times from September 28, 2000 through March 9, 2001, six were of Israelis and two were of Palestinians. This, along with massive suppressions detailed later, helps sustain the identification of "violence" with the stone throwing and suicide bombing of the population in revolt.

Similarly, the media have continued their long tradition of finding the Palestinians terrorists, the Israelis victims--even "under siege"--and engaging in retaliation only. Almost without exception the media make deadly Palestinian actions terrorism, and with indignant language attached--the killing of two Israeli soldiers was a "sickening lynch-murder," a Palestinian attack on a settlers' bus was "unspeakable" and a "terrorist outrage" in the New York Times--but none of the 400 Palestinian deaths were worthy of such adjectives. Thus, regarding a massive Israeli bombardment of a civilian area in Gaza, this was "predictably...a strong Israeli response" to a previous bombing of a settlers' bus. Only the Israelis respond and retaliate, and do this "predictably" (meaning responsively and reasonably). "Yesterday's Palestinian terrorism and Israeli retaliation..." (ed., NYT, Nov. 21, 2000) is the formulaic language of deep bias. Norman Solomon reports that a Nexis search of U.S. media for the first 100 days of 2001 found several dozen references to Israeli "retaliation," but only one instance where Palestinian actions were deemed retaliatory.

By the same rule of bias Ariel Sharon, whose record of responsibility for killing unarmed civilians exceeds that of Carlos the Jackal by a factor of 20 or more, is never a "terrorist" or "war criminal" in the mainstream media, although occasionally it is said that "they" (Arabs) so designate him. Rather, he has a "new air of electability" (Phila. Inquirer, Jan. 7, 2001) or is "tough" and a "warrior" as the New York Times describes him on their front page of February 7, 2001, or an "old soldier" on the next day (earlier, and shortly after the Sabra-Shatila massacre, "the forceful general intent on security for Israel," NYT, Feb. 11, 1983).

Robert Fisk says that when he reads of death in "a cross-fire"

· or "clashes" he knows that this means the Israelis did the killing.
· Fisk notes that even when CNN's Cairo bureau chief, Ben Wedeman, was shot in the back in a gun battle in Gaza, almost certainly by Israeli soldiers, CNN could not bring itself to suggest who was to blame "at this time." And AP reported that Wedeman had been "caught up in a crossfire" (Fisk, "Media: The Biased Reporting that Makes Killing Acceptable," *The Independent*, Nov, 14, 2000). Fisk also notes how easily the media refer to a "suspected Palestinian gunman" or "presumably by Palestinians" when Israelis are shot at, whereas Palestinians always die "in clashes"--"as if they they were accidentally shot rather than targets for Israeli snipers."

· On March 27, 2001, the New York Times featured on its front page that "Palestinians Kill Baby Boy in West Bank," citing "Israeli officials," with Ariel Sharon adding that this was a "deliberate, cold-blooded escalation of violence." On March 11, however, the paper showed on its front page a picture of a dead nine-year old Palestinian boy, described as shot by "an errant Israeli bullet." So by rule of bias the Israeli killing was "errant" rather than deliberate, in contrast with the action of the Palestinians. And if Israelia snipers shoot numerous children, often in the eyes or other vulnerable spot, the media--who never use the numerous photos of Palestinian children with eye damage--are pleased to give credence to Israeli army suggestions that the soldiers are perhaps just a bit trigger-happy (Joel Greenberg, "Israeli Military Worries Some Troops May Be Trigger-Happy," *NYT*, Jan 17, 2001).

The Israelis are not only "worried" about over-zealous soldiers, they admit making "mistakes," and the media sometimes acknowledge that their responses may be "excessive," "heavy-handed," or "disproportionate" in retaliating to terrorism--but they are never engaging in state terrorism and killing civilians, including children, deliberately and "unspeakably." Their killings are never "massacres," as Serb killings in Kosovo were often designated. Palestinian violence is never a "predictable" response to Israeli structural violence and direct state terror.

2. Critical Frames: Featuring the Violence of the Ethnic Cleansing State.

Framing bias is closely linked to bias in language, and as I have just shown, the U.S. mainstream media use words like terrorism and violence to describe the retail acts of the Palestinians, not the wholesale killings and coerced structural changes imposed by the Israelis. They also refuse to use the words "ethnic cleansing" to describe Israeli policy, despite the excellence of the fit. But there are powerful frames that do put the locus of blame for violence on the ethnic cleansing state and its sponsor. These critical frames are spelled out by Israeli journalists like Amira Hass and Danny Rubenstein, but they are as scarce as hens' teeth in

the U.S. mainstream press, although they flourish in the 2A. The injustice frame alternative media.

2A. The injustice frame

· The primary alternative frame we may call the injustice model.
· As I showed in Part 1, Amira Hass writing in Ha'aretz employs a clear critical frame that explains Intifada II as an inevitable response to the complete failure of Oslo to do anything whatever for the Palestinians, and their further decline in welfare and morale. Robert Fisk says the same: that the Intifada "is what happens when a whole society is pressure-cooked to the point of explosion" ("Lies, Hatred and the Language of Force, The Independent, Oct. 13, 2000). Hass, Fisk, Danny Rubenstein in Ha'aretz, and other reporters and analysts have given similar interpretations that stress the continued expropriations by settlers and the army, the hugely racist and humiliating treatment meted out to the Palestinians by their overlords, and the fact that recent Israeli-US plans not only ratify the illegal post-Oslo "facts on the ground," they provide for no meaningful resolution of the refugee crisis, no credible East Jerusalem sovereignty, and no viable and independent Palestinian state.

In this critical frame, the Palestinian uprising is rooted in extreme abuse and injustice, disappointed hopes, disillusionment with both Oslo and the corrupt and pitiful Arafat leadership serving as Israeli enforcers, and the final provocation of Sharon and Barak at al-Aqsa. The explosion was widely expected, "predictable," and understandable, and in these senses it was a "rational" response to extreme abuse and the absence of peaceable options.

2B. The Israeli provocation model

A secondary alternative frame, that actually supplements the primary injustice model, starts with the fact that Intifada II was clearly begun by Ariel Sharon's visit to the al-Aqsa mosque on September 28, 2000. Even Thomas Friedman and the mainstream media acknowledge that this was a "provocation," but by various tricks they make the Palestinian response causally more important than the provocation.

One trick has been to portray Barak as a man of peace who was offering a reasonable settlement, and distancing him from the provocation. Thus, Thomas Friedman says that "In short, the Palestinians could not deal with Barak, so they had to turn him into Sharon. And they did" ("Arafat's War," NYT, Oct. 13, 2000). But Friedman suppresses relevant facts. First, Arafat, his chief negotiator Saeb Erekat, and Palestinian official Faisal Husseini, all pleaded with Barak not to allow the Sharon visit because of its

destabilizing potential, and Barak not only turned them down he supported Sharon's provocation with 1000 border police. Second, on the day after Sharon's visit, Barak's police were massively present at al-Aqsa and fired to kill in the turmoil that ensued, leaving seven dead and several hundred wounded. Third, following this further provocation Barak did nothing to reduce the tensions, and in fact offered a further show of force. But for Friedman and the mainstream media, this series of provocations and failure of Barak to do anything peaceable does not make him responsible; it was Arafat who had to call off HIS people.

By rule of deep bias, while the media have speculated freely on Arafat's motives in possibly influencing the Palestinian response--his "chancy gamble" as Time put it (Oct. 23, 2000)--they never even raise the possibility that the Israeli leaders might have had political aims leading THEM to provoke and that might explain THEIR response. That the Sharon provocations, with Barak's cooperation, might have been intended to induce violence and might be explained by Israeli political dynamics is simply outside the apologetic frames of reference. Eduardo Cohen argues that the Sharon-Barak provocations flowed from their political calculations: Sharon wanting to take center stage before Netanyahu's recovery from his scandal--he was exonerated in a court case on alleged corruption on September 27, 2000, the day before Sharon went to al-Aqsa--and knowing that a tough stance and renewed war would serve his political interests; Barak hoping to undercut Sharon and precipitate a crisis and early election in which his chances would also be better than if he waited for the political recovery of Netanyahu (Cohen, "American Journalists Should Have Looked a Little Deeper," undated). Whatever the merits of this line of argument, the failure of the U.S. media even to discuss possible political reasons for the provocations, and whether they might have been intended to provoke the ensuing violence, reflects overwhelming bias.

3. Apologetic Frames: Those That Blame any Violence on the Victims of Ethnic Cleansing.

Almost without exception the U.S. mainstream media frame their presentations of the issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict so as to apologize for Israeli policy and put the blame for any violence on Israel's victims.

3A. The injustice model--Barak's generous offer, Arafat's war, irrational Palestinian outburst.

Essential ingredients of this dominant mainstream frame are the assumptions that Barak was a "moderate" and that his offers and the "peace process" have been reasonable, so that any disturbances or uprisings are therefore irresponsible, unjustifiable, or

irrational. Trudy Rubin, the editorial foreign policy commentator of the Philadelphia Inquirer, is not alone in finding that

"Irrationality drives violence in the region" (Oct. 18, 2000).

Absolutely essential to propagating this frame is the refusal to discuss issues of justice and to evaluate those in detail--so you will never find Friedman, or Rubin, discussing the Israeli policy of systematic expropriation of Palestinians in the occupied territories, the demolitions, the appropriation of water for Jewish use, the doubled settler population since 1993, the road construction that makes a Palestinian state unviable, or the policy of killing and injuring Gentiles freely, but not Jews. They never seriously discuss--let alone urge--the right of return of expelled Palestinians, although both Friedman and Rubin were aggressively supportive of the right of return of Kosovo Albanians. The news columns in their papers, and the mainstream media more generally, also follow the official (U.S. and Israeli) party line and scant all of these issues.

In his "Arafat's War," which gives us Friedman's standard "injustice" model, characteristic of the Times as an institution, and predominant throughout the mainstream media, Friedman mentions the "old complaints about the brutality of the continued Israeli occupation and settlement building. Frankly, the Israeli checkpoints and continued settlement building are oppressive." He finesses this huge set of issues by making them "old" (stale), and avoiding details, numbers, or discussing the racist violence in expropriation for Israeli Jews only, the large-scale violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, or the beggaring of the Palestinians under Oslo. He also argues that such matters are now irrelevant because Barak has offered "unprecedented compromises," so that if the Palestinians don't fall in line with these any violence is their fault. He never discusses why Sharon engaged in his provocation or explains why this act by an Israeli leader does not deserve considerable weight; and he fails to acknowledge Barak's support of the provocation and never suggests that these Israeli actions might be related to Israeli politics. And he has not one word of criticism of the Israeli killings of September 29 or the ensuing brutal repression. He mentions the "gleeful savage mob murder of Israeli soldiers in Ramallah," but otherwise there was only a "week of Israeli-Palestinian killings," but no "murders" let alone "gleeful savage murders" of Palestinians.

Friedman never mentions that the vague terms of the Oslo deal allowed Israel, with total U.S. support, to double settlements and create facts on the ground extremely damaging to Palestinian welfare. Thus the "old complaints about brutality" etc., continued despite that prior good deal. Now the new good deal gives the Palestinians a fine alternative--"more than 90 percent of the West Bank for a Palestinian state, a partial resolution of the refugee problem and Palestinian sovereignty over the Muslim and Christian

· quarters of the Old City of Jerusalem..." Even Bill Clinton likes this plan, so what more need be said about fairness? The "90 percent" figure is the Israeli version, that allows a "facts on the ground" Greater Jerusalem to be counted as part of Israel--so that 70 to 80 percent may be more accurate. There is also the question of the quality of the land, the implicit Israeli control of the mountain aquifer under the West Bank, and the fact that the land allocations, Jewish settlements, and "for Jews only" road networks have broken the "90 percent" into unconnected enclaves, with no borders except with Israel. This is a bantustan solution that does not yield a viable or independent state; and of course it does not return to the Palestinians any of the property stolen even since 1993 for Israel's "security" and lebensraum for some of the chosen people.

· Friedman is satisfied with the "partial resolution" of the refugee problem that involves Israel recognizing Palestinian "pain" and promising to allow a "return" to "historic Palestine," which includes the West Bank where the refugees are already congregated, not to their original homes and not promising compensation in lieu of such return. Palestinian sovereignty over the Muslim and Christian quarters of the Old City does not include Harim Al Sharif, and those Muslim and Christian quarters have been broken into pieces by expropriations and massive Israeli construction for Jews only since the last good deal (1993).

So "Arafat's War" rests on the failure of the Palestinians to acknowledge total defeat: their unwillingness to accept all the past injustices, including post-1993 expropriations, a bantustan system worse than that imposed by South Africa under apartheid, and continued military domination by a country that has been a wee bit "oppressive" (Clinton and Barak demanded a demilitarized Palestinian state, and continued Israeli occupation rights in the West Bank, out of consideration for Israeli security). If Arafat wouldn't accept this, and sign another imprecise agreement that once again left much to the goodwill of Israel and its sponsor, all the violence is his doing.

This is the "injustice model" that amounts to crude apologetics for ethnic cleansing. And it was hardly confined to Friedman and the New York Times editorial pages. It was pretty standard in the news as well as editorial pages that it was Arafat's choice of "Peace or Victimhood" (Jane Perlez, "Fork in Arafat's Road," NYT, Dec. 29, 2000).

3B. Arafat and the return to terrorism

For years Arafat and the PLO were terrorists for Israeli and U.S. officials, and therefore for the mainstream media. Israel has only engaged in retaliation and counterterror, by rule of political bias, whatever the facts. Then in 1991, when Arafat surrendered and allowed himself to be sucked into a "peace process" that made him the Israeli enforcer, but gave his people absolutely nothing, he suddenly ceased to be a terrorist and became a statesman! With Intifada II, however, and his failure to perform his function of keeping his defeated people under control, he has been tentatively returned at least in some media to the terrorist class.

So we find regular media references to Arafat's responsibility for failing to contain the violence, speculations on whether he actually stirred it up to improve his bargaining position with Israel, and admonitions to Arafat to get his people under control. Among many other cases, Time had him taking a "chancy gamble;" the Inquirer's Trudy Rubin said he "fanned, or failed to calm, religious and national passions" (Oct. 18, 2000), and she asked "Can Arafat stop the violence" (Nov. 1, 2000). Some of the claims of his deliberate incitements have come from Israeli army and intelligence sources, which the media find highly newsworthy (Tracy Wilkinson, "Is the violence beyond Arafat's control?," Los Angeles Times, Oct. 4, 2000). Jane Perlez asks "Can Arafat Turn It Off?," subtitled "U.S. Officials Debate Degree of His Control" (NYT, Oct. 17, 2000). There have not been any articles entitled "Is the violence beyond Barak's [or Sharon's] control?," nor have the media been able to locate anybody to assess Barak's motives and responsibility. And in a spectacular display of bias they rarely if ever suggested that Barak could or should have stopped the wholesale violence that he carried out from September 29, 2000; only "Arafat had a choice" (Rubin), not Barak, or Sharon, who are implicitly engaging in "retaliation" and "counterterror," in a longstanding propaganda tradition.

3C. Pushing the children forward as martyrs

In a similar and disgusting pattern, the mainstream media have also latched on to the claim that the Palestinians are callously pushing their children forward to die, that they suffer from a martyr syndrome, and that the parents, Arafat, and the penchant toward martyrdom are therefore responsible for the numerous shooting deaths of children (Chris Hedges, "The Deathly Glamour of Martyrdom," NYT, Oct. 29, 2000). This penchant for martyrdom is also responsible for the breakdown of peace (John Burns, "The Promise of Paradise That Slays Peace," NYT, April 1, 2001).

The Philadelphia Inquirer played the martyrdom line with relish, with a news article on "Grieving Arabs find comfort in concept of martyrdom" (Oct. 25, 2000), an op-ed column by Rubin on "The children's crusade" that blames the Palestinians for the death of their children (Oct. 25), and a cartoon by Tony Auth showing Arafat urging children to plunge to martyrs' deaths over a cliff (Oct. 26).

Auth has twice had cartoons showing Arafat with blood on his hands, but never an Israeli leader.

Uri Avnery notes that this ready attribution of responsibility for the child killings to the Arab parents "betrays an obnoxious racism" ("Israel/Palestine: Twelve Conventional Lies," Oct. 21, 2000). He also observes that Palestinian parents can hardly restrain their children "when they live under a cruel occupation and their brothers and sisters provide examples of heroism and self-sacrifice" in a tradition going back to 16 year-old Joan of Arc. He also points out that there is a Jewish tradition of children fighters and heroes, and that the settlers routinely exploit their children, "not hesitating to put them in harms way," and without eliciting any suggestions of irresponsibility and a desire for martyrdom on the part of the critics of Palestinian parents.

"The right question is why do our soldiers kill these children? And in some cases in cold blood?" But that is Eyad Serraj writing in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Nov. 2000), not a U.S. mainstream news source. Rarely if ever do the media point out that the Israelis are doing the shooting, that many of the children are shot with the intent to seriously injure or kill them, and that non-lethal methods of crowd control are available and are used by the Israelis, but only when dealing with protests by Israeli Jews.

In a more general argument for Palestinian voluntary self-sacrifice and Israeli innocence, General Wesley Clark, wrote in *Time*, that "For Israel, every casualty, even among the Palestinians, is a loss. For the Palestinians, every clash is strategic and offensive, increasing the pressure on Israel, building support in the Arab world and, with every Israeli response, affording the opportunity to further isolate Israel..." ("How to Fight an Asymmetric War," Oct. 23, 2000). This apologetic--and the article's title points up its design to advise Israel--which is based on no evidence, does not explain why Israel should engage in aggressive and lethal responses that are allegedly "losses," fails to explore the hypothesis that Israel is repeating its handling of Intifada I where its strategy was explicitly to break the protest movement by terror, and it assumes that Palestinian behavior is based on a plan rather than an uncontrollable explosion based on serious injustice, started by the Sharon-Barak provocation, and kept alive by Israel's brutal response.

3D. The United States as honest broker

The Israelis do not want any interference with their ethnic cleansing, so they "rightly resist any shift to an international format," as it was expressed in a *New York Times* editorial of November 13, 2000, and the Israelis are happy to have the United States, the 50-odd year sponsor and underwriter of their ethnic cleansing, as a substitute for a genuine international presence. The appropriateness of this arrangement thus becomes the U.S. official position and media truth, and the demand for international protection of the victims of Israel's ethnic cleansing becomes not a moral issue fulfilling that new Western dedication to protecting defenceless people but rather "a favorite of Palestinians" (Keith Richburg, "Israel rejects international presence," *Phila. Inquirer*, Nov. 11, 2000). Richard Holbrooke says that "no force would be supported without Israeli approval" (Nicole Winfield, "Arafat appeals for U.N. protection, but Israel, U.S. oppose," *Phila. Inquirer*, Nov. 11, 2000), so that settles the matter for the mainstream media. No comparison with Kosovo, no mention of the similar performance in East Timor where the Clinton team deferred to its Indonesia client, thereby allowing the destruction of East Timor.

Nor will the media ever discuss the huge, long-standing pro-Israeli bias of the U.S. government that has protected Israeli expropriations and ethnic cleansing for an entire generation. As noted earlier, Thomas Friedman cites Clinton's approval of Barak's peace proposal as if an assessment by an honest broker, not a partisan. On the aggressively pro-ethnic cleansing right, William Safire postulates that Clinton and company really are honest brokers, and decries this fact as "Israel Needs an Ally, It does not need a broker" (NYT, Oct. 12, 2000).

Although the Palestinians have been militarily defeated and ethnically cleansed by a powerful combination of a superpower and its main client, it is essential that the mainstream press pretend that the supportive superpower is objective and not helping the ethnic cleansing state capture the fruits of this rather uneven military contest. The media have cooperated fully in doing this, although occasionally the Times, for example, allows it to be mentioned that the Palestinians are becoming a bit distrustful of the honest broker! (William Orme, "As New Peace Talks Go On, Palestinians Criticize Clinton," NYT, Jan. 23, 2001).

3E. "Impatient" Israelis versus Serbian "Willing Executioners"

The mainstream media repeatedly tell us that the Israelis have "lost patience" with the Palestinians, with the "peace process," and with their leaders who have allowed this new spate of (Palestinian) "violence." If Barak's approval rating went up from 20 to 50 percent following his and Sharon's show of force at al-Aqsa, and if they have voted in the ruthless Sharon and now support a more brutal response to the Intifada, this does not discredit the populace for murderous attitudes and extremism. On the contrary, it is a given to which the world must adjust. Back in 1999, Stacy Sullivan asked: what if a people "supports ethnic cleansing--actively or passively? In that case, we do have a quarrel with the...people...It is the very mentality of the nation." But she was talking about the SERBS as "Milosevic's Willing Executioners" (New Republic, May 10, 1999), not a populace supporting an approved ethnic cleansing.

In reference to the Serbs, the official and therefore media party line was that what the Serb armed forces were doing to the Albanians in Kosovo was ugly and criminal and must be stopped, so the idea of Serb "impatience" with the Kosovo Albanians for their resistance and "terrorism" would have been viewed as outlandish. The question was: how guilty were ordinary Serbs for the crimes of their government, and even though the Serbs were alleged to be suffering under a "dictatorship," Anthony Lewis, Blaine Harden, and Thomas Friedman in the Times and Stacy Sullivan and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen in the New Republic, and many others, found the Serbs guilty, either because of their indifference concerning their government's crimes or their positive support, as "willing executioners."

In the case of Israelis, many more of them than Serbs have been openly in favor of violence against their state's victims, and there are numerous available quotes of Israelis saying "I would kill all Arabs," "Arabs must be eliminated," and that Palestinians are mere "grasshoppers" and that these "vipers" should be "annihilated" (Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, spiritual leader of Israel's Shas party, speaking on April 9, 2001). But here, in this case of an approved ethnic cleansing, the media not only don't suggest Israeli citizen guilt, Israeli support of escalated state terrorism against Palestinians is reported antiseptically and even sympathetically, as the Israelis are the victims of "terrorism" but never themselves terrorize. They may be killing and wounding innocent civilians at a rate 20 or more times the rate of their victimization by the "terrorists," but that doesn't affect an equation where the value of lives of the terrorists and their families is zero.

4. Suppression of Inconvenient Facts

Eye aversion is extremely important in protecting the approved system of institutionalized injustice and ethnic cleansing. Thus, the mainstream U.S. media simply won't discuss the laws applying to an occupying power and their responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention, and Israel's massive violations of these rules in expropriations, discriminatory use of water and other matters are barely noted. The violence of Israel in imprisonments, torture, beatings, killings and injuries, and aid and protection to settler violence is enormously greater than Palestinian violence against Israel, but it is downplayed and relevant information on these matters is subjected to massive suppression.

Let me give a small sample illustrative of suppressions, taken from a very large pool, by class of suppression. It should be noted that what is suppressed is very often reports by UN bodies, human rights groups, Palestinian and Arab sources, and other individuals and reporters who fail to meet agenda standards. They put Israel in too bad a light, or mention U.S. military or counterinsurgency aid not helpful to the image of an honest broker. Barak, Sharon, Israeli army sources, and U.S. officials, although hugely biased and guilty of repeated lies, are the steady basis of the "news" agenda, which explains why whether Arafat can control the violence is an issue but not whether Barak, Sharon and Clinton or Bush can do the same

UN DOCUMENTS:

1. UN Special Report on Israel for the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, dated Nov. 13, 2000, strongly condemning Israel violations of the Geneva Convention, Oslo agreement, and human rights, was not mentioned in the U.S. media.

2. UN report of Feb. 26, 2001, which described the Israeli closures on the West Bank and Gaza as being "the most severe and sustained set of move restrictions imposed on the Occupied Palestinian Territory since the beginning of the occupation in 1967," was completely ignored in the U.S. mainstream media.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH REPORTS:

1. Human Rights Watch's report charging that "Israeli soldiers have abused hundreds of Palestinian drivers, beating them and slashing their car tires on roads in the West Bank," released on February 27, was not cited anywhere in the U.S. mainstream media.

2. Human Rights Watch's report of April 11, 2001, "Center of the Storm," called "a very severe report on the killing and wounding of Palestinian civilians in Hebron by Israeli Defense Forces soldiers and Jewish settlers," was featured twice in Ha'aretz and once in London's Independent, but was mentioned in passing only in the Washington Post (April 16), and was otherwise entirely blacked out in the U.S. media.

3. AI's report of December 8, 1999, on the Israeli policy of house demolitions, was unreported in the U.S. mainstream media.

4. AI's report of Oct. 26, 2000 charging that Israel's failure to investigate deaths cheapens life was mentioned briefly in the Washington Post (Nov. 2) and Boston Globe (Nov. 2), but was featured nowhere in the mainstream media.

5. AI's Nov. 3, 2000 report condemning Israel's attacks on civilians was mentioned in the Los Angeles Times (Nov. 5), but was not featured there or mentioned elsewhere.

6. AI's Nov. 9, 2000 report charging that mass arrests in Jerusalem and northern Israel are often followed by police beatings was mentioned (but not featured) only in the Chicago Tribune (Nov. 15), Chicago Sun-Times (Nov. 14), and The Oregonian (Nov. 16).

7. AI's Nov. 24, 2000 call for the deployment of human rights observers was mentioned only in the New York Times on the back page and dismissively (Nov. 28, 2000), and in The Deseret News (Nov. 25, 2000)

8. AI's Jan. 24, 2001 report charging impunity in the case of the killing of Palestinians (specifically criticizing a nominal sentence for a settler's murder of an 11 year old Palestinian child) was unmentioned in the mainstream media.

EVIDENCE OF U.S. SUPPLYING OF DEADLY WEAPONS AND COUNTERINSURGENCY SUPPORT AND TRAINING:

1. The Hebrew weekly Kol Ha'ir reported on January 26 that "U.S. Marines Trained with Tsahal [IDF] for Reconquest of the Territories of the Palestinian Authority." Picked up by Agence France Presse on January 27, 2001, this was unreported in the U.S. media.
2. Defense journals and Boeing reported the Boeing sale of nine Apache Longbow helicopters to Israel in February 2001, but the mainstream media failed to report this transaction (and other major weapons sales and transfers to Israel were of equal disinterest).
3. Israel and the "honest broker" also carried out joint exercises in February 2001 to test Patriot air defense missiles transferred from U.S. bases in Germany to Israel. This evidence of an extremely close military relationship between the two countries was mentioned in passing in the Washington Post (February 20, 2001), but nowhere else in the mainstream media.

EVIDENCE OF EXCEPTIONAL ISRAELI CRUELTY:

1. The Palestine Monitor reported on March 19, 2001, that "Israeli soldiers at Al Ram checkpoint fired tear gas canisters and sound bombs directly at Palestinians participating in a peaceful women's march. Women were beaten with the butts of rifles by the soldiers. 15 women have been transported to nearby hospitals. The march was organized by the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees to protest the continued Israeli imposed closure and siege on the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Eyewitnesses report that the march from Ramallah to Al Ram checkpoint was completely peaceful from the Palestinian side." This incident was unreported in the U.S. media.
2. **On February 20, 2001, the National School for Blind Girls in al-Bireh was shelled by Israeli tanks and heavy weaponry for three hours, seriously damaging the building and terrifying the disabled girls. The attacks apparently resulted because a nearby Jewish settlement had been fired upon by unknown parties. This incident was unreported in the U.S. mainstream media.**
3. **In early January a 10 year-old Palestinian girl Ella Ahmed in El Sawiya, near Nablus, died of a burst appendix after Israeli soldiers twice refused to allow passage to a hospital in Nablus. This was reported in Ha'aretz on January 9, but was not picked up in the U.S. media.**
4. **Sabreen Balout was born in a taxi on January 24, as the Israeli Defense Forces refused to allow passage to a hospital, and in fact insisted that the passengers in the taxi, including the baby still linked to her mother by an umbilical cord, get out of the cab on a cold rainy night. This was reported in Ha'aretz, but not in the U.S. media.**

5. UNRRA director Peter Hansen issued an unusual press release and report on March 11 declaring that Israeli policy in the West Bank and Gaza in destroying roads, uprooting trees, and damaging agricultural land in the interest of "security," not only violated international norms and law, it threatened a "humanitarian catastrophe." This UNRRA material was not picked up in the U.S. mainstream media.

6. Normalizing Structural Violence: Demolitions

The media's treatment of Israel's systematic demolitions of Palestinian homes provides an enlightening case study in bias. The policy of demolitions is horrendously inhumane and with its racist concentration on Palestinian homes is reminiscent of Nazi practice. There has been a steady stream of stories on the web issued by the Ethnic NewsWatch, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICHD), the Palestinian Land Defense Committee (PLDC), Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT), the Hebron Solidarity Committee (HSC), and other groups, that describe army demolitions that push out Palestinians virtually without notice. (Check out the website of the Hebron Solidarity Committee: "CPT Hebron" <cptheb@mail.palnet.com>.)

These stories are numerous, dramatic, and often heart-breaking as Jewish Israeli protesters and Christian teams often struggle to protect Palestinians from the racist onslaught of the army and settlers. The stories often describe demolitions of houses being rebuilt by protesters and then being bulldozed out of existence by the army for a second or third time. As noted earlier, Amnesty International had a report on this savage policy, stressing the racist essence, the widespread Palestinian fear of being demolished, and the murderous character of the policy--in one case, 100 border police coming without notice, starting to destroy a house, Palestinians starting to throw stones, and the police shooting dead Zaki 'Ubayd, a 28-year old father. This AI report was ignored by the Free Press.

A Nexis search of coverage of demolitions of Palestinian homes in the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Time and Newsweek for the five years from January 1, 1996 through December 31, 2000, comes up with only 23 articles: none in Time, one in Newsweek, five in the New York Times, 11 in the Washington Post, and six in the Los Angeles Times. With only a single exception in the Washington Post, these articles never mention the Israeli Committee Against Demolitions, the Hebron Solidarity Committee, and the Palestinian Land Defense Committee. Only two of the 23 articles made the front page, and only five give substantial detail on the brutality of the practice and suffering of the Palestinian victims. Twenty of the 23 give the Israeli rationale that the Palestinian homes were illegally built, and nine mention the demolitions as being a response to Palestinian violence; only six note that Palestinians are not allowed to build, and only one suggests even indirectly that the demolitions and settlements violate the Oslo accords as well as the Fourth Geneva Convention.

In that single exceptional case, Steven Erlanger says that "While Labor governments have also expanded existing settlements and the Oslo accords do not limit them from doing so, the Palestinians have complained that Israel now builds large new neighborhoods near existing settlements in order to call them expansion, rather than label them new." (NYT, Sept. 12, 1997). Note first that Erlanger's statement that Oslo does not preclude expanding settlements is strictly the Israeli interpretation of general language; and he cannot admit that new settlements have taken place, but only speaks of Palestinian complaints. He does not discuss whether doubling the number of settlers and other Israeli actions might possibly violate the spirit of Oslo.

In sum, in a period of intense demolition activity by Israel, the five print media examined treated the issue in very low key, with zero editorial attention. They created a phony balance by giving serious weight to alleged building code-violations and responses to Palestinian terrorism as the basis for Israeli policy, downplaying the violations of Oslo and international law, the hugely discriminatory features of Israeli law, and the direct terroristic abuses of the army and settlers in demolishing and taking over Palestinian property. They handled the issue in such a manner that the U.S. public would hardly know of this practice, and would hardly be roused to indignation, in contrast with their responses to the media's focus on Palestinian stone throwing and other misbehavior.

7. Rewriting History

In systems of propaganda, not only are inconvenient facts blacked out or treated in very low key where awkward, but history is also rewritten. Thus it has long been an important part of Israeli, U.S. official, and hence mainstream media propaganda that Arafat and the PLO have always been "rejectionist" whereas Israel and its sponsor have been patiently awaiting a negotiating partner. However, it has been shown time and again that this is an Orwellian inversion—that in fact only the ethnic cleanser and its sponsor have rejected an international consensus, long accepted by the PLO and Soviet Union as well as everybody but the "nyet duo," that would have returned the "occupied territories" to the Palestinians and involved mutual recognition. (For convincing evidence, Chomsky, *Fateful Triangle*, Updated Edition, chap. 3; or his *World Orders New and Old*, chap. 3.)

Another key myth has been that the Palestinian flight of 1948-1949 was carried out voluntarily, not mainly by deliberate Israeli violence. This myth was long ago exploded by Israeli historians like Benny Morris and Simha Flapan, among others, but it also continues to live even today within the U.S. propaganda system. Thus, Elie Wiesel says that "Incited by their leaders, 600,000 Palestinian left the country convinced that, once Israel was vanquished, they would be able to return home" ("Jerusalem in My Heart," NYT, Jan. 24, 2001), and this fabrication is not only published by the *Newspaper of Record*, it is not corrected in the letters columns or "Corrections." It also shows up uncorrected in the "news," where reporter John Kifner says that 52 years ago "750,000 people fled the fighting that commenced with the Arab attack on the newly created state of Israel" (NYT, Dec. 31, 2000). They didn't "flee the fighting," most of them were deliberately driven out in the first phase of "redeeming the land."

8. Conclusions: The Media's Supportive Role in Ethnic Cleansing; Where Will It End In Making a "Safe" Israel?

Robert Fisk notes that "Oddly, you can now learn more from the Israeli press than the American media. The brutality of Israeli soldiers is fully covered in *Ha'aretz*, which also reports on the large number of U.S. negotiators who are Jewish. Four years ago, a former Israeli soldier described in an Israeli newspaper how his men had looted a village in southern Lebanon; when the piece was reprinted in the *New York Times*, the looting episode was censored out of the text" (*Independent*, Dec. 13, 2000).

The U.S. mainstream media's coverage of Middle East issues shows a genuine propaganda system in action. As I have shown, the media have done a truly outstanding job of supporting state policy by making Israel's ethnic cleansing palatable, finding the victims the source of the violence, and thus facilitating virtually any level of wholesale violence Israel deems necessary to protect itself against "terrorism." As its ethnic cleansing policies inevitably produce secondary reactions to the primary (Israeli) violence, the media therefore contribute to an escalating process with no decent end in sight.

A "safe" Israel could be obtained by accommodation to a Palestinian presence with justice, but that has never been consistent with the Israeli policy of "redeeming the land" from the Gentiles, and there is no evidence that it has been seriously considered as a policy option in the Clinton and Oslo years or in any Bush signals or media perspectives. The other routes to a "safe" Israel, although cruel, dangerous, and almost certain to fail, are more consistent with the drift of actual policy, Sharon's victory, and media apologetics for everything Israel has done up to this moment. One route is a more aggressive policy of expulsions from any contested territory, a solution long advocated by Netanyahu and Sharon. The other route, easily combined with a policy of expulsion, is a still more violent crackdown that would kill or injure even larger numbers in the hope that this would escalate an exodus, directly deplete Palestinian numbers, and keep any remnants passive from fear.

I have no doubt that this semi-genocidal and dangerous policy, already approached in the Intifada II crackdown, would be effectively rationalized by the mainstream media as a regrettably necessary response to "violence" and the demands of Israeli "safety."

First the Carrot, Then the Stick: Behind the Carnage in Palestine
by Norman G. Finkelstein
14 April 2002

During the June 1967 war, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, completing the Zionist conquest of British-mandated Palestine. In the war's aftermath, the United Nations debated the modalities for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the Fifth Emergency Session of the General Assembly convening in the war's immediate aftermath, there was "near unanimity" on "the withdrawal of the armed forces from the territory of neighboring Arab states occupied during the recent war" since "everyone agrees that there should be no territorial gains by military conquest." (Secretary-General U Thant, summarizing the G.A. debate) In subsequent Security Council deliberations, the same demand for a full Israeli withdrawal in accordance with the principle of "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" was inscribed in United Nations Resolution 242, alongside the right of "every state in the region" to have its sovereignty respected. A still-classified State Department study concludes that the US supported the "inadmissibility" clause of 242, making allowance for only "minor" and "mutual" border adjustments. (Nina J. Noring and Walter B. Smith II, "The Withdrawal Clause in UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967") Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan later warned Cabinet ministers not to endorse 242 because "it means withdrawal to the 4 June boundaries, and because we are in conflict with the Security Council on that resolution."

Beginning in the mid-1970s a modification of UN Resolution 242 to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict provided for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza once Israel withdrew to its pre-June 1967 borders. Except for the United States and Israel (and occasionally a US client state), an international consensus has backed, for the past quarter century, the full-withdrawal/full recognition formula or what is called the "two-state" settlement. The United States cast the lone veto of Security Council resolutions in 1976 and 1980 calling for a two-state settlement that was endorsed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and front-line Arab states. A December 1989 General Assembly resolution along similar lines passed 151-3 (no abstentions), the three negative votes cast by Israel, the United States, and Dominica.

From early on, Israel consistently opposed full withdrawal from the Occupied Territories, offering the Palestinians instead a South African-style Bantustan. The PLO, having endorsed the international consensus, couldn't be dismissed, however, as "rejectionist" and pressure mounted on Israel to accept the two-state settlement. Accordingly, in June 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon, where the PLO was headquartered, to fend off what an Israeli strategic analyst called the PLO's "peace offensive." (Avner Yaniv, Dilemmas of Security)

In December 1987 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza rose up in a basically non-violent civil revolt (intifada) against the Israeli occupation. Israel's brutal repression (extra-judicial killings, mass detentions, house demolitions, indiscriminate torture, deportations, and so on) eventually crushed the uprising. Compounding the defeat of the intifada, the PLO suffered yet a further decline in its fortunes with the destruction of Iraq, the implosion of the Soviet Union, and the suspension of funding from the Gulf states. The US and Israel seized this occasion to recruit the already venal and now desperate PLO leadership as surrogates of Israeli power. This is the real meaning of the "peace process" inaugurated at Oslo in September 1993: to create a Palestinian Bantustan by dangling before the PLO the perquisites of power and privilege.

"The occupation continued" after Oslo, a seasoned Israeli commentator observed, "albeit by remote control, and with the consent of the Palestinian people, represented by their 'sole representative,' the PLO." And again: "It goes without saying that 'cooperation' based on the current power relationship is no more than permanent Israeli domination in disguise, and that Palestinian self-rule is merely a euphemism for Bantustanization." (Meron Benvenisti, *Intimate Enemies*)

After seven years of on-again, off-again negotiations and a succession of new agreements that managed to rob the Palestinians of the few crumbs thrown from the master's table at Oslo (the population of Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories had fully doubled in the meanwhile), the moment of truth arrived at Camp David in July 2000. President Clinton and Prime Minister Barak delivered Arafat the ultimatum of formally acquiescing in a Bantustan or bearing full responsibility for the collapse of the "peace process." As it happened, Arafat refused. Contrary to the myth spun by Barak-Clinton as well as a compliant media, in fact "Barak offered the trappings of Palestinian sovereignty," a special adviser at the British Foreign Office reports, "while perpetuating the subjugation of the Palestinians." (*The Guardian*, 10 April 1 2002; for details and the critical background, see Roane Carey, ed., *The New Intifada*)

Consider in this regard Israel's response to the recent Saudi peace plan. An Israeli commentator writing in *Haaretz* observes that the Saudi plan is "surprisingly similar to what Barak claims to have proposed two years ago." Were Israel really intent on a full withdrawal in exchange for normalization with the Arab world, the Saudi plan and its unanimous endorsement by the Arab League summit should have been met with euphoria. In fact, it elicited a deafening silence in Israel. (Aviv Lavie, 5 April 2002) Nonetheless, Barak's - and Clinton's - fraud that Palestinians at Camp David rejected a maximally generous Israeli offer provided crucial moral cover for the horrors that ensued.

Having failed in its carrot policy, Israel now reached for the big stick. Two preconditions had to be met, however, before Israel could bring to bear its overwhelming military superiority: a "green light" from the U.S. and a sufficient pretext. Already in summer 2000, the authoritative *Jane's Information Group* reported that Israel had completed planning for a massive and bloody invasion of the Occupied Territories. But the US vetoed the plan and Europe made equally plain its opposition. After 11 September, however, the US came on board. Indeed, Sharon's goal of crushing the Palestinians basically fit in with the US administration's goal of exploiting the World Trade Center atrocity to eliminate the last remnants of Arab resistance to total US domination. Through sheer exertion of will and despite a monumentally corrupt leadership, Palestinians have proven to be the most resilient and recalcitrant popular force in the Arab world. Bringing them to their knees would deal a devastating psychological blow throughout the region.

With a green light from the US, all Israel now needed was the pretext. Predictably it escalated the assassinations of Palestinian leaders following each lull in Palestinian terrorist attacks. "After the destruction of the houses in Rafah and Jerusalem, the Palestinians continued to act with restraint," Shulamith Aloni of Israel's Meretz party observed. "Sharon and his army minister, apparently fearing that they would have to return to the negotiating table, decided to do something and they liquidated Raad Karmi. They knew that there would be a response, and that we would pay the price in the blood of our citizens." (Yediot Aharonot, 18 January 2002) Indeed, Israel desperately sought this sanguinary response. Once the Palestinian terrorist attacks crossed the desired threshold, Sharon was able to declare war and proceed to annihilate the basically defenseless civilian Palestinian population.

Only the willfully blind can miss noticing that Israel's current invasion of the West Bank is an exact replay of the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. To crush the Palestinians' goal of an independent state alongside Israel - the PLO's "peace offensive" - Israel laid plans in August 1981 to invade Lebanon. In order to launch the invasion, however, it needed the green light from the Reagan administration and a pretext. Much to its chagrin and despite multiple provocations, Israel was unable to elicit a Palestinian attack on its northern border. It accordingly escalated the air assaults on southern Lebanon and after a particularly murderous attack that left two hundred civilians dead (including 60 occupants of a Palestinian children's hospital), the PLO finally retaliated killing one Israeli. With the pretext in hand and a green light now forthcoming from the Reagan administration, Israel invaded. Using the same slogan of "rooting out Palestinian terror," Israel proceeded to massacre a defenseless population, killing some 20,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, almost all civilians.

The problem with the Bush administration, we are repeatedly told, is that it has been insufficiently engaged with the Middle East, a diplomatic void Colin Powell's mission is supposed to fill. But who gave the green light for Israel to commit the massacres? Who supplied the F-16s and Apache helicopters to Israel? Who vetoed the Security Council resolutions calling for international monitors to supervise the reduction of violence? And who just blocked the proposal of the United Nation's top human rights official, Mary Robinson, to merely send a fact-finding team to the Palestinian territories? (IPS, 3 April 2002)

Consider this scenario. A and B stand accused of murder. The evidence shows that A provided B with the murder weapon, A gave B the "all-clear" signal, and A prevented onlookers from answering the victim's screams. Would the verdict be that A was insufficiently engaged or that A was every bit as guilty as B of murder?

To repress Palestinian resistance, a senior Israeli officer earlier this year urged the army to "analyze and internalize the lessons of Show the German army fought in the Warsaw ghetto." (Haaretz, 25 January 2002, 1 February 2002) Judging by the recent Israeli carnage in the West Bank - the targeting of Palestinian ambulances and medical personnel, the targeting of journalists, the killing of Palestinian children "for sport" (Chris Hedges, New York Times former Cairo bureau chief), the rounding up, handcuffing and blindfolding of all Palestinian males between the ages 15 and 50, and affixing of numbers on their wrists, the indiscriminate torture of Palestinian detainees, the denial of food, water, electricity, and medical assistance to the Palestinian civilian population, the indiscriminate air assaults on Palestinian neighborhoods, the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields, the bulldozing of Palestinian homes with the occupants huddled inside - it appears that the Israeli army is following the officer's advice. Dismissing all criticism as motivated by anti-Semitism, Elie Wiesel - chief spokesman for the Holocaust Industry - lent unconditional support to Israel, stressing the "great pain and anguish" endured by its rampaging army. (Reuters, 11 April; CNN, 14 April)

Meanwhile, the Portuguese Nobel laureate in literature, Jose Saramago, invoked the "spirit of Auschwitz" in depicting the horrors inflicted by Israel, while a Belgian parliamentarian avowed that Israel was "making a concentration camp out of the West Bank." (The Observer, 7 April 2002) Israelis across the political spectrum recoil in outrage at such comparisons. Yet, if Israelis don't want to stand accused of being Nazis they should simply stop acting like Nazis.

The Independent 16 April 2002

Amid the ruins of Jenin, the grisly evidence of a war crime. From Phil Reeves in Jenin

A monstrous war crime that Israel has tried to cover up for a fortnight has finally been exposed. Its troops have caused devastation in the centre of the Jenin refugee camp, reached yesterday by *The Independent*, where thousands of people are still living amid the ruins.

A residential area roughly 160,000 square yards about a third of a mile wide has been reduced to dust. Rubble has been shovelled by bulldozers into 30ft piles. The sweet and ghastly reek of rotting human bodies is everywhere, evidence that it is a human tomb. The people, who spent days hiding in basements crowded into single rooms as the rockets pounded in, say there are hundreds of corpses, entombed beneath the dust, under a field of debris, criss-crossed with tank and bulldozer treadmarks.

In one nearby half-wrecked building, gutted by fire, lies the fly-blown corpse of a man covered by a tartan rug. In another we found the remains of 23-year-old Ashraf Abu Hejar beneath the ruins of a fire-blackened room that collapsed on him after being hit by a rocket. His head is shrunken and blackened. In a third, five long-dead men lay under blankets.

A quiet, sad-looking young man called Kamal Anis led us across the wasteland, littered now with detritus of what were once households, foam rubber, torn clothes, shoes, tin cans, children's toys. He suddenly stopped. This was a mass grave, he said, pointing.

We stared at a mound of debris. Here, he said, he saw the Israeli soldiers pile 30 bodies beneath a half-wrecked house. When the pile was complete, they bulldozed the building, bringing its ruins down on the corpses. Then they flattened the area with a tank. We could not see the bodies. But we could smell them.

A few days ago, we might not have believed Kamal Anis. But the descriptions given by the many other refugees who escaped from Jenin camp were understated, not, as many feared and Israel encouraged us to believe, exaggerations. Their stories had not prepared me for what I saw yesterday. I believe them now.

Until two weeks ago, there were several hundred tightly-packed homes in this neighbourhood called Hanat al-Hawashim. They no longer exist.

Around the central ruins, there are many hundreds of half-wrecked homes. Much of the camp - once home to 15,000 Palestinian refugees from the 1948 war - is falling down. Every wall is speckled and torn with bullet holes and shrapnel, testimony of the awesome, random firepower of Cobra and Apache helicopters that hovered over the camp.

Building after building has been torn apart, their contents of cheap fake furnishings, mattresses, white plastic chairs spewed out into the road. Every other building bears the giant, charred, impact mark of a helicopter missile. Last night there were still many families and weeping children still living amid the ruins, cut off from the humanitarian aid. Ominously, we found no wounded, although there was a report of a man being rescued from beneath ruins only an hour before we arrived.

Those who did not flee the camp, or not detained by the army, have spent the bombardment in basements, enduring day after day of terror. Some were forced into rooms by the soldiers, who smashed their way into houses through the walls. The UN says half of the camp's 15,000 residents were under 18. As the evening hush fell over these killing fields, we could suddenly hear the children chattering. The mosques, once so noisy at prayer time, were silent.

Israel was still trying to conceal these scenes yesterday. It had refused entry to Red Cross ambulances for nearly a week, in violation of the Geneva Convention. Yesterday it continued to try to keep us out.

Jenin, in the northern end of the occupied West Bank, remained "a closed military zone", was ringed Merkava tanks, army Jeep patrols, and armoured personnel carriers. Reporters caught trying to get in were escorted out. A day earlier the Israeli armed forces took in a few selected journalists to see sanitised parts of the camp. We simply walked across the fields, flitted through an olive orchard overlooked by two Israeli tanks, and into the camp itself.

We were led in by hands gesturing at windows. Hidden, whispering people directed us through narrow alleys they thought were clear. When there were soldiers about, a finger would raise in warning, or a hand waved us back. We were welcomed by people desperate to tell what had occurred. They spoke of executions, and bulldozers wrecking homes with people inside. "This is mass murder committed by Ariel Sharon," Jamel Saleh, 43, said. "We feel more hate for Israel now than ever. Look at this boy." He placed his hand on the tousled head of a little boy, Mohammed, the eight-year-old son of a friend. "He saw all this evil. He will remember it all." So will everyone else who saw the horror of Jenin refugee camp. Palestinians who entered the camp yesterday were almost speechless.

Rajib Ahmed, from the Palestinian Energy Authority, came to try to repair the power lines. He was trembling with fury and shock. "This is mass murder. I have come here to help by I have found nothing but devastation. Just look for yourself." All had the same message: tell the world.

ATROCITIES MANAGEMENT

Edward S. Herman

It is extremely easy to demonize by atrocities management. I became steeped in this subject during the Vietnam War era, and even published a small volume in 1970 entitled *Atrocities in Vietnam: Myths and Realities*. The marvel of that era was how easily and effectively the U.S. establishment and media focused on the cruel acts and killings of the indigeous National Liberation Front (NLF, "Vietcong") and made them into sinister killers ("terrorists"), when in fact the terror of the U.S. and its local and foreign proxies was worse by a very large factor. The violence of the Diem government in the late 1950s was extremely brutal, indiscriminate, and massive; and when the US entered the fray directly in the 1960s a new level of (wholesale terror) was reached with chemical warfare, napalm, fragmentation bombs, "free fire zones," and high level B-52 bombing raids on "suspected Vietcong bases" (i.e., villages). The NLF was always more selective in its killing, for strategic and political reasons—it had a mass base in the countryside that it did not want to harm or alienate. The Diem government, its successors, and the US, were less discriminating for the same reason—they had little or no peasant support, so that indiscriminate terror and mass killing was the understandable strategy of aggression.

But the U.S. media featured the relatively small and selective terrorist acts of the enemy, dramatized and personalized them with details, and gave correspondingly slight and more antiseptic attention to the horrendous behavior of our clients and ourselves, also presented as defensive and retaliatory. I recall being one-upped on a radio debate on the war when my opponent pulled out an article in *Time* magazine showing a picture of two Vietnamese, hands-tied, allegedly executed by the NLF. This may or may not have been an instance of NLF terror, but two things were clear: the political selectivity of *Time* here and in general completely distorted the overall truth regarding terror in Vietnam, and the selectivity and dramatization made for very effective propaganda. While the U.S. was destroying Vietnam in order to "save" it, the U.S. media found only the Vietnamese enemy evil; the U.S. failed there, but with the noblest intentions.

Another important result of the effective demonization of the NLF as terroristic was to paralyse many liberals and leftists, unwilling to be tagged as not only unpatriotic but siding with terrorists. Many lapsed into silence; others condemned both sides, calling weakly for restraint and compromise; and only "extremists" were willing to call the U.S. aggression and long struggle against Vietnamese self-determination by its right name. This paralysis and marginalization of a principled position weakened the oppositional movement to the war.

The U.S. also destroyed Cambodia in a "sideshow" to the Vietnam war (1969-75), and following the devastating four year rule of the Khmer Rouge, the US supported the ousted Pol Pot forces as the "enemy of my enemy" (Vietnam). The U.S. media focused intensively and indignantly on the Khmer Rouge genocide, but from 1969 to today have largely blacked out the atrocities of the "sideshow" years, the misdeeds of the Khmer Rouge during the period of U.S. support, and the fact of that support. Here again, the power of media propaganda has been such that calling attention to the U.S. role as the first phase genocidists and its badly compromised position as Pol Pot supporter after 1978 is virtually unheard of, and departures from an exclusive focus on

KR crimes makes one an apologist for the KR. This process extends to the "left," with repeated illustrations in the Progressive and In These Times, and in an Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)-Interhemispheric Resource Center publication, Foreign Policy in Focus. In the latter case, a 1997 essay on Cambodia by Philip Robertson focused entirely on KR crimes, portrayed the US as a neutral party in that country and suitable adjudicator of policy, and supplied a list of policy recommendations for it to implement there, including U.S. support for war crimes trials for KR leaders.

Another sideshow of the Vietnam war was the mass killings in Indonesia in 1965-66, which destroyed the base of the Communist Party and brought Indonesia into the U.S. sphere of influence. This sideshow was greeted enthusiastically by the U.S. establishment. Given this approval, and 33 years of U.S. support for the Suharto dictatorship, atrocities management has required that the large-scale murders and rule by violence, and the mass killings in East Timor from 1975-1999, be kept under the rug. The U.S. media have done a great job here. There are no UN forensic groups over there looking at bodies, and there are no demands for ending Suharto's impunity.

Similarly, with the US "constructively engaged" with South Africa, Israel, and Turkey over the past several decades, the South African occupation of Namibia, assaults on the front line states, and support of Renamo and Savimbi, Israel's invasions and "iron fist" attacks on Lebanon, and Turkey's scorched earth policies and killings of Kurds, could proceed for many years killing hundreds of thousands unimpeded by any intense focus on atrocities or serious attention from the "international community." Turkey could even offer to lend armed support to the NATO effort in Kosovo, presumably diverting troops from killing Kurds, without eliciting the slightest sense of irony in the West.

Only when the Godfather needs atrocities—as with the NLF, PLO, or Serbs—do atrocities come on line, with intense focus and indignation. This is done with such assurance and self-righteous virtue that liberals and leftists jump on the bandwagon and welcome the Godfather's gracious willingness in this particular case to finally properly lead and bring justice to the targeted villain and area. The willingness of leftists to accept the U.S. (and NATO) as proper authorities to decide, judge and drop bombs is nothing short of astonishing. Some of them might the previous week have condemned the murderous U.S. sanctions that are killing more Iraqi children each month than the aggregate casualties in Kosovo, U.S. support of the Turkish war against the Kurds, the U.S. bombing of the Sudan, etc., but still their political vision is so limited, their response to atrocities so elemental, that they collapse intellectually and morally. One leftist is reported to have said that the Serbs are pulling people out of houses and killing them, implying that this justified the NATO bombing of Serbia. On this kind of reasoning, Israel would have been bombed after Sabra- Shatila and on many other occasions; and of course the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala would have been bombed incessantly in the 1980s, instead of being supplied and protected by the US.

With Milosevic and the Serbs effectively demonized, the left even puts forward spokespersons who openly favor the NATO bombing. Both IPS and Mother Jones offer as an expert and spokesperson Albert Cevallos of the International Crisis Group, who urges "the need of bombing to bring Serbia back into the peace process," to be followed by an international peacekeeping army in Kosovo. Mother Jones also provides Doug Hostetter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who proposes that as Milosevic is carrying out "genocidal acts" the U.S. should seek to bring him before the war crimes tribunal. Reminiscent of the Vietnam War paralysis, the IPS and Mother Jones leftists oppose the bombing (Cevallos excepted) mainly because it won't work in achieving purportedly humane goals, whose substantive primacy is taken for granted. Not one of these experts condemns the U.S. and NATO for tearing Yugoslavia apart, for violating international law in the bombing, and for their political selectivity and gross double standard in choice of innocents.

to be protected from crimes against humanity.

Atrocities management works, but it also requires a complementary gross misunderstanding of the issues at stake and context of the actions taken. The Serbs have committed terrible acts in Kosovo and deserve condemnation; and international efforts to end that crisis are eminently desirable. But past NATO policies have contributed to the ongoing violence and are part of the problem—their bombing strategy is the culmination of policies that have exacerbated the crisis. The bombing is not merely immoral and illegal, it is part of an ugly and destructive policy sequence rooted in self-serving geo-political strategies. _

February 10, 2002

Uncertain Toll in the Fog of War: Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan

By BARRY BEARAK

his article was reported by Barry Bearak, Eric Schmitt and Craig S. Smith and was written by Mr. Bearak.

In an age of eavesdropping warplanes and satellite-guided bombs, the Pentagon finds itself accused of sometimes relying on faulty intelligence in Afghanistan, leading to an unnecessary toll of civilian deaths.

Scrutiny has grown since a pre dawn raid on Jan. 24, when U.S. com mandos killed at least 15 men presumed to be Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters. Officials in the interim Af ghan government have since joined grieving survivors in calling the at tack a tragic mistake, with some surmising the Americans were duped with false information by a scheming local warlord.

A full-fledged investigation by the Pentagon's Central Command is under way, which is unusual. Despite scores of credible reports about possibly misdirected airstrikes and sizable civilian losses — accounts from the United Nations, aid agencies and journalists — the military has made detailed inquiries into but a few cases, like the bombing of Red Cross warehouses in Kabul twice within 10 days in October.

Most often, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and military spokesmen have dismissed accusations of mistakes as enemy propaganda. They express confidence in their targeting and regret any "collateral damage." They maintain that extraordinary efforts have been taken to minimize civilian losses, something that even most critics of the war effort would not dispute.

Nevertheless, certainly hundreds and perhaps thousands of innocent Afghans have lost their lives during American attacks, a scattering of bodies extraordinarily difficult to tabulate.

Many mournful Afghan families demand a reckoning.

"Tell me why our homes were destroyed and 55 people — even little children — are dead?" asked an angry young man named Gul Nabi, standing in December among the 15 obliterated houses of

"There were only farmers who lived a good life and prayed to Allah for peace."

The American military routinely reviews the effectiveness of its air raids, but by its own admission it has faced insurmountable difficulty in tracking the toll of civilian deaths. Mr. Rumsfeld has called the task "next to impossible," citing a lack of ground access to bombed targets.

That leaves much unknown. American weaponry, according to a statement Mr. Rumsfeld made in October, is "probably 85-90 percent reliable."

Assessing the Damage.

For the Afghanistan campaign, the Air Force created a special assessment team at its air operations center outside Riyadh to look at cases of possible civilian losses and other unintended damage. Pilot reports, targeting data and aerial reconnaissance photos are examined. The team has reviewed "several scores" of reports and acknowledged a handful of bomb malfunctions that have led to unintended casualties.

Mistakes caused by bad intelligence are harder to investigate. Credible reports about such instances are referred to Central Command headquarters in Tampa, Fla. Field investigations are necessary. Customarily, none have been assigned because of the difficulty of getting troops to the sites.

The military ordered its investigation of the Jan. 24 commando raid only after Hamid Karzai, Afghanistan's pro-American interim president, personally complained to Gen. Tommy R. Franks, commander of the operation in Afghanistan.

"The military knows they'll get pummeled about issues relating to civilian casualties, and they don't have a clue how to address it in a nonpropagandistic way," said William H. Arkin, a former army intelligence analyst who is a military adviser to Human Rights Watch. "The subject ties them in knots. It's an irritant, and they avoid it."

For a war that has so riveted the world's attention, there are tremendous gaps in knowledge about what has occurred. Some of this was deliberate. For months, the Taliban excluded any foreign observers. Much of what they claimed about civilian casualties has proven to be false.

But now, even with the Taliban gone, truth remains hard to come by. The sites of past air raids are often in remote locations that are only reachable on unsafe roads. Memory, as always, can be a chameleon. In the Muslim tradition, bodies are buried soon after death. Some answers disappear in the turned earth.

"What we were challenged with each and every time, particularly in the early weeks of the war, was that we did not have people on the ground to check," said Rear Adm. Craig R. Quigley, senior spokesman for the Central Command.

Now, about 4,000 American troops are in Afghanistan. But most investigations would be unreliable because of the amount of time that has passed, the admiral said. Some of the damage has been repaired, many of the witnesses have moved away.

"You just don't find much," he said.

If that is true, many mysteries will remain unresolved.

What happened at the village of Karam in Nangahar Province on Oct. 11? The Taliban claimed 200 civilians were killed in an air raid. Some survivors put the death count at 50, some 100, some higher. Reporters, visiting the scene days later, found a hamlet of demolished mud huts and interviewed devastated family members. Mr. Rumsfeld called the claims of a high death toll "ridiculous" and said secondary explosions proved that a major arms dump had been struck.

What happened on Dec. 1 when bombs leveled several villages near Tora Bora, the cave complex where Osama bin Laden was thought to be hiding? America's anti-Taliban allies in the region said the bombs killed at least 115 civilians and called for the raids to stop. Doctors Without Borders, the aid organization, said they transported 72 dead, including women and children, and left many more bodies behind. The Pentagon said its planes had hit only its intended targets.

What happened on Dec. 20 when American planes attacked a convoy in Paktia Province, killing as many as 50 to 60 people on the road and in surrounding villages? The Pentagon said that Taliban leaders were in the vehicles and that the enemy fired first, using anti-aircraft missiles. Survivors claimed the convoy was bringing tribal elders to Kabul for the inauguration of the interim president.

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Uncertain Toll in the Fog of War: Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan

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What happened on Dec. 29 in an air raid on Niazi Qala, a village in Paktia? Some survivors said more than 100 civilians were killed. The Pentagon claimed it had hit a Taliban ammunition depot, and journalists later found a huge cache of tank rounds and mortar shells. Villagers, however, said anti-Taliban forces had earlier taken control of the munitions and that many of the people killed, including women and children, had congregated for a wedding.

"We've got about 300 incidents in our database, and I'd say about a third involve some civilian casualties that would be worth taking a second look at," said Mr. Arkin, the Human Rights Watch adviser, who is also an adjunct professor at the U.S. Air Force's School of Advanced Airpower Studies.

Human Rights Accounting

The rights group is making plans to send researchers to Afghanistan in March to estimate the number of civilians killed and to investigate those attacks that might have arisen from an illegitimate use of force.

America's use of cluster bombs will be studied. Each one sprays a huge area with more than 200 soda-can-size armor-piercing bomblets. Some fail to detonate on contact.

"The duds in effect become land mines that explode when touched," said Joost Hiltermann, executive director of the Human Rights Watch arms division.

By some calculations, he said, the American bombing campaign may have left 36,000 unexploded canisters strewn across Afghanistan's rugged landscape, an estimate that Admiral Quigley said was too high. He declined to provide a better number.

Rights groups often take the lead in counting civilian deaths, and some experts believe it would in the Pentagon's interest to provide its own numbers.

"It hasn't been a major focus of attention for the military, which may well be a mistake," said Eliot A. Cohen, a professor at Johns Hopkins University who directed the Air Force's definitive study of the 1991 Persian Gulf war. "Frequently, the human rights community will, in the absence of good numbers, put out bad numbers."

A few researchers have already done some arithmetic, basing their calculations on various news reports. Prof. Marc W. Herold, an economist at the University of New Hampshire, added up at least 3,767 civilian casualties from Oct. 7 to Dec. 6. Carl Conetta, co-director of the Project on Defense Alternatives, used a more stringent distillation of media accounts and concluded that a better guess would be 1,000 to 1,300 deaths.

Whatever the total, the Pentagon would likely continue to insist that it is a bare, if inevitable, minimum. "There is no question but from time to time, innocent people, noncombatants, undoubtedly are killed and that is always unfortunate," Mr. Rumsfeld has said repeatedly.

Military officials describe a rigorous process of picking targets. In Afghanistan, the Pentagon has used multiple sources of intelligence, including local Afghans, U-2 spy planes, reconnaissance satellites, unpiloted Predator drones and RC-135 Rivet Joint planes that collect electronic transmissions. Sources are crosschecked for accuracy.

Commanders then determine which aircraft to dispatch, the type and size of bomb, and even the best approach route to minimize the threat to civilians. Lawyers review the targets, also evaluating the risk to civilians.

"This has been the most accurate war ever fought in this nation's history," General Franks told the Senate Armed Services Committee last week.

About 60 percent of the 18,000 bombs, missiles and other ordnance used since the air campaign began on Oct. 7 were precision-guided, up from fewer than 10 percent of munitions in the Persian Gulf war, military officials said.

A Raid Gone Awry

But word-of-mouth, rather than faulty high-tech gear, is the main suspect in the seemingly misbegotten Jan. 24 raid. In the pitch of night, relying on surprise, American soldiers and some commandos from an allied country burst into two compounds in the town of Oruzgan, more than 100 miles northeast of Kandahar. They were expecting to find secreted members of the Al Qaeda or Taliban leadership. And they were hoping to catch them napping.

Nayaz Muhammad, 27, said he was asleep in a school when he was awakened by a blast. Most of the 11 other men in the room died almost immediately in a barrage of gunfire. He escaped by diving out a window. The attackers were bathing the building in light. He managed to flee to a barn.

"I didn't know why they were shooting," Mr. Muhammad recalled days later.

Neither did Muhammad Yunas, a former district government chief, who had been sleeping in the other compound. He saw the charging Americans.

"I told my men, 'Don't shoot, they're our people, they'll come to talk,' " he said. "We were amazed. Why would the Americans come to attack us?"

In the morning light, 21 lay dead, villagers said. Nineteen had been pulled from the school by neighbors. Two of the corpses had their hands bound behind their backs with white tape, witnesses said. The others were burned beyond recognition.

Hours later, back in Washington, a victory was being announced. The commandos had destroyed a large cache of weapons, it was reported. Twenty-seven prisoners were taken. They were being questioned. Some might be high-level Taliban.

But within two weeks, the raiders themselves were on the defensive. Mr. Rumsfeld conceded that friends might well have been mistaken for foes. Villagers insisted the weapons cache was merely a storehouse for confiscated arms. The 27 prisoners were released to Afghan authorities.

Meanwhile, the military investigation began. Was the raid legitimate? If not, where had the American military gotten the false intelligence? General Franks said that at least some of the detainees were criminals, if not enemy warriors.

Many Afghan officials from the area say the Americans listened to lies and were drawn into a feud between factions fighting to control the town. They wonder why the military did not go to Oruzgan and ask around.

Ahmed Wali Karzai, the president's brother, is based in Kandahar. He said he had tried to settle the dispute. Instead, people are needlessly dead.

"I hope that the Americans are brave enough to name the person who gave them that information," he said.

George Soros, Imperial Wizard

MASTER-BUILDER OF THE NEW BRIBE SECTOR,
SYSTEMATICALLY BILKING THE WORLD

Heather Cottin



Richard Dineen/Photo

December 10, 2001. New York, New York. Irene Diamond, left, David Rockefeller, center, and George Soros, three of eleven recipients of the inaugural Carnegie Medals of Philanthropy, indulge in a round of self-congratulation.

"Yes, I do have a foreign policy...my goal is to become the conscience of the world."¹

This is not a case of narcissistic personality disorder; this is how George Soros exercises the authority of United States hegemony in the world today. Soros foundations and financial machinations are partly responsible for the destruction of socialism in Eastern Europe and the former USSR. He has set his sights on China. He was part of the full court press that dismantled Yugoslavia. Calling himself a phi-

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty jointly with the U.S. and RFE/RL, which has expanded into the Caucasus and Asia.³ Soros is the founder and funder of the Open Society Institute. He created and maintains the International Crisis Group (ICG) which,

GEORGE SOROS WAS BORN IN HUNGARY IN 1930 TO JEWISH PARENTS SO REMOVED FROM THEIR ROOTS THEY ONCE VACATIONED IN NAZI GERMANY.

among other things, has been active in the Balkans since the destruction of Yugoslavia. Soros works openly with the United States Institute of Peace—an overt arm of the CIA.

He thrusts himself upon world statesmen and they respond. He has been close to Henry Kissinger, Vaclav Havel and Poland's General Wojciech Jaruzelski.⁴ He supports the Dalai Lama, whose institute is housed in the Presidio in San Francisco, also home to the foundation run by Soros' friend, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.⁵

When anti-globalization forces were freezing in the streets outside New York's Waldorf-Astoria hotel in February 2002, George Soros was inside addressing the World Economic Forum. As the police forced protesters into metal cages on Park Avenue, Soros was extolling the virtues of the "Open Society" and joined Zbigniew Brzezinski, Samuel Huntington, Francis Fukuyama and others.

lanthropist, billionaire George Soros' role is to tighten the ideological stranglehold of globalization and the New World Order while promoting his own financial gain. Soros' commercial and "philanthropic" operations are clandestine, contradictory and coercive. And as far as his economic activities are concerned, by his own admission, he is without conscience; a capitalist who functions with absolute amorality.

Soros is a leading figure on the Council of Foreign Relations, the World Economic Forum, and Human Rights Watch (HRW). In 1994, after a meeting with his philosophical guru, Sir Karl Popper, Soros ordered his companies to start investing in found work on Wall Street where, in the 1960s, he invented the "hedge fund."

...hedge funds catered to very wealthy individuals...The largely secretive funds, usually trading in offshore locations...produced astronomically superior results. The size of the "bets" often became self fulfilling prophecies: 'rumors of a position taken by the big hedge funds prompted other investors to follow suit,' which would in turn force up the price the hedgers were betting on to begin with.⁷

Soros organized the Quantum Fund in 1969 and began to dabble in currency manipulation. In the 1970s, his financial activities turned to:

Alternating long and short positions... Soros won big both on the rise of real estate investment trusts and on their subsequent collapse. Under his 20-year stewardship, Quantum returned an amazing 34.5% a year. Soros is best known (and feared) for currency speculation...In 1997 he earned the rare distinction of being singled out as a villain by a head of state, Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad, for taking part in a highly profitable attack on that nation's currency.⁸

Through such clandestine financial scheming, Soros became a multibillionaire. His companies control real estate in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico; banking in Venezuela; and are some of the most profitable currency traders in the world, giving rise to the general belief that his highly placed friends assisted him in his financial endeavors, for political as well as financial gain.⁹

Central and Eastern European communications. The Federal Radio Television Administration of the Czech Republic accepted his offer to take over and fund the archives of Radio Free Europe. Soros moved the archives to Prague and spent over \$15 million on their maintenance.² A Soros foundation now runs CIA-created

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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be thought well of by others:

Currency traders sitting at their desks buy and sell currencies of Third World countries in large quantities. The effect of the currency fluctuations on the people who live in those countries is a matter that does not enter their minds. Nor should it; they have a job to do. Yet if we pause to think, we must ask ourselves whether currency traders...should regulate the lives of millions.¹⁴

It was Soros who saved George W. Bush's bacon when his management of an oil exploration company was ending in failure. Soros was the owner of Harken Energy Corporation, and it was he who bought the rapidly depreciating stocks just prior to the company's collapse. The future president cashed out at almost one million dollars. Soros said he did it to buy "political influence."¹⁵ Soros is also a partner in the infamous Carlyle Group. Organized in 1987, "the world's largest private equity firm" with over twelve billion dollars under management, is run by "a veritable who's who of former Republican leaders," from CIA man Frank Carlucci to CIA head George Bush, Sr. The Carlyle Group makes most of its money from weapons expenditures.

THE PHILANTHROPIST SPOOK

In 1980, Soros began to use his millions to attack socialism in Eastern Europe. He financed individuals who would cooperate with him. His first success was in Hungary. He took over the Hungarian educational and cultural establishment, incapacitating socialist institutions throughout the coun-

WHO IS THIS GUY?

George Soros was born in Hungary in 1930 to Jewish parents so removed from their roots that they once vacationed in Nazi Germany.⁶ Soros lived under the Nazis, but with the triumph of the Communists moved to England in 1947. There, Soros came under the sway of the philosopher Karl Popper, at the London School of Economics. Popper was a lionized anti-communist ideologue and his teachings formed the basis for Soros' political tendencies. There is hardly a speech, book or article that Soros writes that does not pay obeisance to Popper's influence.

Knighted in 1965, Popper coined the slogan "Open Society," which eventually manifested in Soros' Open Society Fund and Institute. Followers of Popper repeat his words like true believers. Popperian philosophy epitomizes Western individualism. Soros left England in 1956, and

George Soros has been blamed for the destruction of the Thai economy in 1997.¹⁰ One Thai activist said, "We regard George Soros as a kind of Dracula. He sucks the blood from the people."¹¹ The Chinese call him "the crocodile," because his economic and ideological efforts in China were so insatiate, and because his financial speculation created millions of dollars in profits as it ravished the Thai and Malaysian economies.¹²

Soros once made a billion dollars in one day by speculating (a word he abhors) on the British pound. Accused of taking "money from every British taxpayer when he speculated against sterling," he said, "When you speculate in the financial markets you are free of most of the moral concerns that confront an ordinary businessman...I did not have to concern myself with moral issues in the financial markets."¹³

Soros has a schizophrenic craving for unlimited personal wealth and a desire to

try. He made his way right inside the Hungarian government. Soros next moved on to Poland, aiding the CIA-funded Solidarity operation and in that same year, he became active in China. The USSR came next.

It is not coincidental that the Central Intelligence Agency had operations in all of those countries. The goal of the Agency was exactly the same as that of the Open Society Fund: to dismantle socialism. In South Africa, the CIA sought out dissidents who were anticommunist. In Hungary, Poland and the USSR, the CIA, with overt intervention from the National Endowment for Democracy, the AFL-CIO, USAID and other institutions, supported and organized anticommunists, the very type of individuals recruited by Soros' Open Society Fund. The CIA would have called them "assets." As Soros said, "In each country I identified a group of people—some leading personalities, others less well known—who shared

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my belief..."¹⁶ Soros' Open Society organized conferences with anticommunist Czechs, Serbs, Romanians, Hungarians, Croats, Bosnians, Kosovars.¹⁷ His ever-expanding influence gave rise to suspicions that he was operating as part of the U.S. intelligence complex. In 1989, the *Washington Post* reported charges first made in 1987 by the Chinese government officials that Soros' Fund for the Reform and Opening of China had CIA connections.¹⁸

TAKING ON MOSCOW

After 1990, Soros funds targeted the Russian educational system, providing the entire nation with textbooks.¹⁹ In effect, Soros ensured the indoctrination of an entire generation of Russian youth with OSI propaganda. Soros foundations were accused of engineering a strategy to take control of the Russian financial system, privatization schemes, and the process of foreign investment in that country. Russians reacted angrily to Soros' legislative meddlings. Critics of Soros and other U.S. foundations said the goal of these maneuvers was to "thwart Russia as a state, which has the potential to compete with the world's only superpower."²⁰ Russians began to suspect Soros and the CIA were interconnected. Business tycoon Boris Berezovsky said, "I nearly fainted when I heard a couple of years ago that George Soros was a CIA agent."²¹ Berezovsky's opinion was that Soros, and the West, were "afraid of Russian capital becoming strong."

If the economic and political establishment in the United States fear an economic rivalry from Russia, what better way to control it than to dominate Russian media, education, research centers and science?

CovertAction Quarterly

tive Fred Cuny into the conflict in Chechnya. Cuny's cover was disaster relief, but his history of involvement in international conflict zones of interest to the U.S., plus FBI and CIA search parties, made clear his government connections. At the time of his disappearance, Cuny was working under contract to a Soros foundation.²⁵ It is not widely known in the U.S. that the violence in Chechnya, a province in the heart of Russia, is generally perceived as the result of a political destabilization campaign on which Washington looks favorably, and may actually be directing. This assessment of the situation is clear enough to writer Tom Clancy that he felt free to include it as an assertion of fact in his best-seller, *The Sum of All Fears*. The Russians accused Cuny of being a CIA operative, and part of an intelligence operation to support the Chechen uprising.²⁶ Soros' Open Society Institute is still active in Chechnya, as are other Soros-sponsored organizations.

Russia was the site of at least one joint endeavor to enhance Soros' balance sheet, arranged with diplomatic assistance from the Clinton administration. In 1999, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright blocked a \$500 million loan guarantee by the U.S. Export-Import Bank to the Russian company, Tyumen Oil, on the grounds that it was contrary to U.S. national interests. Tyumen wanted to buy American-made oil equipment and services from Dick Cheney's Halliburton Company and ABB Lummus Global of Bloomfield, New Jersey.²⁷ George Soros was an investor in a company that Tyumen had been trying to acquire. Both Soros and BP Amoco lobbied to prevent this transaction, and Albright obliged.²⁸

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tion with an anticommunist bent. In 1993, the Open Society Fund became the Open Society Institute.

Helsinki Watch became Human Rights Watch in 1975. Soros is currently on its

**SOROS' ACTIVITIES ECHO
NED'S ALLEN WEINSTEIN: "A
LOT OF WHAT WE DO TODAY
WAS DONE COVERTLY TWENTY-
FIVE YEARS AGO BY THE CIA."**

Advisory Board, both for the Americas and the Eastern Europe-Central Asia Committees, and his Open Society Fund/Soros/OSI is listed as a funder.²⁹ Soros is intimately connected to HRW, and Neier wrote columns for *The Nation* magazine without mentioning that he was on Soros' payroll.³⁰

Soros is intimately involved in HRW, although he does his best to hide it.³¹ He says he just funds and sets up these programs and lets them run. But they do not stray from the philosophy of the funder. HRW and OSI are close. Their views do not diverge. Of course, other foundations fund these institutions as well, but Soros' influence dominates their ideology.

George Soros' activities fall into the construct developed in 1983 and enunciated by Allen Weinstein, founder of the National Endowment for Democracy. Weinstein said, "A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA."³² Soros is operating exactly within the confines of the intelligence complex. He is little different

After spending \$250 million for the "transformation of education of humanities and economics at the high school and university levels," Soros created the International Science Foundation for another \$100 million.²² The Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK) accused Soros foundations in Russia of "espionage." They noted that Soros was not operating alone; he was part of a full court press that included financing from the Ford and Heritage Foundations; Harvard, Duke, and Columbia universities, and assistance from the Pentagon and U.S. intelligence services.²³ The FSK criticized Soros' payouts to 50,000 Russian scientists, saying that Soros advanced his own interests by gaining control of thousands of Russian scientific discoveries and new technologies to collect state and commercial secrets.²⁴

In 1995, Russians were infuriated by the insinuation of State Department opera-

NURTURING LEFT ANTI-SOCIALISM

Soros' Open Society Institute has a finger in every pot. Its board of directors reads like a "Who's Who" of Cold War and New World Order pundits. Paul Goble is Communications Director; he was the major political commentator at Radio Free Europe. Herbert Okun served in the Nixon State Department as an intelligence adviser to Henry Kissinger. Kati Marton is the wife of former Clinton administration UN ambassador and envoy to Yugoslavia, Richard Holbrooke. Marton lobbied for the Soros-funded radio station B-92, also a project of the National Endowment for Democracy (another overt arm of the CIA), which was instrumental in bringing down the Yugoslav government.

When Soros founded the Open Society Fund he picked liberal pundit Aryeh Neier to lead it. Neier was the head of Helsinki Watch, a putative human rights organiza-

tion from CIA drug runners in Laos in the 1960s, or the mujahedin who profited from the opium trade while carrying out CIA operations against socialist Afghanistan in the 1980s. He simply funnels (and takes home) a whole lot more money than those pawns, and he does much of his business in the light of day. His candor insofar as he expresses it is a sort of spook damage control that serves to legitimize the strategies of U.S. foreign policy.

The majority of people in the U.S. today who consider themselves politically left-of-center are undoubtedly pessimistic about the chances for a socialist transformation of society. Thus the Soros "Decentralization" model, or the "piecemeal" approach to "negative utilitarianism, the attempt to minimize the amount of misery," which was Popper's philosophy, appeals to them.³³ Soros funded an HRW study that was used to back California and Arizona legislation

relaxing drug laws.³⁴ Soros favors the legalization of drugs—one way of temporarily reducing awareness of one's misery. Soros is an equal-opportunity bribeester. At a loftier rung of the socioeconomic ladder, one finds Social Democrats who accept Soros funding and believe in civil liberties within the context of capitalism.³⁵ For these folks, the evil consequences of Soros' business activities (impoverishing people all over the world) are mitigated by his philanthropic activities. Similarly, liberal/left intellectuals, both in the U.S. and abroad, have been drawn in by the "Open Society" philosophy, not to men-

**SOROS FUNDED OTPOR,
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RECEIVED THOSE "SUITCASES
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GOVERNMENT.**

tion the occasional funding plum.

The New Left in the United States was a social democratic movement. It was resolutely anti-Soviet, and when Eastern Europe and the USSR fell, few in the New Left opposed the destruction of the socialist systems. The New Left did not mourn or protest when the hundreds of millions in Eastern Europe and Central Asia lost their right to jobs, housing at reasonable and legally protected rents, free education through graduate school, health care and cultural enhancement. Most belittled any suggestion that the CIA and certain NGOs such as the National Endowment for Democracy or the Open Society Fund had actively participated in the annihilation of socialism. These people felt that the Western determination to destroy the USSR since 1917 was barely connected to the fall of the USSR. For them, socialism failed of its own accord, because it was flawed.

As revolutions, such as the ones in Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua or El Salvador were destroyed by proxy forces or were stalled by demonstration "elections," New Left pragmatists shrugged their shoulders and turned away. The New Left sometimes seemed to deliberately ignore the post-Soviet machinations of U.S. foreign policy.

Bogdan Denitch, who had political aspirations in Croatia, was active within the Open Society Institute, and received OSI funding.³⁶ Denitch favored the ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Croatia, NATO bombing of Bosnia and then Yugoslavia,

and even a ground invasion of Yugoslavia.³⁷ Denitch was a founder and chair for many years of the Democratic Socialists of America, a leading liberal-left group in the U.S. He has also long chaired the prestigious Socialist Scholars Conference, through which he was key to manipulating the sympathies of many toward support for NATO expansion.³⁸ Other Soros targets for support include Refuse and Resist the ACLU, and a host of other liberal causes.³⁹ Soros added another unlikely trophy when he became involved in the New School for Social Research in New York, long an academy of choice for left intellectuals. He now funds the East and Central Europe Program there.⁴⁰

Many leftists who were inspired by the revolution in Nicaragua sadly accepted the election of Violetta Chamorro and the defeat of the Sandinistas in 1990. Most of the Nicaragua support network faded thereafter. Perhaps the New Left could have learned from the rising star of Michael Kozak. He was a veteran of Washington's campaigns to install sympathetic leaders in Nicaragua, Panama and Haiti, and to undermine Cuba—he headed the U.S. Interests Section in Havana.

After organizing the Chamorro victory in Nicaragua, Kozak moved on to become U.S. Ambassador to Belarus. Kozak worked with the Soros-sponsored "Internet Access and Training Program" (IATP), which was busy "creating future leaders" in Belarus.⁴¹ This program was simultaneously imposed upon Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. IATP operates openly with the support of the U.S. Department of State. To its credit, Belarus expelled Kozak and the Soros-Open Society/U.S. State Department crowd. The government of Aleksandr Lukashenko found that for four years before moving to Minsk, Kozak was instrumental in engineering the flow of tens of millions of dollars to the Belarus opposition. Kozak was creating a united opposition coalition, funding websites, newspapers and opinion polls, and tutoring a student resistance movement similar to Yugoslavia's Otpor. Kozak brought in Otpor leaders to instruct dissidents in Belarus.⁴² Just before September 11, 2001, the U.S. was revving up a demonization campaign against President Aleksander Lukashenko. Demonizing Lukashenko has temporarily taken a back burner to the "war on terrorism."

Through OSI and HRW, Soros was a major supporter of the B-92 radio station in Belgrade. Soros funded Otpor, the organization that received those "suitcases of money" in support of the October 5, 2000 coup that toppled the Yugoslav gov-

ernment.⁴³ Human Rights Watch helped legitimize the subsequent kidnapping and show trial of Slobodan Milosevic in The Hague by saying nothing about his rights.⁴⁴ Louise Arbour, who served as judge at that illegal tribunal, is presently on the Board of Soros' International Crisis Group.⁴⁵ The Open Society/Human Rights Watch gang has been working on Macedonia, calling it part of their "civilizing mission."⁴⁶ Expect that republic to be "saved" to finish the total disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

DEPUTIES OF POWER

Soros has actually stated that he considers his philanthropy moral and his money management business amoral.⁴⁷ Yet those in charge of Soros-funded NGOs have a clear and consistent agenda. One of Soros' most influential institutions is the International Crisis Group, founded in 1986. ICG is headed by individuals from the very center of political and corporate power. Its board includes Zbigniew Brzezinski, Morton Abramowitz, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State; Wesley Clark, former NATO Supreme Allied Commander for Europe; and Richard Allen, former U.S. National Security Adviser. Allen is noteworthy for quitting Nixon's National Security Council out of disgust with the liberal tendencies of Henry Kissinger; recruiting Oliver North to Reagan's National Security Council, and negotiating missiles for hostages in the Iran-Contra scandal. For these individuals, "containing conflict" boils down to U.S. control over the people and resources of the world.

In the 1980s and 1990s, under the aegis of the Reagan Doctrine, U.S. covert and overt operations in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia were in the works. Soros was openly active in most of these places, working to buy off would-be revolutionaries, or subsidize politicians, intellectuals and anyone else who might come to power when the revolutionary moment had passed. According to James Petras:

By the early 1980s the more perceptive sectors of the neoliberal ruling classes realized that their policies were polarizing the society and provoking large-scale social discontent. Neoliberal politicians began to finance and promote a parallel strategy 'from below,' the promotion of 'grassroots' organizations with an 'anti-statist' ideology to intervene among potentially conflictory classes, to create a "social cushion." These organizations were financially dependent on neoliberal sources and were

directly involved in competing with socio-political movements for the allegiance of local leaders and activist communities. By the 1990s these organizations, described as "nongovernmental," numbered in the thousands and were receiving close to four billion dollars world-wide.⁴⁸

In *Underwriting Democracy*, Soros boasts about the "Americanization of Eastern Europe." According to his account, through his education programs he began to establish a young cadre of Sorosian leaders. These Soros Foundation-educated young men and women are prepared to fulfill the functions of so-called "influence agents." Thanks to their fluent knowledge of languages and their insertion into the emerging bureaucracies in target countries, these recruits would philosophically smooth the inroads for Western multinational corporations.

Career diplomat Herbert Okun, on the Europe Committee of Human Rights Watch, along with George Soros, is connected to a host of State Department-linked institutions, from USAID to the Rockefeller-funded Trilateral Commission. From 1990 to 1997, Okun was executive director of something called the Financial Services Volunteer Corps, part of USAID, "to help establish free market financial systems in former communist countries."⁴⁹ George Soros is in complete accord with the capitalists who are in the process of taking control of the global economy.

NON-PROFIT PROFITEERING

Soros claims not to do philanthropy in the countries in which he is involved as a currency trader.⁵⁰ But Soros has often taken advantage of his connections to make key investments. Armed with a study by ICG, and with the support of Bernard Kouchner, chief of the UN Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK), Soros attempted to acquire the most profitable mining complex in the Balkans.

In September 2000, in a hurry to take the Trepca mines before the Yugoslavian election, Kouchner stated that pollution from the mining complex was raising lead levels in the environment.⁵¹ This is incredible considering that he cheered when the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia rained depleted uranium on the country and released more than 100,000 tons of carcinogens into the air, water and soil.⁵² But Kouchner had his way, and the mines were closed for "health reasons." Soros invested \$150 million in an effort to gain control of Trepca's gold, silver, lead, zinc and cadmium, which make the property worth

\$5 billion.⁵³

As Bulgaria was imploding into "free-market" chaos, Soros was busy scavenging through the wreckage, as Reuters reported in early 2001:

*The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) invested \$3.0 million in [Bulgarian high-tech company] Rila, the first firm to benefit from a new \$30 million facility set up by the EBRD to support IT firms in central and eastern Europe.... Another \$3.0 million came from U.S. private investment fund Argus Capital Partners, sponsored by Prudential Insurance Company of America and operating in central and eastern Europe...Soros, who had invested around \$3.0 million in Rila and in 2001 invested another \$1.0 million...remained its majority owner.*⁵⁴

FRAMING THE ISSUES

His pose as a philanthropist gives Soros the power to shape international public opinion when social conflict raises the question of who are the victims and who are the malefactors. Like other NGOs, Human Rights Watch, Soros' mouthpiece on human rights, avoids or ignores most organized and independent working class struggles.

In Colombia, labor leaders are routinely killed by paramilitaries working in concert with the U.S.-sponsored government. Because those unions oppose neoliberal economics, HRW is relatively silent. In April of this year, HRW's Jose Vivanco testified before the U.S. Senate in favor of Plan Colombia:⁵⁵

*Colombians remain committed to human rights and democracy. They need help. Human Rights Watch has no fundamental problem with the United States providing that help.*⁵⁶

HRW equates the actions of the Colombian guerrilla fighters struggling to free themselves from the oppression of state terror, poverty and exploitation with the repression of the U.S.-sponsored armed forces and paramilitary death squads, the AUC (United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia). HRW validated the Pastrana government and its military, whose role was to protect property rights and maintain the economic and political status quo. According to HRW, 50% of civilian deaths are the work of the government-tolerated death squads.⁵⁷ The correct number is 80%.⁵⁸

HRW essentially certified the election and ascendancy of the Uribe government

in 2002 as well. Uribe is a throwback to the Latin American dictators the U.S. supported in the past, although he was "elected." HRW had no comment about the fact that the majority boycotted the election.⁵⁹

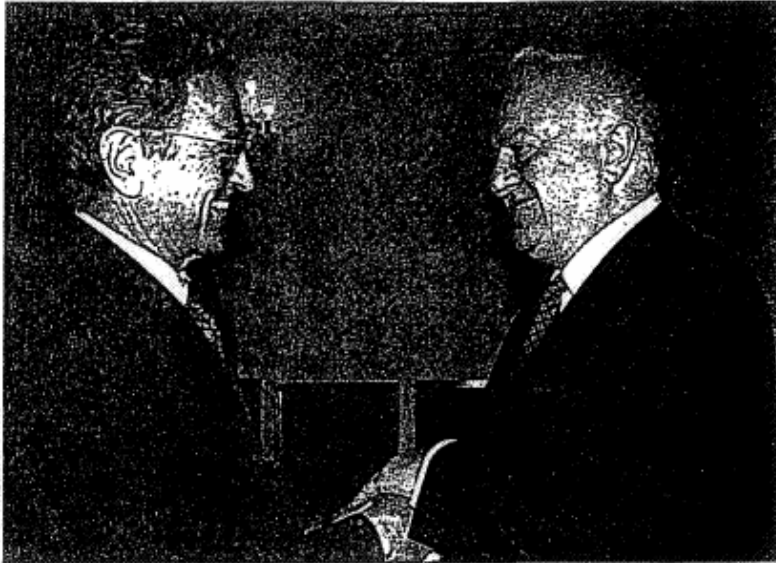
SOROS FUNDS WORKED TO DEFEAT POPULAR ASPIRATIONS FOLLOWING THE END OF THE DUVALIER DICTATORSHIP BY UNDERMINING HAITI'S FIRST ELECTED LEADER, JEAN-BERTRAND ARISTIDE.

In the Caribbean Basin, Cuba is another opponent of neoliberalism that has been demonized by Human Rights Watch. In nearby Haiti, Soros-funded activities have worked to defeat popular aspirations following the end of the Duvalier dictatorship by undermining Haiti's first democratically elected leader, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. HRW's Ken Roth helpfully chimed in with U.S. denunciations of Aristide as "undemocratic." To demonstrate his idea of "democracy," Soros foundations were commencing operations in Haiti complimentary to such unseemly U.S. activities as USAID's promotion of persons associated with FRAPH, the notorious CIA-sponsored death squads which have terrorized the country since the fall of 'Baby Doc' Duvalier.⁶⁰

On HRW's web site, Director Roth criticized the U.S. for not opposing China more vigorously. Roth's activities include the creation of the Tibetan Freedom Concert, a traveling propaganda project that toured the U.S. with major rock musicians, urging young people to support Tibet against China.⁶¹ Tibet has been a pet project of the CIA for many years.⁶²

Roth has recently pressed for opposition to Chinese control over its oil-rich western province of Xinjiang. With the colonialist "divide and conquer" approach, Roth has tried to convince some of the Uighur religious minority in Xinjiang that the U.S./NATO intervention in Kosovo holds promise as a model for them. As late as August 2002, the U.S. government has given some support in this endeavor as well.

U.S. designs on this region were signaled clearly when a *New York Times* article on Xinjiang Province in western China described the Uighurs as a "Muslim majority, [which] lives restively under Chinese rule." They "are well versed in the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia last year which



Shahb Avetisyan/AP Photo

October 21, 1996, Presidential Palace, Tbilisi, Georgia. President Eduard Shevardnadze, right, greets George Soros. Both played key roles in the downfall of the USSR. Both are now playing key roles in the destabilization of Russia through the instrument of Chechnya.

some celebrate for liberating the Muslims in Kosovo; they fantasize about a similar 'rescue' here."⁶³ The *New York Times Magazine* noted "Recent discoveries of oil have made Xinjiang extremely attractive to international trade," while comparing the conditions for its indigenous population to those in Tibet.⁶⁴

INNUMERACY

When Sorosian organizations count, they seem to lose track of the truth. Human Rights Watch asserted that 500 people, not over 2,000, were killed by NATO bombers in the 1999 war in Yugoslavia.⁶⁵ They said only 350, not over 4,000, died as a result of U.S. attacks on Afghanistan.⁶⁶ When the U.S. bombed Panama in 1989, HRW prefaced its report by saying that the "ouster of Manuel Noriega...and installation of the democratically-elected government of President Guillermo Endara brought high hopes in Panama..." The report neglected to mention the number of casualties.

Human Rights Watch prepared the groundwork for the NATO attack on Bosnia in 1993 by the false rape-of-thousands and "genocide" stories.⁶⁷ This tactic of creating political hysteria was necessary for the United States to carry out its Balkan policy. It was repeated in 1999 when HRW functioned as the shock troops of indoctrination for the NATO attack on Yugoslavia. All of Soros' blather about the rule of law was forgotten. The U.S. and NATO made their own law, and the institutions of George Soros stood behind it.

Massaging of numbers to provoke a

response was a major part of a Council on Foreign Relations campaign after September 11, 2001. This time it was the 2,801 killed in the World Trade Center. The CFR met on November 6, 2001, to plan a "major public diplomacy campaign." CFR created an "Independent Task Force on America's Response to Terrorism." Soros joined Richard C. Holbrooke, Newton L. Gingrich, John M. Shalikashvili (former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), and other powerful individuals on a campaign to make the Trade Center dead into tools for U.S. foreign policy. The CFR report set out to make the case for a war on terrorism. George Soros' fingerprints were all over the campaign:

Have senior-level U.S. officials press friendly Arab and other Muslim governments not only to publicly condemn the 9/11 attacks, but also to back the rationale and goals of the U.S. anti-terror campaign. We are never going to convince the publics in the Middle East and South Asia of the righteousness of our cause if their governments remain silent. We need to help them to deflect any blow-back from such statements, but we must have them vocally on board.... Encourage Bosnian, Albanian, and Turkish Muslims to educate foreign audiences regarding the U.S. role in saving the Muslims of Bosnia and Kosovo in 1995-99, and our long-standing, close ties to Muslims around the world. Engage regional intellectuals and journalists across the board, regardless of their views. Routinely monitor the regional press in real time to enable prompt responses... Stress references to the victims (and ideally, named

*victims to personalize them) whenever we discuss our cause and goals.*⁶⁸

Sorosian innumeracy: counting to bolster and defend U.S. foreign policy.

Soros is very worried about the decline in the world capitalist system and he wants to do something about it, now. He recently said: "I can already discern the makings of the final crisis.... Indigenous political movements are likely to arise that will seek to expropriate the multinational corporations and recapture the 'national' wealth."⁶⁹

Soros is seriously suggesting a plan to circumvent the United Nations. He proposes that the "democracies of the world ought to take the lead and forge a global network of alliances that could work with or without the United Nations." If he were psychotic, one might think he was having an episode. But the fact is, Soros' assertion that "The United Nations is constitutionally incapable of fulfilling the promises contained in the preamble of its charter," reflects the thinking of such reactionary institutions as the American Enterprise Institute.⁷⁰ Though many conservatives refer to the Soros network as left-wing, on the question of U.S. affiliation with the United Nations Soros is on the same page as the likes of John R. Bolton, Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, who, with "[M]any Republicans in Congress—believe that nothing more should be paid to the UN system."⁷¹ There has been a decades-long rightwing campaign against the UN. Now Soros is leading it. On various Soros web sites one may read criticism of the United Nations as too rich, unwilling to share information, or flawed in ways that make it unfit for the way the world should run according to George Soros.

Even writers at *The Nation*, writers who clearly ought to know better, have been influenced by Soros' ideas. William Greider, for instance, recently found some validity in Soros' criticism that the United Nations should not be a venue for "tin-pot dictators and totalitarians...treated as equal partners."⁷² This kind of Eurocentric racism is at the heart of Soros' hubris. His assumption that the United States can and should run the world is a prescription for fascism on a global scale. For much too long, Western "progressives" have been giving Soros a pass. Probably Greider and others will find the reference to fascism excessive, unjustified, even outrageous.

But just listen closely to what Soros himself has to say: "In old Rome; the Romans only voted. In the modern global capitalism, the Americans only vote. The Brazilians do not vote."⁷³

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Brown & Root Services

ENGINEERING OPPRESSION FOR OVER 50 YEARS

Douglas Valentine

On July 26, 2002, the Department of Defense (DoD) awarded Brown & Root Services, an engineering firm based in Houston, Texas, a \$9,700,000 contract to construct a 204-unit Detention Camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Each of Brown & Root's modular steel units will measure 6 feet 8 inches long by 8 feet wide. A bed, toilet and hand basin with running water will be included in each cell. If all goes on schedule, work will be completed by October 2002.

Brown & Root will add the new cells to the existing Camp Delta facility, where the CIA and its military counterparts have been detaining and interrogating an estimated 564 Al Qaeda and Taliban "unlawful enemy combatants" since April 2002. It's uncertain, however, how many cells Brown & Root will ultimately build, as its contract is renewable over four years, and could total a whopping \$300,000,000. This renewable contract does, however, imply that the CIA is planning to indefinitely detain many more so-called illegal combatants. And the number of captured terrorist suspects is certain to increase, as the eternal war on terror spreads from Afghanistan to the 60 countries designated by National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice as harboring suspected terrorists.

The Pentagon claims the Brown & Root contract was "competitively procured," but that's a flagrant lie, considering that Brown & Root is the engineering division of the Halliburton Company, where Dick Cheney served as chairman and CEO right after resigning as George I's Defense Secretary, up until he joined rampaging George II's regime. During the years that Cheney served as Halliburton's CEO, the company received an estimated \$2.5 billion in government contracts, and now that he's in the catbird seat, Halliburton's coffers will only continue to grow, as the scope of U.S. military action widens.

It is not just American money that's pouring into Brown & Root: The British Ministry of Defence paid Brown & Root, its fifth largest defense contractor, \$410 million to supply large tank transporters to bolster England's imperial escapades.

Kickbacks occur in many ways, and our residents and their political associates

have always found ways to benefit from the wars they wage. Brown & Root, for example, financed Lyndon Johnson's election to the U.S. Senate in 1948, back in the days when political payoffs were strictly cash and carry. In return Johnson steered numerous defense contracts in its direction, enabling Brown & Root to pioneer Texas's ascent as America's preeminent

*For one to go to
Con Son was never to be
seen again.*

—Vietnamese saying, circa 1970

military-industrial welfare state. During the Vietnam War, LBJ also made sure that Brown & Root received more than its fair share of lucrative contracts to build roads, airports, harbors, military bases, pipelines and barracks from one end of South Vietnam to the other. Those Vietnam contracts helped Brown & Root expand its operations around the world, and today it employs some 20,000 people and operates in more than 100 countries.

But there is something sinister about Brown & Root. Like its parent company, Halliburton—which, under Cheney, sold products and services to the Islamic Republic of Iran—Brown & Root has always been willing to skirt the edge to make a buck. Over the years Brown & Root has formed close relationships with the CIA and Special Forces: Wherever they go, Brown & Root is there, too, building facilities and providing cover for covert operations. Brown & Root does not admit it provides cover, but several individuals directly involved in such operations have made the assertion.¹ Case in point: Brown & Root was in Macedonia in 1999, building barracks at a military base for some 700 U.S. troops, including the 10th Special Forces Group, for which it seems to have a special affinity.²

Brown & Root is a non-partisan, war-mongering outfit and espionage arm of the CIA, and after Lyndon Johnson gave way to Richard Nixon, it received a contract to

build prison detention facilities for the CIA on Con Son Island in South Vietnam.

The "tiger cage" scandal broke in 1970 when Donald Luce, a member of the World Council of Churches and an accredited newspaper reporter, led a congressional delegation to Con Son Prison, where the tiger cages were located. Con Son Prison was on an island in the South China Sea, and it was South Vietnam's largest holding cell for civilian prisoners—as many as 10,000 prisoners were held there with no legal rights, as part of the CIA's infamous Phoenix Program, with its grotesque An Tri "administrative detention" laws.

Originally known as the Intelligence Coordination and Exploitation/Screening Interrogation and Detention (ICEX/SIDE) Program, Phoenix was a CIA-run computerized, management-by-objective driven counterinsurgency program that required its "coordinators" to neutralize (assassinate, imprison, or make to defect) 1,800 Vietnamese every month. Like the "unlawful combatants" being held at Guantanamo Bay, people arrested under the Phoenix Program were indefinitely detained until disposed of by military tribunals or "province security committees."

As Don Luce knew, remote Con Son Prison was the worst of the Phoenix detention facilities in South Vietnam. It was also a "re-education camp," and prisoners there were subjected to CIA psychological warfare operations, from the pro-government propaganda of the Bang Song theatrical company, to MKULTRA-type medical experiments. Most troubling of all were reports that death row inmates, peaceniks, draft dodgers, recalcitrants who refused to salute the South Vietnamese flag, and those who couldn't pay a big enough bribe to the Con Son commandant, were kept in a facility known as the "tiger cages."

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Doug Valentine's published work includes *The Hotel Tacloban*, *The Phoenix Program*, and *TDY*. He is currently working on *The Strength of the Wolf: The Federal Bureau of Narcotics 1930-1968*. He lives with wife Alice in Longmeadow, Massachusetts. Contact the author at <www.douglasvalentine.com>

Michael Moore :
(©excerpt from *Stupid White Men*, 2001)

A Very American Coup

*THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE WAS INTERCEPTED BY U. N. FORCES ON 9/1/01, AT 0600 HOURS,
FROM
SOMEWHERE WITHIN THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT:*

I am a citizen of the United States of America. Our government has been overthrown. Our elected President has been exiled. Old white men wielding martinis and wearing dickies have occupied our nation's capital.

We are under siege. We are the United States Government-in-Exile.

Our numbers are not insignificant. There are over 154 million adults among us, and 80 million children. That's 234 million people who did not vote for, and are not represented by, the regime that has placed itself in power.

Al Gore is the elected President of the United States. He received 539,898 more votes than George W Bush. But he does not sit tonight in the Oval Office. Instead our elected President roams the country without purpose or mission, surfacing only to lecture college students and replenish his stash of Little Debbie's Snack Cakes.

Al Gore won. Al Gore, President-in-Exile. Long live El Presidente Albertoooooo Gorrrrrrrrrre!

So who, then, is the man that now occupies 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue? I'll tell you who: He is George W Bush, "President" of the United States. The Thief-in-Chief
It used to be that politicians would wait until they were in office before they became crooks. This one came prepackaged. Now he is a trespasser on federal land, a squatter in the Oval Office. If I told you this was Guatemala, you'd believe it in a heartbeat, no matter what your political stripe. But because this coup was wrapped in an American flag, delivered in your choice of red, white, or blue, those responsible believe they're going to get away with it.

That's why, on behalf of 234 million Americans held hostage, I have requested that NATO do what it did in Bosnia and Kosovo, what America did in Haiti, what Lee Marvin did in The Dirty Dozen:

Send in the Marines! Launch the SCUD missiles! Bring us the head of Antonin Scalia!

I have sent a personal request to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan to hear our plea. We are no longer able to govern our-selves or to hold free and fair elections. We need U.N. observers, U.N. troops, U.N. resolutions!

Dammit, we need Jimmy Carter!

We are now finally no better than a backwater banana republic. We are asking ourselves why any of us should bother to getup in the morning to work our asses off to produce goods and services that only

serve to make the junta and its cohorts in Corpo-rate America (a separate, autonomous fiefdom within the United States that has been allowed to run on its own for some time) even richer. Why should we pay our taxes to finance their coup? Can we ever again send our sons off into baffle to give their lives defending "our way of life"-when all that really means is the lifestyle of the gray old men holed up in the headquarters they seized by the Potomac?

Oh JesusMaryAndJoseph, I can't take it! Somebody pass me the uni-versal remote! I need to switch back to the fairy tale that I was a citizen in a democracy with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of Happy Meals The story I was told as a child said that I mattered, that I was equal to every one of my fellow citizens --and that not a single one of us was to be treated differently or unfairly, that no one was to wield power over others without their consent The will of the people. America the Beautiful. Land that I love. Twilight's'... last gleaming. Oh, say, can you see --are the Belgian peacekeepers on their way? Hurry!

The coup began long before the shenanigans on Election Day 2000. In the summer of 1999 Katherine Harris, an honorary Stupid White Man who was both George W. Bush's presidential campaign co-chairwoman and the Florida secretary of state in charge of elections, paid \$4 million to Database Technologies to go through Florida's voter rolls and remove anyone "suspected" of being a former felon. She did so with the blessing of the gover-nor of Florida, George W's brother Jeb Bush-whose own wife was caught by immigration officials trying to sneak \$19,000 worth of jewelry into the country without declaring and paying tax on it... a felony in its own right. But hey, this is America. We don't prosecute felons if they're rich or married to a governing Bush.

The law states that ex-felons cannot vote in Florida. And sadly (though I'm confident that Florida's justice system was always unimpeachably fair), that means 31 percent of all black men in Florida are prohibited from voting because they have a felony on their record. Harris and Bush knew that removing the names of ex-felons from the voter rolls would keep thousands of black citi-zens out of the voting booth.

Black Floridians, overwhelming, are Democrats --and sure enough, Al Gore received the votes of more than 90 percent of them on November 7, 2000.

That is, 90 percent of those who were allowed to vote.

In what appears to be a mass fraud committed by the state of Florida, Bush, Harris, and company not only removed thousands of black felons from the rolls, they also removed thousands of black citizens who had never committed a crime in their lives-along with thousands of eligible voters who had committed only misde-means.

How did this happen? Harris's office told Database-a firm with strong Republican ties --to cast as wide a net as possible to get rid of these voters. Her minions instructed the company to include even people with "similar" names to those of the actual felons. They insisted Database check people with the same birth dates as known felons, or similar Social Security numbers; an 80 percent match of relevant information, the election office instructed, was sufficient for Database to add a voter to the ineligible list.

These orders were shocking, even to Bush-friendly Database. They would mean that thousands of legitimate voters might be barred from voting on Election Day just because they had a name that sounded like someone else's, or shared a birthday with some unknown bank robber. Marlene Thorogood, the Database proj-ect manager, sent an E-mail to Emmett "Bucky" Mitchell, a lawyer for Katherine Harris's election division, warning him that "Unfortunately programming in this fashion may supply you with false positives," or misidentifications.

Never mind that, said ol' Bucky. His response. "Obviously, we want to capture more names that possibly

aren't matches and let [county election] supervisors make a final determination rather than exclude certain matches altogether."

Database did as they were told. And before long 173,000 registered voters in Florida were permanently wiped off the voter rolls. In Miami-Dade, Florida's largest county; 66 percent of the voters who were removed were black. In Tampa's county; 54 per-cent of those who would be denied the right to vote on November 7, 2000, were black.

But culling names from Florida's records alone was not enough for Harris and her department. Eight thousand additional Floridians were thrown off the voting rolls because Database used a false list supplied by another state, a state which claimed that all the names on the list were former convicted felons who had since moved to Florida.

It turns out that the felons on the list had served their time and had all their voting privileges reinstated. And there were others on the list who had committed only misdemeanors --such as parking violations or littering. What state was it that offered Jeb and George a helping hand by sending this bogus list to Florida?

Texas.

This entire incident stunk to the high heavens, but the American media ignored it. It took the British Broadcasting Corporation to dig deep into this story, running fifteen-minute segments on its prime-time news program revealing all the sordid details and laying responsibility for the scam right at the doorstep of Governor Jeb Bush. It's a sad day when we have to look to a country 5,000 miles away to find out the truth about our own elections. Eventually the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post picked up the story, but it received little attention.)

This assault on the voting rights of minorities was so wide-spread in Florida that it even affected people like Linda Howell. Linda received a letter informing her that she was a felon-and therefore advising her not to bother showing up on Election Day, because she would be barred from voting. The only problem was, Linda Howell wasn't a felon-in fact, she was the elections supervisor of Madison County, Florida! She and other local election officials tried to get the state to rectify the problem, but their pleas fell on deaf ears. They were told that everyone who complained about being prevented from voting should submit themselves for fingerprinting-and then let the state determine whether or not they were felons.

On November 7, 2000, as black Floridians flocked to the polls in record numbers, many were met at the ballot boxes with a blunt rebuke: "You cannot vote." In a number of precincts in Florida's inner cities, the polling locations were heavily fortified with police to block anyone on Katherine and Jeb's "felons list" from voting. Hundreds of law-abiding citizens looking to exercise their constitutional right to vote, mostly in black and Hispanic communities, were sent away-and threatened with arrest if they protested.

George W Bush would officially be credited with receiving 537 more votes than Al Gore in Florida. Is it safe to assume that the thousands of registered black and Hispanic voters barred from the polls might have made the difference if they had been allowed to vote-and cost Bush the election? Without a doubt.

On election night, after the polls closed, there was much confusion over what was happening with the counting of the votes in Florida. Finally a decision was made by the man in charge of the election night desk for the Fox News Channel. He decided that Fox should go on the air and declare that Bush had won Florida and thus the election. And that's what happened. Fox formally declared Bush the winner.

But down in Tallahassee, the counting of the votes had not yet been completed; in fact, the Associated Press insisted it was still too close to call, and refused to follow Fox's lead.

Not so the other networks. They ran like lemmings after Fox made the call, afraid that they would be seen as slow or out of the loop --even though their own news reporters on the ground were insisting that it was too early to call the election. But who needs reporters when you're playing follow the leader-the leader, in this case, being John Ellis, the man in charge of Fox's election coverage. Who is John Ellis?

He's a first cousin of George W and Jeb Bush.

Once Ellis made the call and everyone followed suit, there was no going back-and nothing was more psychologically devastating for Gore's chances of winning than the sudden perception that HE was being the spoiler by asking for recounts, withdrawing his concession of defeat, tying up the courts with lawyers and lawsuits. The truth is that during all of this, Gore actually was ahead-he had the most votes-but that was never how the news media played it.

The one moment from that election night I will never forget came earlier in the evening, after the networks had first-correctly-projected the state of Florida for Gore. The cameras cut to a hotel room in Texas. There sat George W with his father, the former President, and his mother, Barbara. The old man appeared cool as a cucumber; even though it looked like curtains for Sonny. A reporter asked young flush what he thought about the outcome.

"I'm not... conceding anything in Florida," Junior piped up, semicoherently. "I know you've all the projections, but people are actually counting the votes.... The networks called this thing awfully earlier and people are actually counting the votes have different perspective so..." It was an odd moment in that crazy night of election result coverage. The Bushes, with their relaxed smiles, looked like a family of cats that had just wolfed down a hunch of canaries-as if they knew something we didn't.

They did. They knew Jeb and Katherine had done their job months earlier. They knew cousin John was holding down the fort at Fox election central. And if all else tailed, there was always that team Poppy could count on: the United States Supreme Court.

As we all know; that's exactly what happened for the next thirty-six days. The forces of the Empire struck back, and they did so without mercy. While Gore was stupidly concentrating on getting recounts in a few counties, the Bush team was going after the holy grail-the overseas absentee ballots. Many of these ballots would come from the military, which typically votes Republican, and would finally give Bush the lead that denying the vote to thousands of blacks and Jewish grandmothers hadn't.

Gore knew this, and tried to make sure the ballots underwent maximum scrutiny before they could be counted. Sure, this ran contrary to the "let every vote be counted" plea he'd made when calling for recounts. But he also had Florida law, which is pretty clear about this, on his side. It states that overseas absentee ballots can only be counted if they were cast and signed on or before election day, and mailed and postmarked from another country by election day.

But while Jim Baker was chanting his mantra --"It is not fair to change the rules and standards governing the counting or recounting of votes after it appears that one side has concluded that is the only way to get the votes it need s"-he and his operatives were doing just that.

A July 2001 investigation by the New York Times showed that of the 2,490 overseas ballots that ended up being included in the certified election results, 680 were considered flawed and questionable. Bush got the overseas vote by a ratio of 4 to 5. By that percentage, 544 of the votes that went to Bush should have been thrown out. Got the math? Suddenly Bush's "winning margin" of 537 votes is down to a chilly negative 7.

So how did all these votes end up being counted for Bush? Within hours of the election, the Bush campaign had launched their attack. The first step was to make sure that as many ballots got in as possible. Republican operatives sent out frantic F-mails to navy ships asking them to dig up any ballots that might be hanging around. They even put in a call to

Clinton Defense Secretary William S. Cohen (a Republican) to ask him to put pressure on the military outposts. He declined, but it didn't matter:

thousands of votes poured in --even some that were signed after election day.

Now all they had to do was make sure that as many of these votes as possible went to W And so the real thievery began.

According to the Times, Katherine Harris had planned to send out a memo to her canvassing boards clarifying the procedure for counting overseas ballots. Included in this memo was a reminder that state law required all ballots to have been "postmarked or signed and dated" by election day. When it was clear that George's lead was rapidly shrinking, she decided not to send the memo. Instead she sent out a note that said ballots "are not required to be postmarked on or prior to" election day. Hmmm.

What caused her to change her mind-and the law? We may never know, since the computer records that showed what happened have been mysteriously erased --a possible violation of Florida's Sunshine Laws. Now, long after the horse has left the barn, Harris has turned over her hard drives to the media for inspection --but only after her own computer consultant "looked them over. This is a woman who is now planning to run for Congress. Can these people get any more shameless?

Armed with the blessing of the secretary of state, the Republicans launched an all-out campaign to make sure as broad a standard as possible was used in counting these absentee ballots. "Equal representation," Florida style, meant that the rules governing acceptance or denial of your absentee ballot depended on what county you were from. Perhaps that would explain why in counties where Gore won, only 2 out of 10 absentee ballots with unclear postmarks were counted; in Bush counties, predictably, 6 out of 10 such ballots made it into the final tally.

When the Democrats complained that ballots that didn't follow the rules shouldn't be counted, the Republicans launched a fierce public relations campaign to make it look as if the Democrats were trying to screw the men and women who were risking their lives for our country. A Republican city council member from Naples was typical in his hyperbole: "If they catch a bullet, or fragment from a terrorist bomb, that fragment does not have any postmark or registration of any kind." Republican Congressman Steve Buyer from Indiana even obtained (possibly illegally) the phone numbers and E-mail addresses of military personnel so that he could gather tales of ballot-denial woe to garner sympathy for "our fighting men and women." Even Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf weighed in with the reflection that "it's a very sad day in our country" when Democrats start harassing military voters.

All the pressure worked on the wimpy, spineless Democrats. They choked. While appearing on Meet the Press, vice presidential candidate Joe Lieberman argued that the Democrats should stop creating a fuss and not be bothered that hundreds of military ballots were being counted, just because they weren't "postmarked."

Lieberman, like so many others among this new breed of Democrats, should have fought for principle instead of worrying about image. Why? Well, as the New York Times found out:

- * 344 ballots had no evidence that they were cast on or before Election Day
- * 183 ballots were postmarked in the United States
- * 96 ballots lacked appropriate witness information
- * 169 ballots came from unregistered voters, had envelopes that weren't signed properly, or came from people who hadn't requested a ballot
- * 5 ballots came after the November 17 deadline

* 19 overseas voters voted on two ballots-and had both counted

All of these ballots violated Florida law, yet they all were counted. Can I say this any louder? Bush didn't win! Gore did. It has nothing to do with chads, or even the blatant repression of Florida's African-American community and their right to vote. It was a simple matter of breaking the law; all documented, all the evidence sitting there in Tallahassee, clearly marked without question-and all done purposefully to throw the election to Bush.

On the morning of Saturday, December 9, 2000, the Supreme Court got word that the recounts in Florida, in spite of everything the Bush camp had done to fix the elections, were going in favor of Al Gore. By 2 PM., the unofficial tally showed that Gore was catching up to Bush-"only 66 votes down, and gaining!" as one breathless newscaster put it. It was critical to Bush that the words "Al Gore is in the lead" never be heard on American television: With only moments to spare, they did what they had to do. At 2:45 that afternoon, the Supreme Court stopped the recount.

On the Court sat Reagan appointee Sandra Day O'Connor and Nixon appointee Chief Justice William Rehnquist. Both in their seventies, they were hoping to retire under a Republican administration so that their replacements would share their conservative ideology. On election night, O'Connor was heard lamenting at a party in Georgetown that she couldn't hold out another four or eight-years. Junior Bush was their only hope for securing a contented retirement in their home state of Arizona.

Meanwhile, two other justices with extremist right-wing view-points found themselves with a conflict of interest. Justice Clarence Thomas's wife, Virginia Lamp Thomas, worked at the Heritage Foundation, a leading conservative think tank in D.C.; now, she has just been hired by George W. Bush to help recruit people to serve in his impending administration. And Eugene Scalia, the son of Justice Antonin Scalia, was a lawyer with the firm of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher --the very law firm representing Hush before the Supreme Court!

But neither Thomas nor Scalia saw any conflict of interest, and they refused to remove themselves from the case. In fact, when the Court convened later, it was Scalia who issued the now-infamous explanation of why the ballot-counting had to be halted: "The counting of votes that are of questionable legality does, in my view, threaten irreparable harm to petitioner [Bush], and to the country; by casting a cloud upon what he [Bush] claims to be the legitimacy of his election." In other words, if we let all the votes be counted and they come out in Gore's favor, and Gore wins, well, that will impair Bush's ability to govern once we install him as "President."

True enough: if the ballots proved that Gore had won-which they eventually would-then I guess that would tend to dampen the country's feelings of legitimacy about a Bush presidency.

In their decision, the Court used the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment-the same amendment they've loudly disclaimed when used by blacks over the years to halt discrimination based on race-to justify the theft. Because of the variation in the recount methods, they argued, voters in each district weren't being treated equally, and therefore their rights were being violated. Funny, but only the dissenters on the court mentioned that the antiquated voting equipment found disproportionately in poor and minority Florida neighborhoods had created an entirely different-and far more disturbing-inequality in the system.)

Eventually the press got around to conducting their own recounts of the votes, doing their best to spin the jumbled ball of public confusion into orbit. The headline in the Miami Herald read: "Review of ballots finds Bush's win would have endured manual recount." But if you read the entire story, buried deep inside was this paragraph: "Bush's lead would have vanished if the recount had been conducted under the severely restrictive standards that some Republicans advocated.... The review found that the result would have been different if every canvassing board in every county had examined every

undervote... [Under] the most inclusive standard [that is, a standard that sought to include the true will of ALL the people] Gore would have won by 393 votes.... On ballots that [suggested] a fault with either the machine or the voter's ability to use it... Gore would have won by 299 votes."

I did not vote for Al Gore, but I think any fair person would conclude that the will of the people in Florida clearly went his way. Whether it was the counting debacle or the exclusion of thousands of black citizens that corrupted the results, there is little doubt that Gore was the people's choice.

There was perhaps no worse example of the wholesale denial of the right of each voter to have his vote properly counted than in Palm Beach County. Much has been made of the "butterfly ballot," which made it easy to vote for the wrong person because candidates' names and punch holes were crammed unevenly onto facing pages. The media went out of its way to point out that the ballot was designed by one of the county's election commissioners, a Democrat, and then approved by the majority-Democrat local board. What right did Gore have to complain if his own party was responsible for the faulty design of the ballot?

Had anyone bothered to check, they would have discovered that one of the two "Democrats" on the committee-the ballot's designer, Theresa LePore had actually been a registered Republican. She switched her affiliation to Democrat in 1996; then, just three months after Bush seized office, she resigned as a Democrat and switched her voter registration to Independent. No one in the press bothered to question what was really going on.

Thus, the Palm Beach Post estimates that more than 3,000 voters, mostly elderly and Jewish, who thought they were voting for Al Gore ended up punching the wrong hole-for Pat Buchanan. Even Buchanan went on TV to declare that no way in hell did those Jewish voters vote for him.

On January 20, 2001, George W. Bush, positioned with his junta on the Capitol steps, stood in front of Chief Justice Rehnquist and took the oath that Presidents take at their inaugurations. A cold and steady rain fell over Washington throughout the day. Dark clouds obscured the sun, and the parade route, usually jammed with tens of thousands of citizens all the way to the White House, was eerily bare.

Except for the 20,000 protesters who jeered Bush every inch of the way. Holding signs denouncing Bush for stealing the election, the rain-soaked demonstrators were the conscience of the nation. Bush's limousine could not avoid them. Instead of cheering crowds of supporters, he was greeted by good people moved to remind this illegitimate ruler that he did not win the election and that the people would never forget.

At the traditional point where Presidents since Jimmy Carter have stopped their limos and emerged to walk the last four blocks (as a reminder that we are a nation ruled not by kings but by, uh, equals), Bush's triple-armored black car with its dark-tinted windows-favored by mobsters everywhere came to an abrupt halt. The crowd grew louder-"HAIL TO THE THIEF." You could see the Secret Service and Bush's advisers huddling in the freezing rain, trying to figure out what to do. If Bush got out and walked, he would be booed, shouted down, and pelted with eggs the rest of the way. The limousine sat there for what must have been five minutes. The rain poured. Eggs and tomatoes hit the car. The protesters dared Bush to step out and face them.

Then, suddenly, the President's car bolted and tore down the street. The decision had been made-hit the gas and get past this rabble as quickly as possible. The Secret Service agents running beside the limo were left behind, the car's tires splashing dirty rain from the street onto the men who were there to protect its passenger. It might have been the finest thing I have ever witnessed in Washington, D.C.-a pretender to the American throne forced to turn tail and run from thousands of American citizens armed only with the Truth and the ingredients of a decent omelet.

Once the American Lie put the pedal to the metal, it ran for cover to the bulletproof reviewing stand in front of the White House. Many of Bush's family and invited guests had already left to get dry But George stood there and waved proudly at the marching bands, their instruments disabled by the rain, the long parade of floats wilted and crumbled by the time they arrived at the 1600 block of Pennsylvania Avenue. Every so often a lucky convertible passed by, carrying the few dampened celebrities Hush had convinced to honor him --Kelsey Grammer, Drew Carey, Chuck Norris. By parade's end Bush stood alone in the stands, drenched, even his parents having deserted him for shelter. It was a pathetic sight-the poor little rich boy who came in second showing up to claim his prize, with no one there to cheer him on.

Sadder still were the 154 million of us who had not voted for him. In a nation of 200 million voters, I would say we constitute the majority.

And yet what could George W. have been thinking, other than "What, me worry?" There were plenty of hired hands to be installed in the White House, pulling the strings for their puppet President. With Daddy's old buddies called back to D.C. to lend a hand, Georgie could sit back and tell the public he was "dele-gating." The puppetmasters moved in, and the business of run-ning the world could easily be left to them.

And who are these fine, patriotic pillars of the Bush junta? They represent the modest and selfless ranks of corporate Amer-ica, and they are listed below, for easy reference, to help the United Nations and NATO forces round them up when they arrive to restore order and democracy. Grateful citizens will line the boulevards and avenues and cheer their arrival.

Personally, I will settle for nothing less than multiple show tri-als and their immediate deportation to a real banana republic. God Bless America!

WHO'S WHO IN THE COUP

Acting President/"Vice President"-Dick Cheney

I'm not sure yet where the "compassionate" part of "compassion-ate conservatism" comes from, but I do know where the conser-vatism resides. For six terms Dick Cheney was a congressman representing Wyoming, and he had one of the most conservative voting records of all 435 members of Congress. Cheney voted against the Equal Rights Amendment, against funding the Head Start program, against a House resolution calling for South Africa to release Nelson Mandela from prison, and against fed-eral funding for abortions even in cases of rape or incest. And his record doesn't stop there. Cheney has had his hand in all of the recent Republican administrations, including that of Richard Nixon, when he was deputy White House counsel under Don "Rummy" Rumsfeld. He replaced Rumsfeld as President Ford's chief of staff. Under George Bush I, Cheney was defense sec-retary, leading the country in two of the largest military cam-paigns in recent history: the invasion of Panama and the war against Iraq.

In between Bush regimes, Cheney was CEO of Halliburton Industries, an oil services company that has dealings with re-pressive governments like Burma and fraq. During the 2000 campaign, Cheney denied that Halliburton had a business rela-tionship with Saddam Hussein. Then, in June 2001, the Washing-ton Post revealed that in fact two Halliburton subsidiaries were doing business with Iraq. Can you imagine the field day Repub-licans would have had if they'd ever discovered such a thing about Clinton or Gore? And Alaska isn't the only place Cheney has suggested we dig up: Halliburton has a major construction deal in the development of Mexico's Cantarell offshore oil fields in the Gulf of Mexico. When nominated for the vice presidency, Cheney hemmed and hawed about divesting himself of his Halliburton stock. I guess he knew that good times were still to come.

Attorney General-John Ashcroft

The man in charge of overseeing our justice system is a man who has opposed all abortion, even in cases of rape or incest; who is against providing job discrimination protection for homosexuals; who voted to limit the death penalty appeals process (and then oversaw seven executions as governor); and who has been a staunch supporter of out-of control, over-the-top drug laws. Perhaps this record could explain why he lost his Senate reelection bid against a dead man. For his efforts, however, Ashcroft received substantial donations from AT&T Enterprise Rent-A-Car, and Monsanto. The Schering-Plough pharmaceutical company contributed \$50,000~perhaps as a thank-you for the bill he had introduced that would have extended the company's patent on the allergy pill Claritin. (The bill ultimately failed.) All this pharmaceutical funding may also explain why Ashcroft has voted against including prescription drugs under the Medicare program. Another campaign contributor, Microsoft, gave Ashcroft \$10,000 through his joint fundraising committee with the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Lucky for them he lost the Senate race, so that he can turn his full attention to running the Justice Department --or, that is, standing back while the software giant, newly freed of the court ruling that would have split the company in two, is allowed to run amok under his watchful eye.

Ashcroft is also to the right (if such a thing is possible) of the National Rifle Association when it comes to gun control. His first pro-gun act as attorney general was to announce that within twenty-four hours of a purchase and background check, all background-check files on persons who purchase guns will be destroyed by the Justice Department (leaving the government with NO record of who has a gun or what kind of gun they have).

Secretary of the Treasury-Paul O'Neill

This champion of the abolition of corporate taxes served as president and CEO of Alcoa, the world's largest aluminum manufacturer (and one of the biggest polluters in Texas) before joining the Bush administration. Alcoa no longer has its own Political Action Committee (PAC) but instead does its lobbying through the law firm of Vinson & Elkins. That firm, the third largest contributor to Bush's campaign, was able to work a loophole into Texas environmental regulations that allowed Alcoa to emit 60,000 tons of sulfur dioxide each year. Alcoa has also been a big contributor to O'Neill's pockets. O'Neill recently sold off his shares in Alcoa—which make up a large portion of his \$62 million in assets—but did so only begrudgingly and very slowly, first watching them rise 30 percent during his time in office. As Treasury chief, O'Neill has said that Social Security and Medicare are not necessary. Perhaps that's because he receives an annual pension from Alcoa of \$926,000.

Secretary of Agriculture-Ann Veneman

Like many in the Bush cabinet, Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman has a long career within Republican administrations. She worked for both Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush and then served as director of California's Food and Agriculture Department under Governor Pete Wilson. In California she encouraged policies that have helped giant corporate farms squeeze out family-owned farms—so that now, for example, a mere four companies process 80 percent of American-produced beef. One of the least wealthy of the cabinet members (worth a mere \$680,000), Veneman supplemented her income by serving on the board of Calgene—the first company to market genetically engineered foods to stores. Calgene was bought out by Monsanto, the nation's leading biotech company. Monsanto was then bought by Pharmacia. Monsanto, which gave \$12,000 to Bush's presidential campaign, is trying to block legislation that would require food labels to identify biotech ingredients. Veneman has also served on the International Policy Council on Agriculture, Food and

Trade, a group funded by major food manufacturers such as Nestlé and Archer Daniels Midland.

Secretary of commerce-Don Evans

Before coming to the Bush administration, Evans was chairman and CEO of Tom Brown, Inc., a \$1.2 billion oil and gas company. Evans also sat on the board of TMBR/Sharp Drilling. As finance chair for Bush's campaign, he set a hind-raising record of more than \$190 million. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration-which controls the country's coastlines-falls within this oil man's domain.

Secretary of Defense-Don Rumsfeld

Don Rumsfeld is an old-school Republican hawk. He was White House counsel to Richard Nixon, where he worked alongside Dick Cheney. While serving as President Ford's secretary of defense and then as Ford's chief of staff Rumsfeld was able, almost single-handedly, to kill the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union. He has consistently opposed any arms control, calling the ARM treaty "ancient history" during his 2001 confirmation hearing. A longtime supporter of "Star Wars" defense schemes, Rumsfeld oversaw a 1998 commission that measured the ballistic missile threat to the United States. Rumsfeld, aka Chicken Little, claimed that the United States would feel such threats from rogue nations within five years (half the amount of time the CIA predicted). When not pushing B-I bombs or MX missiles, Rumsfeld has been CEO of the G. D. Searle pharmaceutical company (now owned by Pharmacia) and General Instrument (now owned by Motorola). Before joining the Hush administration, he sat on several boards, including Kellogg's, Sears, Allstate, and the Tribune Company (which publishes the Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times and owns a chain of TV stations, including New York's Channel 11).

Secretary of Energy-Spencer Abraham

As a senator from Michigan, Abraham had such a strong anti-environment record that the League of Conservation Voters gave him a zero rating. He opposed research into renewable energy, wanted to repeal the federal gas tax, and thought oil drilling in Alaska was a good idea. Perhaps that's why he voted in 2000 to abolish the department he now leads. Abraham received more from the automotive industry-\$700,000-than any other candidate. One of the largest contributors was DaimlerChrysler, which is part of the Coalition for Vehicle Choice, a trade group trying to stop an increase in fuel economy standards. This year DaimlerChrysler has plans to introduce a longer-body SUV that gets about 10 miles per gallon. No worries: when he was a senator; Abraham also voted against increasing fuel-efficiency requirements for SUVs.

Secretary of Health and Human Services-Tommy Thompson

The man who will have perhaps the greatest role in dealing with the tobacco industry should have no trouble being objective about policy. After all, just because Thompson served on the advisory board of the Washington Legal Fund as it filed briefs on behalf of those who would promote smoking --or because as governor he received about \$72,000 in campaign contributions from Philip Morris, or because Philip Morris paid for several trips abroad that Thompson made to promote free trade-is no reason to think he won't be able to act impartially on this health issue. Too bad he recently sold his Philip Morris stock for an amount between \$15,000 and \$50,000. These should be very good years for Big Tobacco.

Good times ahead for wire hanger manufacturers, too. Tommy T is what they like to call "pro-life," putting up as many roadblocks to a woman's right to an abortion as possible. As governor of Wisconsin he required women to seek counseling and wait three days before having the procedure.

Secretary of the Interior-Gale Norton

Gale Norton is already following in the footsteps of her mentor and predecessor, James Watt. She started her legal career with the Mountain States Legal Foundation, a conservative environmental think tank funded by oil companies and founded by Watt. Working closely with this group, Norton helped the state of Alaska challenge an Interior Department fisheries law. She has declared the Endangered Species Act unconstitutional and written legal opinions against the National Environmental Protection Act. As a lawyer with Brownstein, Hyatt & Farber, Norton represented Delta Petroleum and lobbied for NL Industries (formerly known as National Lead) while it defended itself in lawsuits over children's exposure to lead paint. She was also national chairwoman of the Coalition of Republican Environmental Advocates, a group funded by Ford Motor Company and BP Amoco.

Secretary of Labor-Elaine Chao

Chao has worked primarily in the nonprofit sector, with United Way and the Peace Corps, but has also sat on the boards of Dole Food, Clorox, and health care companies C. R. Bard (who pleaded guilty in the 1990s to manufacturing faulty heart catheters and conducting illegal experiments on the devices) and the behemoth Hospital Corporation of America (PICA). She also sat on the board of Northwest Airlines. She is married to conservative Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY).

Secretary of State-Colin Powell

When not fighting wars, Powell sat on the boards of Gulfstream Aerospace and AOL. Gulfstream makes jets for both Hollywood honchos and foreign governments like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. During his time at AOL the company merged with Time Warner, and Powell's stock rose in value by \$4 million. At the time, Colin's son, Michael Powell, had been the only Federal Communications Commission (FCC) member who advocated that the AOL/Time Warner merger go through without question. Powell's son has since been named chairman of the FCC by George W Bush; part of his job is to oversee the activities of AOL/Time Warner. He will also oversee any regulation of AOL's monopolistic "instant messaging" technology.

Secretary of Transportation-Norman Y. Mineta

A leftover from the Clinton administration, the only "Democrat" in Bush's cabinet, Mineta has his own corporate connections. When he was a congressman representing Silicon Valley, he received campaign contributions from Northwest Airlines, United Airlines, Greyhound, Boeing, and Union Pacific. After retiring from the House, he went to work at Lockheed Martin. What better place to park himself now than at the cabinet department that "oversees" all of them?

White House Chief of Staff-Andrew H. Card Jr.

Card was General Motors's chief lobbyist before leaving to work in the Bush administration. He was also CEO of the now-defunct American Automobile Manufacturers Association, which lobbied against stricter fuel emissions standards and fought over trade issues with Japan. Card testified before Congress on behalf of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Lobbying Group against the "Passenger's Bill of Rights." He personally contributed \$1,000 each to the losing campaigns of John Ashcroft and Spencer Abraham.

Director of the Office of Management and Budget-Mitch Daniels Jr.

Daniels was formerly a senior vice president of Eli Lilly pharmaceuticals. In his present position,

Daniels will oversee the drafting of the federal budget, including how much money (if any) will be earmarked for a prescription drug benefit for Medicare patients—a provision Eli Lilly and other pharmaceutical companies are lobbying against. Daniels also owns stock worth between \$50,000 and \$100,000 in GE, Citigroup, and Merck. The chances of this administration allowing a prescription drug benefit for seniors to pass in the next year are about as good as those of me setting myself on fire in front of a Rite Aid.

National Security Adviser-Condoleezza Rice

For her service on Chevron's board of directors, Rice had a 130,000-ton oil tanker named after her. She was also a director at Charles Schwab and Transamerica, and has served as an adviser for J. P. Morgan; she also served on Hush the Elder's National Security team.

Senior Adviser to the President-Karl Rove

A longtime supporter and friend of Bush, Rove was once an adviser to Philip Morris. For five years, while he was an adviser to Governor Bush, the tobacco company paid him \$3,000 a month to get his inside opinion on what was happening in the elections and with the candidates. Since Rove took the job at the White House, he has been under constant fire for using his position to further the interests of companies in which he owns stock. Recently Rove was criticized for holding meetings with Intel executives about a prospective merger while at the same time he held Intel stock (part of an overall portfolio valued at between \$1 million and \$2.5 million). The merger was approved two months after the meetings, and Rove sold his stock a month later.

Shadow Adviser to the President-Kenneth L. Lay

Lay is the head of Enron, the largest electricity trader in the United States and a top contributor to the Bush presidential campaign. Lay has used his close relationship with the President to pressure the chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to speed up energy deregulation. Lay has apparently provided Bush with a list of preferred candidates for key commission posts. Thanks in part to the California energy crisis, Enron has quickly grown into a \$100 billion company. Bush and Cheney rely on Lay for advice; some administration appointees must first be "interviewed" by Lay before getting the job.

As you can see, friends and neighbors, this is a regime that is intent on lining its pockets—and who won't leave office without a fight. It is their mission to combine their economic and (newly acquired) political power to rule the country and help their friends get even richer along the way.

These Stupid White Men must be stopped. I have informed Kofi Annan of the various locations where these (mostly) men can be found and apprehended by U.N. troops. Mr. Annan, I beseech you. You have invaded other countries for less grievous offenses. Do not ignore our plight. We plead with you: Save the United States of America! Demand that new, clean elections be held. Give the junta forty-eight hours to agree—and, if they don't, then treat them to a U.S. Air Force-style laser light show!

HOW TO STAGE THE COUNTERCOUP.

We, the people, can start a groundswell that will eventually topple the Bush/Cheney junta—with a commitment of only a couple of hours a week. Here's how:

1. Contact your representatives on a weekly basis, and get three friends to do the same. Senators, members of congress, and other elected officials PAY CAREFUL ATTENTION to the calls, letters, and

telegrams they receive. Each day they receive a tally of their constituents' messages. Take just a few minutes each week, and let your thoughts be known.

The Bush agenda can be brought to a grinding halt by a public outcry --and even a few hundred letters can constitute an outcry. Several Bush policies have already been shelved after public disapproval. IT WORKS! We all whine too much; why not put it to good use? Pick an issue you care about and do the following today:

- a. Call 202-224-3121-the U.S. Capitol switchboard. Just tell them your zip code, and they'll transfer you to your representative.
- b. Write to: Office of Senator[Name], United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510; or to: Office of Representative [Name], United States House of Representatives, Washington DC, 20515.
- c. E-mail: For Senators, go to <www.senate.gov/contacting/index_by_state.cfm>; for Representatives, go to <www.house.gov/writerep/>
- d. Send a telegram: call Western Union-1-800-325-6000--or visit their Web site: <www.westernunion.com>

2. Dog Bush wherever He Goes. If you hear Junior's coming to town, organize a group of friends to protest the event. Remind the media that Bush doesn't govern by the will of the people. Be loud. Be funny. Signs, street theater, mock trials-show him there's no safe haven from the Truth.

1. Force the Democrats to do their job. Obviously, the easiest way to counter the coup is to get the "opposition" to fight the good fight. But it won't be easy: today's Democrats have little time for those who can't make their \$1,000-a-plate dinners. So here's how to start a little Democratic behavior modification program:

- Take the Pledge. Go to my Web site (www.michaelmoore.com) and sign the on-line petition that challenges the Democrats in Congress to stand up to Bush/Cheney and fast --or we'll work to deny them Congressional leadership next year by running Greens in close races where the Democrat's just a Republican in a bad suit.
- Take over your local Democratic Party; In most counties the local Democratic Party is run by just a few people, 'cause most citizens would never think of showing up. Go the next county or town Party meeting, and bring ten friends. In most cases your bunch will constitute a majority. Use the rules and the state party by-laws (which can often be found on the Web) and seize control.

1. YOU must run for office. That's right-YOU, the person reading this book. It's the only way things are ever going to change. Unless normal, decent people run for government office, the job is left to rascals. How can we carp about crooked politicians if we won't do the job ourselves? It's time for YOU to throw your hat in the ring-and to do it next year. You can run for school board, city council, county treasurer, drain commissioner, city or county clerk, state representative, state senate, state board of education, secretary of state, governor, member of Congress, U.S. Senator, even dogcatcher --or any number of other offices. The one you should definitely run for is precinct delegate. Every precinct in America elects delegates from each party; it may be the lowliest office, but it's also the foundation on which the whole house of cards is built. Selected delegates attend the national party conventions to nominate the presidential candidates; you should be among them.

And I'm not just saying this --I'm doing it, this year, and getting a dozen friends to run in their precincts

too. It requires collecting enough signatures to get your name on the ballot, and qualifications vary. But so few people vote in primaries --and so many precincts end up with no candidates-- that often getting elected isn't much harder than just showing up. So head down to your board of elections or county clerk's office and pick up some petitions before the deadline passes.

These are only a few of the measures we can take to stage our countercoup. Whether you do it as a Democrat, or a Green, or just one pissed-off citizen, the important thing is to rise up and do it.

Michael Moore :

(©excerpt from *Stupid White Men*, 2001)

List of accomplishments by George W. Bush, the first few months in office.

He has:

- Cut \$39 million from federal spending on libraries
- Cut \$35 million in funding for advanced pediatric training for doctors
- Cut funding for research into renewable energy sources by 50 percent
- Delayed rules that would reduce "acceptable" levels of arsenic in drinking water
- Cut funding for research into cleaner, more efficient cars and trucks by 28 percent
- Revoked rules strengthening the power of the government to deny contracts to companies that violate federal laws, environmental laws, and workplace safety standards
- Allowed Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton to request suggestions for opening up national monuments for foresting, coal mining, and oil and gas drilling
- Broken your campaign promise to invest \$100 million per year in rain forest conservation
- Reduced by 86 percent the Community Access Program, which coordinated care for people without health insurance among public hospitals, clinics, and other health care providers
- Nullified a proposal to increase public access to information about the potential ramifications of chemical plant accidents
- Cut funding for the Girls and Boys Clubs of America programs in public housing by \$60 million
- Pulled out of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol agreement on global warming, ultimately signed by 178 other countries
- Rejected an international accord to enforce the 1972 treaty banning germ warfare

- Cut \$200 million from workforce training programs for dislocated workers
- Cut \$200 million from the Childcare and Development grant, a program that provides child care to low-income families as they are forced from welfare to work
- Eliminated prescription contraceptive coverage to federal employees (though viagra is still covered)
- Cut \$700 million in funds for public housing repairs

- Cut half a billion dollars from the Environmental Protection Agency's budget
- Overturned workplace ergonomic rules designed to protect workers' health and safety
- Abandoned your campaign pledge to regulate carbon dioxide emissions, a major contributor to global warming
- Prohibited any federal aid from going to international family planning organizations that provide abortion counseling, referrals, or services with their own funds
- Nominated former mining company executive Dan Lauriski as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health
- Appointed Lynn Scarlett, a global warming skeptic and an opponent of stricter standards on air pollution, as Undersecretary of the Interior
- Approved Interior Secretary Gale Norton's controversial plan to auction off areas close to Florida's eastern shore for oil and gas development
- Announced your plans to allow oil drilling in Montana's Lewis and Clark National Forest

- Threatened to shut down the white House MDS office
- Decided no longer to seek guidance from the American Bar Association on federal judicial appointments
- Denied college financial aid to students convicted of misdemeanor drug charges (though convicted murderers are still eligible for financial aid)
- Allocated only 3 percent of the amount requested by Justice Department lawyers in the government's continued litigation against tobacco companies
- Pushed through your tax cut, 43 percent of which goes to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans

- Signed a bill making it harder for poor and middle-class Americans to file for bankruptcy, even when facing overwhelming medical bills
- Appointed affirmative action opponent Kay Cole James to direct the Office of Personnel Management
- Cut \$15.7 million from programs dealing with child abuse and neglect
- Proposed elimination of the "Reading Is Fundamental" program, which gives free books to poor children
- Pushed for development of "mini-nukes," designed to attack deeply buried targets-a violation of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- Tried to reverse regulation protecting sixty million acres of national forest from logging and road building
- Appointed John Bolton, an opponent of nonproliferation treaties and the United Nations, as Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
- Made Monsanto executive Linda Fisher deputy administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency
- Nominated Michael McConnell, a leading critic of the separation of church and state, to a federal judgeship
- Nominated civil rights opponent Terrence Boyle to a federal judgeship
- Canceled the 2004 deadline for auto makers to develop prototype high-mileage cars
- Named John Walters, an ardent opponent of prison drug treatment programs, as drug czar
- Appointed oil and coal lobbyist J. Steven Giles as Deputy Secretary of the Interior
- Named Bennett Raley, who has called for the repeal of the Endangered Species Act, as Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Water and Science
- Sought the dismissal of a class-action lawsuit filed in the United States against Japan by Asian women forced to work as sex slaves in World War II
- Appointed as solicitor general Ted Olson, your chief lawyer in the Florida voting debacle
- Proposed to ease the permit process for constructing refineries and nuclear and hydroelectric dams, including lowering environmental standards
- Proposed the selling of oil and gas tracts in the Alaska Wildlife Preserve

BUSH'S NEW BUDGET: DEFICITS AREN'T THE PROBLEM

Richard Du Boff

President Bush has sent to Congress his Budget for fiscal 2004 (starting in October), calling for \$2.23 trillion in expenditures and a deficit of \$304 billion, compared to \$159 billion of red ink last year and a surplus of \$127 billion in 2001. For the President's Budget Director, Mitch Daniels, this deficit is "acceptable," because it amounts to only 2.7 percent of our gross domestic product, half as much as the record peacetime deficits of the mid 1980s. The Senate Minority Leader, Democrat Tom Daschle of South Dakota, replies that, with deficits of this size, we now have "the most fiscally irresponsible administration in history."

Daniels is right. A current deficit of \$304 billion is reasonable in a stagnating \$10-trillion economy like ours, which needs more spending pumped into it from any source. If private consumption and investment are marking time, as they are, only government can do the job.

Since Bill Clinton excluded what he called "the left" from his administration in the 1990s, Democrats, in one of the great role reversals of American political history, have become the party of balanced budgets and debt reduction.

Now it's Democrats who proclaim that budget deficits drive up interest rates and "crowd out" private investment, as government borrowing competes with private investment for a fixed supply of loanable funds. There certainly are times when this can happen—when an economy is operating at or near full employment, with no reserves of labor and industrial capacity to spare, but not during recessions like the one from which we have yet to emerge. In some periods when federal deficits swelled, interest rates even declined, as during the 1980s. Rates have also fallen over the past 12 to 18 months, as the budget shifted from surplus back into deficit. And it's the Democrats who warn that deficits, which increase our national debt (the total stock of U.S. government bonds issued to cover all annual deficits to date), will leave future generations with a great "burden" and make it impossible to "save" Social Security.

Nonsense. Finance is a source of mystification for people across the political spectrum, and the "burden" of the national debt on future generations is a prime example. In fact, the burden of the national debt is practically zero. The only possible burden comes from interest paid to holders of U.S. government bonds. Some of the interest is paid to foreign bondholders and drains income out of the country; most of it is paid to U.S. residents who are largely in the wealthy class, forcing a redistribution of income from taxpayers toward the rich. But both of these effects are small-scale, and any undesirable income redistribution can be cancelled out by increasing taxes on those who can afford to pay, including wealthy bondholders—although, to be sure, this is easier said than done.

The real costs of the national debt, overwhelmingly, are borne by those of us who live during years when deficits occur, because they allow the government, by spending more money, to shift resources from private to public uses. But if deficits pay for the likes of education and health, rail and mass transit, national parks and forests, and environmental protection, future generations will be better off, not worse: public investments like these are more productive, and more desirable, than a ton of private investment--remember the telecom-internet boom of the 1990s?

Current deficits, especially when unemployment is high and business investment lagging, are fiscally sound, and they shift no debt burden nor any tax burdens to future generations. In 2013 or 2023, we will deal with the economic and social problems facing us with the resources at our disposal at that time--the labor and capital needed to produce food or medical care or automobiles or, as some may prefer, weapons of mass destruction. The size of the national debt, or the Social Security Trust Fund which consists of U.S. government bonds, will have very little, if any, effect on this--the basic question of resource allocation in our society, what we produce and who gets it.

Thus, the Bush deficits are not "fiscally irresponsible." Calling them that allows Democrats and Republicans to carry on a reactionary debate between debt cutters and tax cutters, and to dodge the real issue--that the President's budget is a social and political atrocity.

Big spending increases go to the military and "homeland security," but little new money to anything else. Education, Housing and Urban Development, the Environmental Protection Agency, and Transportation receive increases of 1 percent or less, not enough to keep up with inflation. Actual cutbacks are imposed upon Amtrak, International Assistance, Medicaid, grants for municipalities to hire more police officers and administer juvenile justice programs, among scores of other items.

Are state and local governments facing the worst fiscal squeeze since World War II? Let 'em eat cake--if they can afford it; they get no help at all from George W. Bush. The President ballyhooes his compassionate new spending to fight AIDS and HIV in Africa and the Caribbean--but his budget reduces, by the same amount, the funding that aides said would be sought for a separate development-aid initiative for poor nations. Totally eliminated is U.S. funding for a 1994 energy deal the Clinton administration negotiated with North Korea, a move likely to heighten tensions when Pyongyang may be resuming production of nuclear-weapons material in the face of an external threat--preemptive attack by the United States.

By contrast, the Pentagon gets \$380 billion, an increase of 4.2 percent on top of last year's whopping \$36 billion increase, the biggest since the administration of Ronald Reagan, and a mere way station on the road to \$484 billion by 2009, excluding costs of any war on Iraq (estimated at \$50 and \$200 billion, more in the case of extended occupation and rebuilding). This is half the true measure of Mr. Bush's budget; the matching half is the first round of fat tax cuts for the super-rich.

The Democrats' conservative fiscal policy was engineered by--can you guess?--Bill Clinton, when he negotiated the Great Budget Compromise of July 1997, to balance the budget and trim taxes at the same time. In return for another set of tax cuts (reductions in capital gains and estate taxes, new tax credits for children) and "spending caps" to hold the line on federal expenditures, Clinton vowed to put the emerging budget surpluses into a "lockbox," to "save Social Security first" and pay down the national debt. Many liberals cheered Clinton's slick maneuver, designed to block the Republicans' tax-cutting frenzy and stop them from handing more tax cuts to rich households. Too clever by more than half: by locking away trillions of tax dollars, Clinton also scuttled any plans Democrats might have had of using the surpluses for domestic social spending.

The Bush budget ushers in round 2 of Reaganomics: Republican administrations push through tax cuts to starve the federal government of resources, except for the military and its providential new sibling, the "war on terrorism." Large deficits are inevitable, and perfect for Republicans, who seize upon them as proof that the only way to bring the budget back into balance is to cut government spending to the bone--social spending, of course--and then pulverize the bone.

It works like a charm. If and when budget surpluses do appear, as they did in the late 1990s, Republicans barely need to shift gears; now they can argue that there's no way "your money" should pile up in the hands of the government, so it's time to cut taxes again. And Democrats are left whimpering about their broken "lockbox," and protesting that the tax cuts are "for the rich" (they are) and that the new round of deficits will "mortgage the future of our children" (they won't). President Bush had the jump on them all along. In August 2001, when the government's surplus was beginning to dwindle, Bush called it "incredibly positive news" because it will "create a fiscal strait-jacket for Congress." All "nonessential" government spending must be chopped . . . to help make way for new tax cuts.

A \$304 billion deficit would be exceedingly small if it were spent on social and economic reform--starting with a national health insurance program to cover everyone from birth to death. The best way to start paying for it would be to slash U.S. military spending--which would also be the greatest single step toward assuring peace and security for all the world's people, including ourselves. A theme to promote in the demonstrations against another Bush war, sure to come.

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To Kill Iraq: The Reasons Why by Michael Parenti

In October 2002, after several days of full-dress debate in the House and Senate, the US Congress fell into line behind almost-elected president George W. Bush, giving him a mandate to launch a massive military assault against the already battered nation of Iraq. The discourse in Congress was marked by its usual cowardice. Even many of the senators and representatives who voted against the president's resolution did so on the narrowest procedural grounds, taking pains to tell how they too detested Saddam Hussein, how they agreed with the president on many points, how something needed to be done about Iraq but not just yet, not quite in this way. So it is with Congress: so much political discourse in so narrow a political space. Few of the members dared to question the unexamined assumptions about US virtue, and the imperial right of US leaders to decide which nations shall live and which shall die. Few, if any, pointed to the continual bloody stream of war crimes committed by a succession of arrogant US administrations in blatant violation of human rights and international law.

Pretexts for War

Bush and other members of his administration have given varied and unpersuasive reasons to justify the "war"---actually a one-sided massacre---against Iraq. They claim it is necessary to insure the safety and security of the Middle East and of the United States itself, for Iraq is developing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear missiles. But UN inspection teams have determined that Iraq has no such nuclear capability and actually has been in compliance with yearly disarmament inspections.

As for the fact that Iraq once had factories that produced chemical and bacteriological weapons, whose fault was that? It was the United States that supplied such things to Saddam. This is one of several key facts about past US-Iraq relations that the corporate media have consistently suppressed. In any case, according to UN inspection reports, Iraq's C&B warfare capability has been dismantled. Still the Bushites keep talking about Iraq's dangerous "potential." As reported by the Associated Press (2 November 2002), Undersecretary of State John Bolton claimed that "Iraq would be able to develop a nuclear weapon within a year if it gets the right technology." If it gets the right technology? What does that say about anything? The truistic nature of this assertion has gone unnoticed. Djibouti, Qatar, and New Jersey would be able to develop nuclear weapons if they got "the right technology."

Through September and October of 2002, the White House made it clear that Iraq would be attacked if it had weapons of mass destruction. Then in November 2002, Bush announced he would attack if Saddam *denied* that he had weapons of mass destruction. So if the Iraqis admit having such weapons, they will be bombed; and if they deny having them, they still will be bombed--whether they have them or not.

The Bushites also charged Iraq with allowing al Qaeda terrorists to operate within its territory. But US intelligence sources themselves let it be known that the Iraqi government was not connected to Islamic terrorist organizations. In closed sessions with a House committee, when administration officials were repeatedly asked whether they had information of an imminent threat from Saddam against US citizens, they stated unequivocally that they had no such evidence (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 September 2002). Truth be told, the Bush family has closer ties to the bin Laden family than does Saddam Hussein. No mention is made of how US leaders themselves have allowed terrorists to train and operate within our own territory, including a mass murderer like Orlando Bosch. Convicted of blowing up a Cuban airliner, Bosch walks free in Miami.

Bush and company seized upon yet another pretext for war: Saddam has committed war crimes and acts of aggression, including the war against Iran and the massacre of Kurds. But the Pentagon's own study found that the gassing of Kurds at Halabja was committed by the Iranians, not the Iraqis (*Times of India*, 18 September 2002). Another seldom mentioned fact: US leaders gave Iraq encouragement and military support in its war against Iran. And if war crimes and aggression are the issue, there are the US invasions of Grenada and Panama to consider, and the US-sponsored wars of attrition against civilian targets in Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Yugoslavia, and scores of other places, leaving hundreds of thousands dead. There is no communist state or "rogue nation" that has such a horrific record of military aggression against other countries over the last two decades.

With all the various pretexts for war ringing hollow, the Bushites resorted to the final indictment: Saddam was a dictator. The United States stood for democracy and human rights. It followed that US leaders were obliged to use force and violence to effect regime change in Iraq. Again, we might raise questions. There is no denying that Saddam is a dictator, but how did he and his crew ever come to power? Saddam's conservative wing of the Ba'ath party was backed by the CIA. They were enlisted to destroy the Iraqi popular revolution and slaughter every democratic, left-progressive individual they could get hold of; which indeed they did, including the progressive wing of

the Ba'ath party itself---another fact that US media have let slide down the memory hole. Saddam was Washington's poster boy until the end of the Cold War.

So why has George II, like his daddy, targeted Iraq? When individuals keep providing new and different explanations to justify a particular action, they most likely are lying. So with political leaders and policymakers. Having seen that the pretexts given by the White House to justify war are palpably false, some people conclude that the administration is befuddled or even "crazy." But just because they are trying to mislead and confuse the public does not perforce mean they themselves are misled and confused. Rather it might be that they have reasons which they prefer not to see publicized and debated, for then it would become evident that US policies of the kind leveled against Iraq advance the interests of the rich and powerful at much cost to the American people and every other people on the face of the earth. Here I offer what I believe are the real reasons for the US aggression against Iraq.

Global Politico-Economic Supremacy

A central US goal, as enunciated by the little Dr. Strangeloves who inhabit the upper echelons of policymaking in the Bush administration, is to perpetuate US global supremacy. The objective is not just power for its own sake but power to insure plutocratic control of the planet, power to privatize and deregulate the economies of every nation in the world, to hoist upon the backs of peoples everywhere—including the people of North America ---the blessings of an untrammelled "free market" corporate capitalism. The struggle is between those who believe that the land, labor, capital, technology, and markets of the world should be dedicated to maximizing capital accumulation for the few, and those who believe that these things should be used for the communal benefit and socio-economic development of the many.

The goal is to insure not merely the supremacy of global capitalism as such, but the supremacy of *US* global capitalism by preventing the emergence of any other potentially competing superpower or, for that matter, any potentially competing *regional* power. Iraq is a case in point. Some nations in the Middle East have oil but no water; others have water but no oil. Iraq is the only one with plenty of both, along with a good agricultural base—although its fertile lands are now much contaminated by the depleted uranium dropped upon it during the 1991 Gulf War bombings.

In earlier times, Iraq's oil was completely owned by US, British, and other Western companies. In 1958 there was a popular revolution in Iraq. Ten years later, the rightwing of the Ba'ath party took power, with Saddam Hussein serving as point man for the CIA. His assignment was to undo the bourgeois-

democratic revolution, as I have already noted. But instead of acting as a compradore collaborator to Western investors in the style of Nicaragua's Somoza, Chile's Pinochet, Peru's Fujimora, and numerous others, Saddam and his cohorts nationalized the Iraqi oil industry in 1972, ejected the Western profiteers, and pursued policies of public development and economic nationalism. By 1990, Iraq had the highest standard of living in the Middle East (which may not be saying all that much), and it was evident that the US had failed to rollback the gains of the 1958 revolution. But the awful destruction delivered upon Iraq both by the Gulf War and the subsequent decade of economic sanctions did achieve a kind of counterrevolutionary rollback from afar.

Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, US leaders decided that Third World development no longer needed to be tolerated. Just as Yugoslavia served as a "bad" example in Europe, so Iraq served as a bad example to other nations in the Middle East. The last thing the plutocrats in Washington want in that region is independent, self-defining developing nations that wish to control their own land, labor, and natural resources.

US economic and military power has been repeatedly used to suppress competing systems. Self-defining countries like Cuba, Iraq, and Yugoslavia are targeted. Consider Yugoslavia. It showed no desire to become part of the European Union and absolutely no interest in joining NATO. It had an economy that was relatively prosperous, with some 80 percent of it still publicly owned. The wars of secession and attrition waged against Yugoslavia--all in the name of human rights and democracy---destroyed that country's economic infrastructure and fractured it into a cluster of poor, powerless, right-wing mini-republics, whose economies are being privatized, deregulated, and opened to Western corporate penetration on terms that are completely favorable to the investors. We see this happening most recently in Serbia. Everything is being privatized at garage sale prices. Human service, jobs, and pension funds are disappearing. Unemployment, inflation, and poverty are skyrocketing, as is crime, homelessness, prostitution, and suicide. Welcome to Serbia's free market paradise.

Judging from what has been happening in Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Panama, Grenada, and elsewhere---we can anticipate that the same thing is in store for Iraq following a US occupation: An Iraqi puppet government will be put in place, headed by someone every bit as subservient to the White House as Tony Blair. The Iraqi state-owned media will become "free and independent" by being handed over to rich conservative private corporations. Anything even remotely critical of US foreign policy and free market capitalism will be deprived of an effective platform. Conservative political parties, heavily

financed by US sources, will outspend any leftist groupings that might have survived. On this steeply unlevelled playing field, US advisors will conduct US-style "democratic elections," perhaps replicating the admirable results produced in Florida and elsewhere. Just about everything in the Iraqi economy will be privatized at giveaway prices. Poverty and underemployment, already high, will climb precipitously. So will the Iraqi national debt, as international loans are floated that "help" the Iraqis pay for their own victimization. Public services will dwindle to nothing, and Iraq will suffer even more misery than it does today. We are being asked to believe that the Iraqi people are willing to endure another massive bombing campaign in order to reach this free-market paradise.

Natural Resource Grab

Another reason for targeting Iraq can be summed up in one word: oil. Along with maintaining the overall global system of expropriation, US leaders are interested in more immediate old-time colonial plunder. The present White House leadership is composed of oil men who are both sorely tempted and threatened by Iraq's oil reserve, one of the largest in the world. With 113 billion barrels at \$25 a barrel, Iraq's supply comes to over \$2.8 trillion dollars. But not a drop of it belongs to the US oil cartel; it is all state owned. Baghdad has offered exploratory concessions to France, China, Russia, Brazil, Italy, and Malaysia. But with a US takeover of Iraq and a new puppet regime in place, all these agreements may be subject to cancellation. We may soon witness the biggest oil grab in the history of Third World colonialism by US oil companies aided and abetted by the US government.

One thing that US leaders have been interested in doing with Iraqi oil---given the glut and slumping price of crude in recent years---is keep it off the market for awhile longer. As the *London Financial Times* (24 February 1998) reported, oil prices fell sharply because of the agreement between the United Nations and Iraq that would allow Baghdad to sell oil on the world market. The agreement "could lead to much larger volumes of Iraqi crude oil competing for market shares." The *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 February 1998) headlined its story "IRAQ'S OIL POSES THREAT TO THE WEST." In fact, Iraqi crude poses no threat to "the West" only to Western oil investors. If Iraq were able to reenter the international oil market, the *Chronicle* reported, "it would devalue British North Sea oil, undermine American oil production and---much more important---it would destroy the huge profits which the United States [read, US oil companies] stands to gain from its massive investment in Caucasian oil production, especially in Azerbaijan." We might conclude that direct control

and ownership of Iraqi oil is the surest way to keep it off the world market and the surest way to profit from its future sale when the price is right.

Domestic Political Gains

War and violence have been good to George W. Bush. As of September 10, 2001, his approval ratings were sagging woefully. Then came the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, swiftly followed by the newly trumpeted war against terrorism and the massive bombing and invasion of Afghanistan. Bush's approval ratings skyrocketed. But soon came the corporate scandals of 2002: Enron, WorldCom, and even more perilously Harken and Halliburton. By July, both the president and vice-president were implicated in fraudulent corporate accounting practices, making false claims of profit to pump up stock values, followed by heavy insider selling just before the stock was revealed to be nearly worthless and collapsed in price. By September, the impending war against Iraq blew this whole issue off the front pages and out of the evening news. Daddy Bush did the same thing in 1990, sending the savings and loan scandal into media limbo by waging war against that very same country.

By October 2002, the Republican party, reeling from the scandals and pegged as the party of corporate favoritism and corruption, reemerged as the party of patriotism, national defense, and strong military leadership to win control of both houses of Congress, winning elections it should never have won. Many Americans rallied around the flag, draped as it was around the president. Some of our compatriots, who are cynical and suspicious about politicians in everyday affairs, display an almost child-like unlimited trust and knee-jerk faith when these same politicians trumpet a need to defend our national security against some alien threat, real or imagined.

War also distracts the people from their economic problems, the need for decent housing, schools, and jobs, and a recession that shows no sign of easing. Since George II took office, the stock market has dropped 34 percent, unemployment has climbed 35 percent, the federal surplus of \$281 billion is now a deficit of \$157 billion, and an additional 1.5 million people are without health insurance, bringing the total to 41 million. War has been good for the conservative agenda in general, providing record military spending, greater profits for the defense industry, and a deficit spending spree that further enriches the creditor class at the taxpayer's expense, and is used to justify more cuts in domestic human services.

Liberal intellectuals are never happier than when, with patronizing smiles, they can dilate on the stupidity of George Bush. What I have tried to show is that Bush is neither retarded nor misdirected. Given his class

perspective and interests, there are compelling reasons to commit armed aggression against Iraq---and against other countries to come. It is time we dwelled less upon his malapropisms and more on his rather effective deceptions and relentless viciousness. Many decent crusaders have been defeated because of their inability to fully comprehend the utter depravity of their enemies. The more we know what we are up against, the better we can fight it.

Michael Parenti's latest books are *The Terrorism Trap* (City Lights); *To Kill a Nation: The Attack on Yugoslavia* (Verso); and the 7th edition of *Democracy for the Few* (Wadsworth). His forthcoming work, *The Assassination of Julius Caesar: A People's History of Ancient Rome*, will be published in the spring by The New Press.

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And here is an Iraq War Quiz for edification and as an organizing tool...

Iraq War Quiz
by Stephen R. Shalom

1. The anti-war movement supports our troops by urging that they be brought home immediately so they neither kill nor get killed in an unjust war. How has the Bush administration shown its support for our troops?

a. The Republican-controlled House Budget Committee voted to cut \$25 billion in veterans benefits over the next 10 years.

b. The Bush administration proposed cutting \$172 million from impact aid programs which provide school funding for children of military personnel.

c. The administration ordered the Dept. of Veterans Affairs to stop publicizing health benefits available to veterans.

d. All of the above.

2. The anti-war movement believes that patriotism means urging our country to do what is right. How do Bush administration officials define patriotism?

a. Patriotism means emulating Dick Cheney, who serves as Vice-President while receiving \$100,000-\$1,000,000 a year from Halliburton, the multi-billion dollar company which is already lining up for major contracts in post-war Iraq.

b. Patriotism means emulating Richard Perle, the warhawk who serves as head of the Defense Intelligence Board while at the same time meeting with Saudi arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi on behalf of Trireme, a company of which he is a managing partner, involved in security and military technologies, and while agreeing to work as a paid lobbyist for Global Crossing, a telecommunications giant seeking a major Pentagon contract.

c. Patriotism means emulating George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, John Bolton, Tom DeLay, John Ashcroft, Lewis Libby, and others who enthusiastically supported the Vietnam War while avoiding serving in it and who now are sending others to kill and be killed in Iraq.

d. All of the above.

3. The Bush administration has accused Saddam Hussein of lying regarding his weapons of mass destruction. Which of the following might be considered less than truthful?

a. Constant claims by the Bush administration that there was documentary evidence linking Iraq to attempted uranium purchases in Niger, despite the fact that the documents were forgeries and CIA analysts doubted their authenticity.

b. A British intelligence report on Iraq's security services that was in fact plagiarized, with selected modifications, from a student article.

c. The frequent citation of the incriminating testimony of Iraqi defector Hussein Kamel, while suppressing that part of the testimony in which Kamel stated that Iraqi weapons of mass destruction had been destroyed following the 1991 Gulf War.

d. All of the above.

4. White House Press Secretary Ari Fleisher stormed out of a press conference when the assembled reporters broke into laughter after he declared that the U.S. would never try to bribe members of the UN. What should Fleisher have said to defend himself?

a. It wasn't just bribery; we also ordered the bugging of the home and office phones and emails of the UN ambassadors of Security Council member states that were undecided on war.

b. Oh, come on! We've been doing this for years. In 1990 when Yemen voted against authorizing war with Iraq, the U.S. ambassador declared "That will be the most expensive 'no' vote you ever cast."

c. Why do you think the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act makes one of the conditions for an African country to receive preferential access to U.S. markets that it "not engage in activities that undermine United States national security or foreign policy interests"?

d. All of the above.

5. George Bush has declared that "we have no fight with the Iraqi people." What could he have cited as supporting evidence?

a. U.S. maintenance of 12 years of crippling sanctions that strengthened Saddam Hussein while contributing to the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

b. The fact that "coalition" forces have indicated that they will use cluster bombs in Iraq, despite warnings from human rights groups that "The use of cluster munitions in Iraq will endanger civilians for years to come."

c. By pointing to the analogy of Afghanistan, which the U.S. pledged not to forget about when the war was over, and for which the current Bush administration foreign aid budget request included not one cent in aid.

d. All of the above.

6. The Bush administration has touted the many nations that are part of the "coalition of the willing." Which of the following statements about this coalition is true?

a. In most of the coalition countries polls show that a majority, often an overwhelming majority, of the people oppose the war.

b. More than ten of the members of the coalition of the willing are actually a coalition of the unwilling - unwilling to reveal their names.

c. Coalition members - most of whose contributions to the war are negligible or even zero - constitute less than a quarter of the countries in the UN and contain less than 20% of the world's population.

d. All of the above.

7. The war on Iraq is said to be part of the "war on terrorism." Which of the following is true?
- a. A senior American counterintelligence official said: "An American invasion of Iraq is already being used as a recruitment tool by Al Qaeda and other groups....And it is a very effective tool."
 - b. An American official, based in Europe, said Iraq had become "a battle cry, in a way," for Al Qaeda recruiters.
 - c. France's leading counter-terrorism judge said: "Bin Laden's strategy has always been to demonstrate to the Islamic community that the West, and especially the U.S., is starting a global war against Muslims. An attack on Iraq might confirm this vision for many Muslims. I am very worried about the next wave of recruits."
 - d. All of the above.
8. The Bush administration says it is waging war to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Which of the following is true?
- a. The United States has refused to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, viewed worldwide as the litmus test for seriousness about nuclear disarmament.
 - b. The United States has insisted on a reservation to the Chemical Weapons Convention allowing the U.S. President the right to refuse an inspection of U.S. facilities on national security grounds, and blocked efforts to improve compliance with the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.
 - c. Vice Admiral Lowell E. Jacoby, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, testified on Feb. 11, 2003, "The long-term trends with respect to WMD and missile proliferation are bleak. States seek these capabilities for regional purposes, or to provide a hedge to deter or offset U.S. military superiority."
 - d. All of the above.
9. The Bush administration says it wants to bring democracy to Iraq and the Middle East. Which of the following is true?
- a. If there were democracy in Saudi Arabia today, backing for the U.S. war effort would be the first thing to go, given the country's "increasingly anti-American population deeply opposed to the war."
 - b. The United States subverted some of the few democratic governments in the Middle East (Syria in 1949, Iran in 1953), and has backed undemocratic regimes in the region ever since.
 - c. The United States supported the crushing of anti-Saddam Hussein revolts in Iraq in 1991.
 - d. All of the above.

10. Colin Powell cited as evidence of an Iraq-Al Qaeda link an audiotape from bin Laden in which he called Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party regime "infidels." Which of the following is more compelling evidence?

a. An FBI official told the New York Times: "We've been looking at this hard for more than a year and you know what, we just don't think it's there."

b. According to a classified British intelligence report seen by BBC News, "There are no current links between the Iraqi regime and the al-Qaeda network."

c. According to Rohan Gunaratna, author of Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror, "Since U.S. intervention in Afghanistan in October 2001, I have examined several tens of thousands of documents recovered from Al Qaeda and Taliban sources. In addition to listening to 240 tapes taken from Al Qaeda's central registry, I debriefed several Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees. I could find no evidence of links between Iraq and Al Qaeda."

d. All of the above.

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Answers and Sources

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4. d (a) Martin Bright, Ed Vulliamy, and Peter Beaumont, *The Observer* (London), 3/2/03. (b) Quoted in Phyllis Bennis, *Calling the Shots: How Washington Dominates Today's UN*, New York: Olive Branch, 1996, p. 33. (c) Sarah Anderson, Phyllis Bennis, and John Cavanagh, *Coalition of the Willing or Coalition of the Coerced?: How The Bush Administration Influences Allies in Its War on Iraq*, Washington, DC: Institute for Policy Studies, 2/26/03, p. 4.
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10. d (re audiotape, see David Johnston, "Top U.S. Officials Press Case Linking Iraq To Al Qaeda," NYT, 2/12/03, p. A1; Mohamad Bazzi, "U.S. says bin Laden tape urging Iraqis to attack appears real," Newsday, 2/12/03, p. A5. (a) James Risen and David Johnston, "Split at C.I.A. and F.B.I. On Iraqi Ties to Al Qaeda," NYT, 2/2/03, p. 1:13. (b) "Leaked Report Rejects Iraqi al-Qaeda Link," BBC News, 2/5/03. (c) Rohan Gunaratna, "Iraq and Al Qaeda: No Evidence of Alliance," International Herald Tribune, 2/19/03.

Interpreting Your Score

9-10 Correct: Excellent. Contact United for Peace and Justice, <http://www.unitedforpeace.org/>, and work to fight the war and the system that produced it.

6-8 Correct: Fair. You've been watching a few too many former generals and government officials who provide the "expert" commentary for the mainstream media. Read the alternative media!

3-5 Correct: Poor. Don't feel bad. George W. Bush only got a C- in International Relations at College.

0-2 Correct: Failing. You have a bright future as an "embedded" journalist.

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WHY WAR WITH IRAQ? WHY NOW? PHANTOM REASONS AND REAL ONES

Has America ever gone to war with less public understanding of what the war is about? Why is our Government so determined to attack Iraq? And why the rush to do it now? War is a very serious business. So I am not going to insult your intelligence by spending any time on the half dozen changing reasons that our Government has offered as a justification for starting this war. As anyone who is not addicted to Fox News knows, they are either false, grossly exaggerated, irrelevant or simply silly (I don't know whether to place the charge that Saddam is an evil man under irrelevant or silly).

But - and this is of crucial importance - even if all the Government's charges were true, not exaggerated and relevant, this would still not justify a war if there were other ways of dealing with them and/or if a war would make Americans more liable to attack by our enemies than we already are. The U.N. inspections are working and if we increased the number of inspectors and gave them more time, they would work better still. Along with frequent overflights, some of the U.N. imposed sanctions and the threat of massive retaliation should Saddam attack one of his neighbors, they have already achieved most of the aims for which almost-elected President Bush says he intends to go to war. That is, given the Government's own terms of debate, the war would appear to be unnecessary. And if anyone had any doubts about the effect of such a war on our safety here in the U.S., Ossama Bin Laden's most recent tape (if genuine) should have made it clear that this war will bring us more terrorist attacks and not less.

Critics who see this far and no further are content to condemn the Government for its stupidity - easy to do with Bush at the helm - and craziness. Our leaders seem to be making a terrible mistake. General Zinni, a leading U.S. military figure and diplomat, has said that he doesn't know on which planet the hawks in Washington are living. And many others, including ex-President Carter, General Schwartzkopf and even officials in the intelligence (sic) community, have expressed similar sentiments.

But the leaders of our Government are not that stupid or crazy, and war is too important a matter to go forward without good reasons. They have their reasons. They just don't want to give them to us, because they suspect that most Americans wouldn't accept them as a justification for war. If we examine who our leaders are, their background and interests, some of what they've done and said before coming to power, and what they would gain from a war, it is not too hard to arrive at what these men and their one woman are thinking.

In my opinion, here are the real reasons that our Government is about to engage in its second massacre of Muslims in as many years:!) Oil. The Bush oiligarchy wants direct control over a country whose proven oil reserves are second only to those of Saudi Arabia. American oil giants own none of this oil now. How much do you think they will own one year after the war? Direct U.S. control over Iraqi oil will not only put the profits of selling the oil and servicing the oil fields into American hands, but will also also put the U.S. Government in a position to effect the price of oil by determining how much of it is put onto the market at any one time and to secure the dollar's position as the currency of choice in the purchase of oil by other countries (since 2000, Iraq has tried to undermine the hegemony of the dollar in world trade - with all its implications for U.S. financial domination - by selling its oil for Euros). And, as the availability of this non-renewable source of

energy begins to decline (it has been estimated that the world has about fifty years worth of oil left), the U.S. will be in a position to decide, almost unilaterally, which countries will grow and develop and which will not. 2) Secure the water supplies - not often mentioned - with which Iraq is blessed and all surrounding countries are to some degree dependent. 3) Establish American military and political power - if not direct colonial control - of a major Arab country in the heart of the middle-east for an indefinite period to help ensure the existence of friendly governments and market economies throughout the region. 4) Provide a rationale to expand the military budget and with it the profits of the arms industry, which includes the oil industry. 5) Help make Americans forget that we lost the war in Afghanistan, whose main objective was not to remove the Taliban but to destroy Al Qaeda and capture Osama Bin Laden. 6) Upstage the media attention given to the failure of the Government's economic policies (unemployment up 35%, stock market down 34 %, etc. and etc. since Bush took office) as well as the high level financial scandals in which both Bush and Cheney have been implicated. 7) Create an atmosphere of permanent crisis with its side-bars of fear and patriotism that will help the GOP to push through the rest of its ultra-conservative political agenda and win the next presidential election.

Though we can't know which reasons are most important for any given official, I think it is pretty clear that they all play a role and that, taken together, they are enough to account for the trigger-happy behavior of the Government. There happens to be one other major reason for their actions, however, that deserves to be mentioned, if only because it is usually passed over, even by the strongest critics of the war. And this is that the war with Iraq will serve some of Israel's most important national interests, at least as interpreted by its current right wing Government. It is seldom mentioned, of course, because anyone who does so risks being denounced as an anti-semitic, next to which being called a mass murderer today seems rather tame. So before developing this point, let me just say that I am Jewish. This way I can only be condemned as a "self-hating Jew".

What, then, are the main interests of the Israeli Government that will be served by this war?

- 1) The war will provide Israel some relief from the growing sentiment among the American public that the U.S. Government should cut off or drastically reduce both economic and military aid to Israel until it vacates all Arab lands (a little publicized Times/CNN poll showed that 60% of Americans supported such a call).
- 2) Under the cover of war, Sharon will be able to put into effect his version of the "final solution" to the Palestinian problem, the expulsion of all West Bank Arabs into the surrounding countries.
- 3) Destroying what's left of Iraq's military power neutralizes Israel's most important rival in the region.
- 4) Establishing a semi-permanent American military presence in Iraq puts U.S. troops in a position to police the whole area for Israel. If Mohammed can't go to the mountain - you have all heard this one - it is said that the mountain will go to Mohammed. Given their problems with the Arabs, some Israelis have joked that it would be nice if they could pick up the whole of Israel and move it to Long Island. Well, Mohammed couldn't get to this mountain. But now with the U.S. about to move into Israel's neighborhood, the mountain has come to Mohammed. Talk about miracles.
- 5) U.S. control of Iraqi oil and water resources will allow Israel, its best friend in the middle-east, to gain a share of both.

When you add all this up, it seems that war against Iraq is even more in the interests of the Israeli Government than it is in the interests of the American Government. It is no surprise then that among our Government's top foreign policy advisors some of the biggest hawks are right wing Zionists like - Paul Wolfowitz (Deputy Defense Secretary, who earlier in life wanted to immigrate to Israel and who wrote his first official paper calling for an invasion of Iraq back in 1992), Douglas Feith (Under Secretary for Policy in the Dept. of Defense), Elliot Abrams (National Security Council), Lewis Libby (Chief of Staff for Vice President Cheney), Eric Edelman (Libby's top assistant), and Richard Perle (Chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, who the F.B.I. found passing classified information from the National Security Council to the Israeli Embassy when he was a Senate staffer in 1970 and who has worked as an election advisor for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu between 1996-'99) . Can you imagine the ruckus there would be if this number of communists or Free Masons or black nationalists were found in the higher reaches of our foreign policy establishment? Let me repeat that I am not speaking of Jews here but of right wing Zionists, or those who subscribe to an extreme version of a nationalist ideology that is currently in power in another country, a country that has a crucial stake in how the American Government acts in its region. Now, I don't believe that U.S. policy on Iraq has been made by these Zionists advisors, but neither do I believe that they are without influence in the matter or that their right wing Zionism does not affect what they tell Bush, or Cheney, or Rumsfeld. Rather, in my view, what we have here is a convergence of two imperialisms. It is Bush's and Sharon's complementary interests that have put them in bed together. The bevy of right wing Zionist advisors that surround Bush would have encouraged this tryst and perhaps served as match-maker.

They have probably also helped to convince Bush - assuming he needed any convincing - that if he served Israel's interests in this manner he would garner the support of enough American Jews, most of whom have become Zionists (soft or hard) in recent years, to put him over the top in the next election. (No one should suppose that Karl Rove, Bush's exceptionally savvy political advisor, hasn't carefully taken note of this opportunity, or that his man in the White House is indifferent to it. Hence, the otherwise surprising decision to hold the GOP 2004 Nominating Convention in New York City) I suppose this deserves being listed as the Bush crowd's eighth major reason for going to war with Iraq.

That still leaves unexplained why the rush to war, why the Government's insistence on starting the war now. If Israel needs a war now to resolve the explosive and worsening problems that have resulted from the failure of its policies in the West Bank, this is not - or at least should not be - a problem for the U.S. But if I'm right in my list of the American and Israeli Governments' real reasons for going to war, THE GREAT DANGER THAT BOTH OF THESE GOVERNMENTS FEAR IS NOT THAT THE U.N. INSPECTIONS WON'T WORK, BUT THAT THEY WILL. For if the inspections work, or show that they are working or can work, then both Governments are denied their ideological cover for going to war. At this point, the U.S. would either have to pull back from the brink, or admit to having other, hitherto secret reasons, for going to war. However, the great majority of the American people would never accept the real reasons for this war, and without their support the American and Israeli Governments could not reap the many economic and political benefits they are hoping for, benefits they can only attain through a full scale war. Well, too bad for them, but not for the hundreds of thousands of people who are certain to die in any war.

The great crusading journalist, Izzy Stone, said he could summarize most of what aspiring young reporters need to learn in two words: "Governments lie". If he had extended his lesson just three more words, he might have added - "especially in war". The American Government has a long history of such lies; the sinking of the battleship "Maine" in the Spanish American War, the Gulf of Tonkin non-incident in the Vietnam war, and the invasion of Granada to protect U.S. medical students are but the most notorious examples. Given this history, the Bush team's consistent disregard for the truth (both in getting (s)elected and in pursuing its unpopular policies in virtually

every domain), and the collection of dated, confused and irrelevant charges that make up the official case against Iraq, it is hard to believe that anyone could take what the Administration is saying seriously. Sadly, this is not the case.

This is also very dangerous, because even most of Bush's critics, in the U.S. and around the world, refer to his position on Iraq as a "mistake" rather than a "lie" and treat their differences with him as a "disagreement" over what means are best suited to attain a common end. "Give the inspections a chance" and "No war without a U.N. resolution" were the most popular slogans in the world-wide demonstrations against the war that took place on February 15th. In short, though Bush has been unable to convince most doubters of his interpretation of events, with his domination over the public stage, he has succeeded in setting the terms of the debate, and in politics as in war being able to choose the terrain on which a battle will be fought is often the decisive step toward winning it. What will happen, in other words, if/when the Government - either under pressure or because they are more intelligent than we give them credit for - accepts the scenario urged by the majority of their critics: a couple months more of inspections and a vague U.N. resolution that even France and Germany can agree on and the U.S. can interpret as an okay to begin its war in Iraq?

I am reminded of an incident that occurred in Nazi Germany in the mid-1930s, where a jurist - I can't recall his name - objected to some Nazi practises that were not covered by the law. Once Hitler's controlled legislature passed laws that made these practises legal, the jurist said he was now satisfied and fell in behind the Fuhrer. Could the same thing happen to most of our politicians, public intellectuals and even movement partisans who are now demanding that Bush act through the U.N. and give the inspections a chance to work? I consider such a turnabout not only possible but even likely, unless more of Bush's critics begin treating his phantom reasons for attacking Iraq with the contempt that they deserve and do a much better job educating the public on the real reasons for war, ALL OF THEM. People who understand these reasons will not let themselves be snookered into supporting the war through any combination of Congressional, NATO or U.N. resolutions.

What is the role of 9/11 in all this? It is now clear that there were two kinds of hijacking on Sept. 11th, 2001, the first by free lance terrorists who took over four airplanes and bombed the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and the second by U.S. state terrorists who used the events of the day to push through their right wing political agenda and to beat whomever dared criticize them over the head. By prefacing all proposals with the words "In the names of those who died", Bush seems to have appropriated 9/11 in ways very similar to how Israel's right wing Government has appropriated the Holocaust. Sadly, but all too effectively, 9/11 functions politically today as Bush's Holocaust. Perhaps his right wing Zionist advisors also instructed him on how to bring this off. The tragic victims of 9/11 - and of the Holocaust - deserve a better historical fate than this self-interested manipulation by regimes that share many of the worst features of their butchers.

Well, what's to be done? Besides urging that we replace the effort to provide the Government with a "better" means to reach our common end (where we accept their terms and framework for the debate) with an even greater effort to expose them (where the real reasons for the war become the main subject for discussion), I can summarize most of what else I have to offer on this subject by passing on an e-mail I got a couple weeks ago. Apparently, a recent study at the University of Sussex in England showed that demonstrating for a cause in which you believe is not only good for your conscience, it's also good for your health. No wonder participating in the big demonstration on February 15th felt so good. So, in the interest of good health - your's, the Iraqis', our troops' and the world's - keep it up.

Greg Palast « On 9/11 »

On my BBC television show, *Newsnight*, an American journalist confessed that, since the 9/11 attacks, U.S. reporters are simply too afraid to ask the uncomfortable questions that could kill careers: "It's an obscene comparison, but there was a time in South Africa when people would put flaming tires around people's necks if they dissented. In some ways, the fear is that you will be neck-laced here, you will have a flaming tire of lack of patriotism put around your neck," Dan Rather said. Without his makeup, Rather looked drawn, old and defeated in confessing that he too had given in. "It's that fear that keeps journalists from asking the toughest of the tough questions and to continue to bore in on the tough questions so often."

Investigators were ordered to "back off" from any inquiries into Saudi Arabian financing of terror networks....

The reports I did based on this information won the California State University School of Journalism's Project Censored Award in 2002. It's not the kind of prize you want to win -- it's given to crucial stories that were effectively banned from U.S. airwaves and papers.³ I don't want any misunderstanding here, so I must emphasize what we did not find: We uncovered no information, none whatsoever, that George W. Bush had any advance knowledge of the plan to attack the World Trade Center on 9/11, nor, heaven forbid, any involvement in the attack.

FBI Document 199I

What we did discover was serious enough. To begin with, from less-than-happy FBI agents we obtained an interesting document, some 30 pages long, marked "SECRET." I've reproduced a couple of pages here (figure 2.1). Note the designation "199I" -- that's FBI-speak for "national security matter." According to insiders, FBI agents had wanted to check into two members of the bin Laden family, Abdullah and Omar, but were told to stay away by superiors -- until September 13, 2001. By then, Abdullah and Omar were long gone from the United States.

Why no investigation of the brothers bin Laden? The Bush administration's line is the Binladdins (a more common spelling of the Arabic name) are good folk. Osama's the Black Sheep, supposedly cut off from his Saudi kin. But the official line notwithstanding, some FBI agents believed the family had some gray sheep worth questioning -- especially these two working with the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), which the file labels "a suspected terrorist organization."

No matter how vile WAMY's indoctrination chats, they are none of the FBI's business. Recruitment for terror, however, is. Before 9/11, the governments of India and the Philippines tied WAMY to groups staging murderous attacks on civilians. Following our broadcast on BBC, the Dutch secret service stated that WAMY, "support(ed) violent activity." In 2002, *The Wall Street Journal's* Glenn Simpson made public a report by Bosnia's government that a charity with Abdullah bin Laden on its board had channeled money to Chechen guerrillas. Two of the 9/11 hijackers used an address on the same street as WAMY's office in Falls Church, Virginia.

The "Back-Off" Directive and the Islamic Bomb

Despite these tantalizing facts, Abdullah and his operations were A-OK with the FBI chiefs, if not their working agents. Just a dumb SNAFU? Not according to a top-level CIA operative who spoke with us on condition of strictest anonymity. After Bush took office, he said, "there was a major policy shift" at the National Security Agency. Investigators were ordered to "back off" from any inquiries into Saudi Arabian financing of terror networks, especially if they touched on Saudi royals and their retainers. That put the bin Ladens, a family worth a reported \$12 billion and a virtual arm of the Saudi royal household, off-limits for investigation. Osama was the exception; he remained a wanted man, but agents could not look too closely at how he filled his piggy bank. The key rule of any investigation, "follow the money," was now violated, and investigations -- at least before 9/11 -- began to die.

And there was a lot to investigate – or in the case of the CIA and FBI under Bush – a lot to ignore. Through well-known international arms dealers (I'm sorry, but in this business, sinners are better sources than saints) our team was tipped off to a meeting of Saudi billionaires at the Hotel Royale Monceau in Paris in May 1996 with the financial representative of Osama bin Laden's network. The Saudis, including a key Saudi prince joined by Muslim and non-Muslim gun traffickers, met to determine who would pay how much to Osama. This was not so much an act of support but of protection – a payoff to keep the mad bomber away from Saudi Arabia....

Clinton Closed an Eye

True-blue Democrats may want to skip the next paragraphs. If President Bush put the kibosh on investigations of Saudi funding of terror and nuclear bomb programs, this was merely taking a policy of Bill Clinton one step further.

Following the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, Clinton hunted Osama with a passion – but a passion circumscribed by the desire to protect the sheikdom sitting atop our oil lifeline. In 1994, a Saudi diplomat defected to the United States with 14,000 pages of documents from the kingdom's sealed file cabinets. This mother lode of intelligence included evidence of plans for the assassination of Saudi opponents living in the West and, tantalizingly, details of the \$7 billion the Saudis gave to Saddam Hussein for his nuclear program – the first attempt to build an Islamic Bomb. The Saudi government, according to the defector, Mohammed Al Khilewi, slipped Saddam the nuclear loot during the Reagan and Bush Sr. years when our own government still thought Saddam too marvelous for words. The thought was that he would only use the bomb to vaporize Iranians....

In 1997, the Canadians caught and extradited to America one of the Khobar Towers attackers. In 1999, Vernon Jordan's law firm stepped in and – poof! – the killer was shipped back to Saudi Arabia before he could reveal all he knew about Al Qaeda (valuable) and the Saudis (embarrassing). I reviewed, but was not permitted to take notes on, the alleged terrorist's debriefing by the FBI. To my admittedly inexperienced eyes, there was enough on Al Qaeda to make him a source on terrorists worth holding on to. Not that he was set free – he's in one of the kingdom's dungeons – but his info is sealed up with him. The terrorist's extradition was "Clinton's." "Clinton's parting kiss to the Saudis," as one insider put it.

This make-a-sheik-happy policy of Clinton's may seem similar to Bush's, but the difference is significant. Where Clinton said, "Go slow," Bush policymakers said, "No go." The difference is between closing one eye and closing them both.

Blowback and Bush Sr.

Still, we are left with the question of why both Bush Jr. and Clinton would hold back disclosure of Saudi funding of terror. I got the first glimpse of an answer from Michael Springmann, who headed up the U.S. State Department's visa bureau in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, during the Reagan-Bush Sr. years. "In Saudi Arabia I was repeatedly ordered by high-level State Department officials to issue visas to unqualified applicants. These were, essentially, people who had no ties, either to Saudi Arabia or to their own country. I complained bitterly at the time there." That was Springmann's mistake. He was one of those conscientious midlevel bureaucrats who did not realize that when he filed reports about rules violations he was jeopardizing the cover for a huge multicontinental intelligence operation aimed at the Soviets. Springmann assumed petty thievery: someone was taking bribes, selling visas; so he couldn't understand why his complaints about rule-breakers were "met with silence" at the Bureau of Diplomatic Security.

Springmann complained himself right out of a job. Now a lawyer, he has obtained more information on the questionable "engineers" with no engineering knowledge whom he was ordered to permit into the United States. "What I was protesting was, in reality, an effort to bring

recruits, rounded up by Osama bin Laden, to the United States for terrorist training by the CIA. They would then be returned to Afghanistan to fight against the then-Soviets."

Clinton hunted Osama with a passion ... circumscribed by the desire to protect the sheikdom sitting atop our oil lifeline.

But then they turned their talents against the post-Soviet power: us. In the parlance of spook-world, this is called "blowback." Bin Laden and his bloody brethren were created in America's own Frankenstein factory. It would not do for the current president nor agency officials to dig back to find that some of the terrorists we are hunting today were trained and armed by the Reagan-Bush administration. And that's one of the problems for agents seeking to investigate groups like WAMY, or Abdullah bin Laden. WAMY literature that talks about that "compassionate young man Osama bin Laden" is likely to have been disseminated, if not written, by our very own government. If Abdullah's Bosnian-operated "charity" was funding Chechnyan guerrillas, it is only possible because the Clinton CIA gave the wink and nod to WAMY and other groups who were aiding Bosnian guerrillas when they were fighting Serbia, a U.S.-approved enemy. "What we're talking about," says national security expert Joe Trento, "is embarrassing, career-destroying blowback for intelligence officials." And, he could add, for the presidential father.

The Family Business

I still didn't have an answer to all my questions. We knew that Clinton and the Bushes were reluctant to discomfort the Saudis by unearthing their connections to terrorists -- but what made this new president take particular care to protect the Saudis, even to the point of stymying his own intelligence agencies?

The answers kept coming back: "Carlyle" and "Arbusto."

While some people have guardian angels, our president seems to have guardian sheiks....

Behind Carlyle is a private, invitation-only investment group whose holdings in the war industry make it effectively one of America's biggest defense contractors. For example, Carlyle owned United Technologies, the maker of our fighter jets. Carlyle has the distinction of claiming both of the presidents Bush as paid retainers. Dubya served on the board of Carlyle's Caterair airplane food company until it went bust. The senior Bush traveled to Saudi Arabia for Carlyle in 1999. The bin Ladens were among Carlyle's select backers until just after the 9/11 attacks, when the connection became impolitic. The company's chairman is Frank Carlucci, Bush Sr.'s former defense secretary. The average Carlyle partner has gained about \$25 million in equity. Notably, Saudi Prince Al Waleed bin Talal bin Abdul Aziz employed Carlyle as his advisor in buying up 10 percent of Citicorp's preferred stock. The choice of Carlyle for the high-fee work was odd, as the group is not an investment bank. !

One would almost think the Saudi potentate wanted to enrich Carlyle's members....

Who Lost the War on Terror?

So who lost the War on Terror? Osama? From his point of view, he's made the celebrity cutthroats' Hall of Fame. Where is he? Don't ask Bush; our leader just changes the subject to Iraq. So we have the 82nd Airborne looking for Osama bin Laden among the camels in Afghanistan when, in all likelihood, the billionaire butcher -- now likely beardless -- is chillin' by the pool at the Ritz Carlton, knocking back a brewsky and laughing at us while two blonde Barbies massage his feet.

Bush failed to get Osama. But we did successfully eliminate the threat of Congresswoman McKinney -- you remember, the one who dared question ChoicePoint, the company that helped Katherine Harris eliminate Black voters.

Following our BBC broadcast and Guardian report in November 2001, McKinney cited our stories on the floor of Congress, calling for an investigation of the intelligence failures and policy prejudices you've just read here. She was labeled a traitor, a freak, a conspiracy nut and "a looney" – the latter by her state's Democratic Senator, who led the mob in the political lynching of the uppity Black woman. The New York Times wrote, "She angered some Black voters by suggesting that President Bush might have known in advance about the September 11 attacks but had done nothing so his supporters could make money in war." The fact that she said no such thing doesn't matter; the Times is always more influential than the truth. Dan Rather had warned her, shut up, don't ask questions, and you can avoid the neck-lacing. She didn't and it cost her her seat in Congress.

McKinney's electoral corpse in the road silenced politicians, the media was mum, but some Americans still would not get in line. For them we have new laws to permit investigating citizens without warrants, and the label of terrorist fellow-traveler attached to groups from civil rights organizations to trade treaty protestors. Yet not one FBI or CIA agent told us, "If only we didn't have that pesky Bill of Rights, we would have nailed bin Laden." Not one said, "What we need is a new bureaucracy for Fatherland Security." Not one said we needed to jail everyone in the Midwest named "Ahmed." They had a single request: for George W. Bush's security henchmen to get their boot heels off agents' necks and remove the shield of immunity from the Saudis.

[Cynthia] McKinney's electoral corpse in the road silenced politicians, the media was mum, but some Americans still would not get in line.

That leaves one final, impertinent question. Who won?

(See <http://tompaine.com/feature.cfm/ID/7310> for the entire article including footnotes.)

On February 25, Plume/Penguin USA released the new, expanded American edition of Greg Palast's New York Times bestseller *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy: An Investigative Reporter Exposes the Truth About Globalization, Corporate Cons and High Finance Fraudsters*. You can view Palast's reports for BBC Television's *Newsnight* and his columns for the Guardian papers of London at <http://www.gregpalast.com>.

Special Report

Justice Dept. Drafts Sweeping Expansion of Anti-Terrorism Act

By Charles Lewis and Adam Mayle

(WASHINGTON, Feb. 7, 2003) -- The Bush Administration is preparing a bold, comprehensive sequel to the USA Patriot Act passed in the wake of September 11, 2001, which will give the government broad, sweeping new powers to increase domestic intelligence-gathering, surveillance and law enforcement prerogatives, and simultaneously decrease judicial review and public access to information.

The Center for Public Integrity has obtained a draft, dated January 9, 2003, of this previously undisclosed legislation




and is making it available in full text (12 MB). The bill, drafted by the staff of Attorney General John Ashcroft and entitled the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003, has not been officially released by the Department of Justice, although rumors of its development have circulated around the Capitol for the last few months under the name of "the Patriot Act II" in legislative parlance.


"We haven't heard anything from the Justice Department on updating the Patriot Act," House Judiciary Committee spokesman Jeff Lungren told the Center. "They haven't shared their thoughts on that. Obviously, we'd be interested, but we haven't heard anything at this point."

Senior members of the Senate Judiciary Committee minority staff have inquired about Patriot II for months and have been told as recently as this week that there is no such legislation being planned.

Mark Corallo, deputy director of Justice's Office of Public Affairs, told the Center his office was unaware of the draft. "I have heard people talking about revising the Patriot Act, we are looking to work on things the way we would do with any law," he said. "We may work to make modifications to protect Americans," he added. When told that the Center had a copy of the draft legislation, he said, "This is all news to me. I have never heard of this."

After the Center posted this story, Barbara Comstock, director of public affairs for the

Justice Dept.,  released a statement saying that, "Department staff have not presented any final proposals to either the Attorney General or the White House. It would be premature to speculate on any future decisions, particularly ideas or proposals that are still being discussed at staff levels."

An Office of Legislative Affairs "control
 sheet" that was obtained by the PBS program "Now With Bill Moyers" seems to indicate that a copy of the bill was sent to Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert and

Vice President Richard Cheney on Jan. 10, along and they've been telling people there is nothing in the works." This proposed law, he added, "would radically expand law enforcement and intelligence gathering authorities, reduce or eliminate judicial oversight over surveillance, authorize secret arrests, create a DNA database based on unchecked executive 'suspicion,' create new death penalties, and even seek to take American citizenship away from persons who belong to or support disfavored political groups."

Some of the key provision of the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003 include:

Section 201, "Prohibition of Disclosure of Terrorism Investigation Detainee Information": Safeguarding the dissemination of information related to national security has been a hallmark of Ashcroft's first two years in office, and the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003 follows in the footsteps of his October 2001 directive to carefully consider such interest when granting Freedom of Information Act requests. While the October memo simply encouraged FOIA officers to take national security, "protecting sensitive business information and, not least, preserving personal privacy" into account while deciding on requests, the proposed legislation would enhance the department's ability to deny releasing material on suspected terrorists in government custody through FOIA.

Section 202, "Distribution of 'Worst Case Scenario' Information": This would introduce new FOIA restrictions with regard to the Environmental Protection Agency. As provided for in the Clean Air Act, the EPA requires private companies that use potentially dangerous chemicals must produce a "worst case scenario" report detailing the effect that the release of these controlled substances would have on the surrounding community. Section 202 of this Act would, however, restrict FOIA requests to these reports, which the bill's drafters refer to as "a roadmap for terrorists." By reducing public access to "read-only" methods for only those persons "who live and work in the geographical area likely to be affected by a worst-case scenario," this subtitle would obfuscate an established level of transparency between private industry and the public.

Section 301-306, "Terrorist Identification Database": These sections would authorize creation of a DNA database on "suspected terrorists," expansively defined to include association with suspected terrorist groups, and noncitizens suspected of certain crimes or of having supported any group designated as terrorist.

Section 312, "Appropriate Remedies with Respect to Law Enforcement Surveillance Activities": This section would terminate all state law enforcement consent decrees before Sept. 11, 2001, not related to racial profiling or other civil rights violations, that limit such agencies from gathering information about individuals and organizations. The authors of this statute claim that these consent orders, which were passed as a result of police spying abuses, could impede current terrorism investigations. It would also place substantial restrictions on future court injunctions.

Section 405, "Presumption for Pretrial Detention in Cases Involving Terrorism": While many people charged with drug offenses punishable by prison terms of 10 years or more are held before their trial without bail, this provision would create a comparable statute for those suspected of terrorist activity. The reasons for presumptively holding suspected terrorists before trial, the Justice Department summary memo states, are clear. "This presumption is warranted because of the unparalleled magnitude of the danger to the United States and its people posed by acts of terrorism, and because terrorism is typically engaged in by groups – many with international connections – that are often in a position to help their members flee or go into hiding."

Section 501, "Expatriation of Terrorists": This provision, the drafters say, would establish that an American citizen could be expatriated "if, with the intent to relinquish his nationality, he becomes a member of, or provides material support to, a group that the United States has designated as a 'terrorist organization'." But whereas a citizen formerly had to state his intent to relinquish his

citizenship, the new law affirms that his intent can be “inferred from conduct.” Thus, engaging in the lawful activities of a group designated as a “terrorist organization” by the Attorney General could be presumptive grounds for expatriation.

The Domestic Security Enhancement Act is the latest development in an 18-month trend in which the Bush Administration has sought expanded powers and responsibilities for law enforcement bodies to help counter the threat of terrorism.

The USA Patriot Act, signed into law by President Bush on Oct. 26, 2001, gave law enforcement officials broader authority to conduct electronic surveillance and wiretaps, and gives the president the authority, when the nation is under attack, to confiscate any property within U.S. jurisdiction of anyone believed to be engaging in such attacks. The measure also tightened oversight of financial activities to prevent money laundering and diminish bank secrecy in an effort to disrupt terrorist finances.

It also changed provisions of Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which was passed in 1978 during the Cold War. FISA established a different standard of government oversight and judicial review for “foreign intelligence” surveillance than that applied to traditional domestic law enforcement surveillance.

The USA Patriot Act allowed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to share information gathered in terrorism investigations under the “foreign intelligence” standard with local law enforcement agencies, in essence nullifying the higher standard of oversight that applied to domestic investigations. The USA Patriot Act also amended FISA to permit surveillance under the less rigorous standard whenever “foreign intelligence” was a “significant purpose” rather than the “primary purpose” of an investigation.

The draft legislation goes further in that direction. “In the [USA Patriot Act] we have to break down the wall of foreign intelligence and law enforcement,” Cole said. “Now they want to break down the wall between international terrorism and domestic terrorism.”

In an Oct. 9, 2002, hearing of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism, and Government Information, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Alice Fisher testified that Justice had been, “looking at potential proposals on following up on the PATRIOT Act for new tools and we have also been working with different agencies within the government and they are still studying that and hopefully we will continue to work with this committee in the future on new tools that we believe are necessary in the war on terrorism.”

Asked by Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) whether she could inform the committee of what specific areas Justice was looking at, Fisher replied, “At this point I can’t, I’m sorry. They’re studying a lot of different ideas and a lot of different tools that follow up on information sharing and other aspects.”

Assistant Attorney General for Legal Policy Viet Dinh, who was the principal author of the first Patriot Act, told *Legal Times* last October that there was “an ongoing process to continue evaluating and re-evaluating authorities we have with respect to counterterrorism,” but declined to say whether a new bill was forthcoming.

Former FBI Director William Sessions, who urged caution while Congress considered the USA

Patriot Act, did not want to enter the fray concerning a possible successor bill.

"I hate to jump into it, because it's a very delicate thing," Sessions told the Center, without acknowledging whether he knew of any proposed additions or revisions to the additional Patriot bill.

When the first bill was nearing passage in the Congress in late 2001, however, Sessions told Internet site NewsMax.Com that the balance between civil liberties and sufficient intelligence gathering was a difficult one. "First of all, the Attorney General has to justify fully what he's asking for," Sessions, who served presidents Reagan and George H.W. Bush as FBI Director from 1987 until 1993, said at the time. "We need to be sure that we provide an effective means to deal with criminality." At the same time, he said, "we need to be sure that we are mindful of the Constitution, mindful of privacy considerations, but also meet the technological needs we have" to gather intelligence.

Cole found it disturbing that there have been no consultations with Congress on the draft legislation. "It raises a lot of serious concerns and is troubling as a generic matter that they have gotten this far along and tell people that there is nothing in the works. What that suggests is that they're waiting for a propitious time to introduce it, which might well be when a war is begun. At that time there would be less opportunity for discussion and they'll have a much stronger hand in saying that they need these right away."

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Michaël Moore

LETTRE À GEORGES BUSH

jeudi 6 mars 2003

Cher georges

Depuis que tu es président des États Unis, de mauvaises langues prétendent que tu te tournes les pouces. Pourtant en quelques mois, tu as réussi à :

- 1) Réduire de 39 millions de dollars le budget des bibliothèques fédérales
- 2) Réduire de 35 millions de dollars le budget du programme de formation en médecine pédiatrique avancée.
- 3) Réduire de 50% le budget de la recherche sur les énergies renouvelables.
- 4) Repousser l'émission du règlement réduisant les niveaux "acceptables" d'arsenic dans l'eau potable.
- 5) Réduire de 28% le budget du programme de recherche pour des véhicules moins polluants et moins consommateurs d'énergie.
- 6) Abolir la législation permettant à l'État de refuser tout contrat public aux entreprises qui violent les lois fédérales, les lois de protection de l'environnement et les règles de sécurité sur le lieu de travail.
- 7) permettre à la secrétaire de l'Intérieur Gale Norton d'explorer la possibilité d'ouvrir les parcs nationaux à l'exploitation forestière et minière et aux forages pétroliers et gaziers.
- 8) Renier ta promesse de campagne d'investir 100 millions de dollars par an dans la protection des forêts tropicales.
- 9) Réduire de 86% le programme communautaire d'accès aux soins, qui organisait la coopération des hôpitaux publics, des cliniques privées et autres prestataires pour venir en aide aux malades dépourvus d'assurance médicale.
- 10) Réduire à néant une proposition visant à accroître l'accès du public aux informations sur les conséquences potentielles des accidents chimiques industriels.
- 11) Réduire de 60 millions de dollars le programme de logements sociaux de la fondation d'aide à l'enfance.

- 12) Refuser de signer l'accord de Kyoto sur l'effet de serre, contre la volonté de 178 pays.
- 13) Rejeter un accord international ayant pour but l'application du traité de 1972 bannissant les armements micro biologiques.
- 14) réduire de 200 millions de dollars le budget des programmes de formation des travailleurs au chômage.
- 15) réduire de 200 millions de dollars le Fonds pour l'enfance et le développement, un programme qui permet aux famille à bas revenus de faire garder leurs enfants pendant es heures de travail.
- 16) Éliminer la couverture des contraceptifs prescrits médicalement pour les fonctionnaires de l'administration fédérale (alors que le Viagra est encore couvert).
- 17) Réduire de 700 millions de dollars le budget de réhabilitation des logements sociaux.
- 18) Réduire d'un demi milliard de dollars le budget de l'EPA (agence de protection de l'environnement).
- 19) Abolir les directives concernant les règles d'hygiène et de sécurité sur les lieux de travail.
- 20) Renier ta promesse de campagne de réguler les émissions de dioxyde de carbone qui contribuent fortement à l'effet de serre.
- 21) Interdire l'attribution d'aides d'origine fédérale aux organisations internationales de planning familial qui fournissent des conseils ou des services en matière d'IVG, fussent-elles financées sur fond propres.
- 22) Nommer responsable en matière d'hygiène et de sécurité minières auprès du ministère du Travail un ancien dirigeant d'une entreprise minière, Dan Laurier.
- 23) Nommer sous secrétaire au ministère de l'Intérieur Lynn Scarlett, un fonctionnaire qui ne croit pas à l'effet de serre et qui s'oppose à l'introduction de règles plus contraignantes contre la pollution atmosphérique.

- 24) Approuver le projet controversé du ministère de l'Intérieur Gale Norton, qui consiste à mettre aux enchères des fonds marins proches de la côte est de la Floride aux fins d'exploitation pétrolifère et gazière.
- 25) Prévoir l'autorisation de forages pétroliers dans une aire protégée du Montana, la Lewis and Clark National Forest.
- 26) Menacer de fermer le Bureau de lutte contre le sida de la maison Blanche.
- 27) Décider de ne plus consulter l'Association américaine du barreau en matière de nomination des juges fédéraux.
- 28) refuser toute aide financière aux étudiants condamnés pour des délits de toxicomanie mineurs(alors que les personnes condamnées pour assassinat ont toujours droit à ces aides).
- 29) Dégager seulement 3% du montant défini par les avocats du département de la justice pour le budget alloué aux poursuites de l'administration contre l'industrie du tabac.
- 30) Faire passer ton projet de baisse d'impôts qui profite, pour 43% au 1% des américains les plus fortunés.
- 31) Signer un décret qui rend beaucoup plus difficile aux américains disposant de revenus faibles ou moyens de se déclarer en faillite personnelle, même quand ils font face à des dépenses médicales exceptionnelles.
- 32) Nommer directeur du personnel de la Maison Blanche Kay Cole James, une adversaire de la discrimination positive en faveur des minorités.
- 33) Réduire de 15,7 millions de dollars le budget du programme contre la maltraitance des mineurs.
- 34) proposer l'élimination du programme "Lire, c'est fondamental", qui permettait de distribuer gratuitement des livres aux enfants de familles pauvres.
- 35) Stimuler le développement d'armements "micro nucléaires" destinés à atteindre des cibles souterraines et ce en violation du traité d'interdiction des essais nucléaires.

- 36) Essayer d'éliminer une législation protégeant 24 millions d'hectares de forêts contre toute fore d'exploitation forestière et contre la construction de routes.
- 37) Nommer responsable du contrôle des armements et des questions de sécurité internationale John Bolton, adversaire des traités de non-prolifération et hostile à l'ONU.
- 38) Nommer une dirigeante de Monsanto, Linda Fisher, comme administratrice adjointe de l'Agence de protection de l'environnement.
- 39) Nommer à un poste de juge fédéral Michael McConnel, dont on connaît bien l'opposition à la séparation de l'Église et de l'État .
- 40) Nommer à un poste de juge fédéral Terrence Boyle, adversaire des droits civiques.
- 41) Éliminer la date butoir de 2004 accordée aux constructeurs d'automobiles pour développer des prototypes de véhicules plus économes en carburant.
- 42) Nommer à la tête du programme gouvernemental de lutte contre la drogue John Walters, adversaire du traitement des toxicomanes incarcérée.
- 43) Nommer secrétaire adjoint à l'intérieur J. Steven Giles, bien connu pour son travail au service des lobbies du charbon et du pétrole.
- 44) Nommer responsable pour l'eau et la recherche scientifique auprès du ministère Bennet Raley, adversaire de la législation en faveur de la protection des espèces menacées.
- 45) Faire pression pour bloquer les poursuites engagées contre le Japon par les femmes asiatiques ayant servi d'esclaves sexuelles aux troupes japonaises pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.
- 46) Nommer conseiller juridique de la maison Blanche Ted Olson, ton principal avocat dans la controverse juridique sur la légalité du scrutin en Floride.
- 47) Proposer d'améliorer la procédure d'autorisation de la construction de barrages et de centrales nucléaires, y compris en affaiblissant les critères de protection de l'environnement.

48) Proposer la vente de zones de forage gazier et pétrolier dans les aires protégées de l'Alaska.

Et maintenant, tu veux te lancer dans une guerre dont tu ne mesures pas les conséquences à venir.

Je crois, cher Georges, que la France devrait faire voter par l'ONU l'envoi de casques bleus aux USA car visiblement, tu es en train de faire ce qu'aucun de tes prédécesseurs n'avait osé faire à ton peuple.....ET PAR VOIE DE CONSÉQUENCE A NOUS.

Alors, cesse de faire joujou avec tes soldats et de traiter Saddam Hussein comme un ennemi car visiblement tu lui ressembles.

Allez Georges, rentre chez toi et arrête de faire peur à mon fils avec tes bruits de bottes.

Michael Moore est un réalisateur américain. Extraits de Mike contre-attaque, édition La Découverte, Paris 2000. Ce pamphlet anti Bush vient d'être élu "livre de l'année" en Grande-Bretagne.